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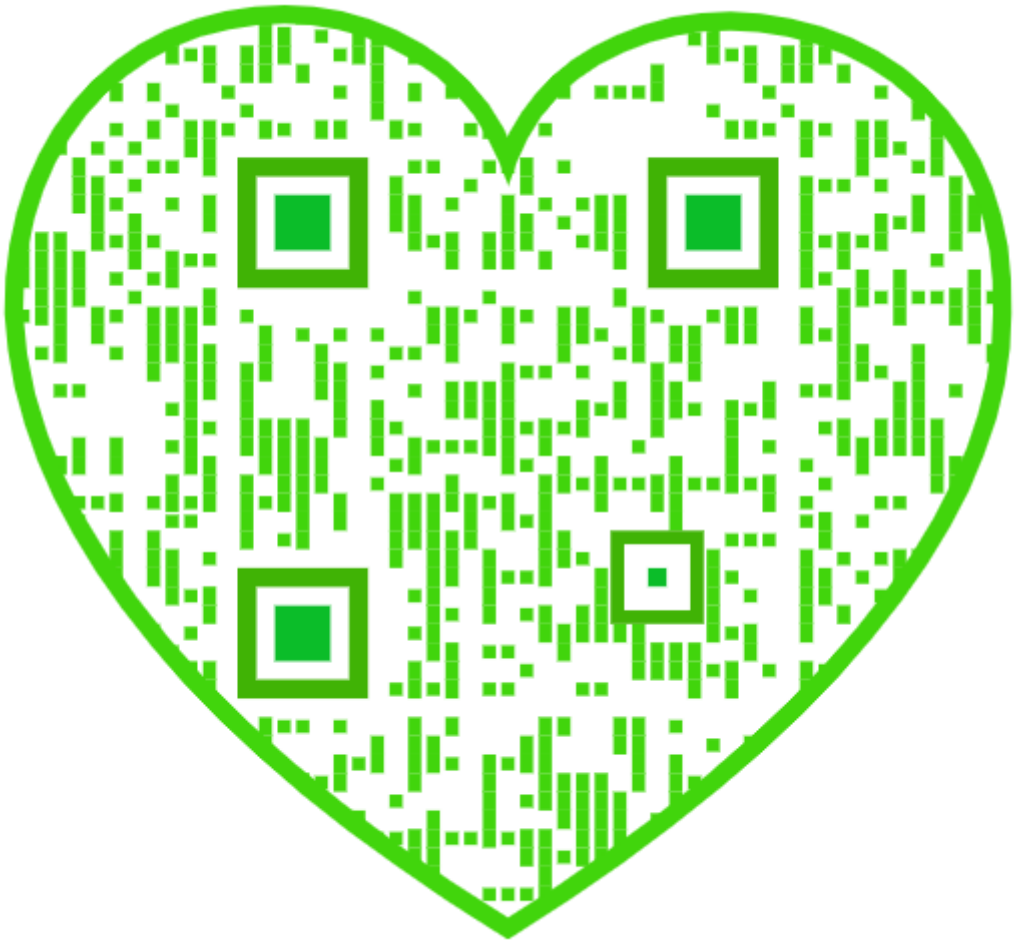

THE

FABLE OF THE BEES;

OR,

PRIVATE VICES PUBLIC BENEFITS:

WITH AN ESSAY ON

CHARITY AND CHARITY SCHOOLS,

AND A SEARCH INTO

THE NATURE OF SOCIETY:

ALSO,

A VINDICATION OF THE BOOK FROM THE ASPERSIONS CONTAINED IN A PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY OF MIDDLESEX, AND AN ABUSIVE LETTER TO LORD C——.

Mandeville

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CONTENTS.

PART I.

	Page
Preface, - - - - - - - - -	iii
The Grumbling Hive; or Knaves turn'd Honeſt, -	1
The Introduction, - - - - - - -	12
An Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue, - -	13
Remarks, - - - - - - - - -	23
An Eſſay on Charity and Charity Schools. - -	155
A Search into the Nature of Society, - - -	205
A Vindication of the Book, from the Aſperſions contained in a Preſentment of the Grand Jury of Middleſex, and an Abuſive Letter to Lord C——, - - - -	237

PART II.

Preface - - - - - - - - -	261
The Firſt Dialogue, - - - - - -	279
The Second Dialogue, - - - - - -	302
The Third Dialogue, - - - - - -	331
The Fourth Dialogue, - - - - - -	366
The Fifth Dialogue, - - - - - -	400
The Sixth Dialogue, - - - - - -	451

PREFACE.

Laws and government are to the political bodies of civil ſocieties, what the vital ſpirits and life itſelf are to the natural bodies of animated creatures; and as thoſe that ſtudy the anatomy of dead carcaſes may ſee, that the chief organs and niceſt ſprings more immediately required to continue the motion of our machine, are not hard bones, ſtrong muſcles and nerves, nor the ſmooth white ſkin, that ſo beautifully covers them, but ſmall trifling films, and little pipes, that are either overlooked or elſe ſeem inconſiderable to vulgar eyes; ſo they that examine into the nature of man, abſtract from art and education, may obſerve, that what renders him a ſociable animal, conſiſts not in his deſire of company, good nature, pity, affability, and other graces of a fair outſide; but that his vileſt and moſt hateful qualities are the moſt neceſſary accompliſhments to fit him for the largeſt, and, according to the world, the happieſt and moſt flouriſhing ſocieties.

The following Fable, in which what I have ſaid is ſet forth at large, was printed above eight years ago *, in a ſix penny pamphlet, called, The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves turn'd Honeſt; and being ſoon after pirated, cried about the ſtreets in a halfpenny ſheet. Since the firſt publiſhing of it, I have met with ſeveral that, either wilfully or ignorantly miſtaking the deſign, would have it, that the ſcope of it was a ſatire upon virtue and morality, and the whole wrote for the encouragement of vice. This made me reſolve, whenever it ſhould be reprinted, ſome way or other to inform the reader of the real intent this little poem was wrote with. I do not dignify theſe few looſe lines with the name of Poem, that I would have the reader expect any poetry in them, but barely becauſe they are rhyme, and I am in reality puzzled what name to give them; for they are neither heroic nor paſtoral, ſatire, burleſque, nor heroi-comic; to be a tale they want probability, and the whole is rather too long for a fable. All I can ſay of them is, that they are a ſtory told in doggerel, which, without the leaſt deſign of being witty, I have endeavoured to do in as eaſy and familiar a manner as I was able: the reader ſhall be welcome to call them what he pleaſes. It

* This was wrote in 1714.

was said of Montagne, that he was pretty well versed in the defects of mankind, but unacquainted with the excellencies of human nature: if I fare no worse, I shall think myself well used.

What country soever in the universe is to be understood by the Bee-Hive represented here, it is evident, from what is said of the laws and constitution of it, the glory, wealth, power, and industry of its inhabitants, that it must be a large, rich and warlike nation, that is happily governed by a limited monarchy. The satire, therefore, to be met with in the following lines, upon the several professions and callings, and almost every degree and station of people, was not made to injure and point to particular persons, but only to show the vileness of the ingredients that altogether compose the wholesome mixture of a well-ordered society; in order to extol the wonderful power of political wisdom, by the help of which so beautiful a machine is raised from the most contemptible branches. For the main design of the Fable (as it is briefly explained in the Moral), is to show the impossibility of enjoying all the most elegant comforts of life, that are to be met with in an industrious, wealthy and powerful nation, and at the same time, be blessed with all the virtue and innocence that can be wished for in a golden age; from thence to expose the unreasonableness and folly of those, that desirous of being an opulent and flourishing people, and wonderfully greedy after all the benefits they can receive as such, are yet always murmuring at and exclaiming against those vices and inconveniences, that from the beginning of the world to this present day, have been inseparable from all kingdoms and states, that ever were famed, for strength, riches, and politeness, at the same time.

To do this, I first slightly touch upon some of the faults and corruptions the several professions and callings are generally charged with. After that I show that those very vices, of every particular person, by skilful management, were made subservient to the grandeur and worldly happiness of the whole. Lastly, By setting forth what of necessity must be the consequence of general honesty and virtue, and national temperance, innocence and content, I demonstrate that if mankind could be cured of the failings they are naturally guilty of, they would cease to be capable of being raised into such vast potent and polite societies, as they have

been under the ſeveral great commonwealths and monarchies that have flouriſhed ſince the creation.

If you aſk me, why I have done all this, *cui bono?* and what good theſe notions will produce? truly, beſides the reader's diverſion, I believe none at all; but if I was aſked what naturally ought to be expected from them, I would anſwer, that, in the firſt place, the people who continually find fault with others, by reading them, would be taught to look at home, and examining their own conſciences, be made aſhamed of always railing at what they are more or leſs guilty of themſelves; and that, in the next, thoſe who are ſo fond of the eaſe and comforts, and reap all the benefits that are the conſequence of a great and flouriſhing nation, would learn more patiently to ſubmit to thoſe inconveniences, which no government upon earth can remedy, when they ſhould ſee the impoſſibility of enjoying any great ſhare of the firſt, without partaking likewiſe of the latter.

This, I ſay, ought naturally to be expected from the publiſhing of theſe notions, if people were to be made better by any thing that could be ſaid to them; but mankind having for ſo many ages remained ſtill the ſame, notwithſtanding the many inſtructive and elaborate writings, by which their amendment has been endeavoured, I am not ſo vain as to hope for better ſucceſs from ſo inconſiderable a trifle.

Having allowed the ſmall advantage this little whim is likely to produce, I think myſelf obliged to ſhow that it cannot be prejudicial to any; for what is publiſhed, if it does no good, ought at leaſt to do no harm: in order to this, I have made ſome explanatory notes, to which the reader will find himſelf referred in thoſe paſſages that ſeem to be moſt liable to exceptions.

The cenſorious, that never ſaw the Grumbling Hive, will tell me, that whatever I may talk of the Fable, it not taking up a tenth part of the book, was only contrived to introduce the Remarks; that inſtead of clearing up the doubtful or obſcure places, I have only pitched upon ſuch as I had a mind to expatiate upon; and that far from ſtriving to extenuate the errors committed before, I have made bad worſe, and ſhown myſelf a more barefaced champion for vice, in the rambling digreſſions, than I had done in the Fable itſelf.

I ſhall ſpend no time in anſwering theſe accuſations: where men are prejudiced, the beſt apologies are loſt; and I know that thoſe who think it criminal to ſuppoſe a neceſſity of

vice in any caſe whatever, will never be reconciled to any part of the performance; but if this be thoroughly examined, all the offence it can give muſt reſult from the wrong inferences that may perhaps be drawn from it, and which I deſire nobody to make. When I aſſert that vices are inſeparable from great and potent ſocieties, and that it is impoſſible their wealth and grandeur ſhould ſubſiſt without, I do not ſay that the particular members of them who are guilty of any ſhould not be continually reproved, or not be puniſhed for them when they grow into crimes.

There are, I believe, few people in London, of thoſe that are at any time forced to go a-foot, but what could wiſh the ſtreets of it much cleaner than generally they are; while they regard nothing but their own clothes and private conveniency; but when once they come to conſider, that what offends them, is the reſult of the plenty, great traffic, and opulency of that mighty city, if they have any concern in its welfare, they will hardly ever wiſh to ſee the ſtreets of it leſs dirty. For if we mind the materials of all ſorts that muſt ſupply ſuch an infinite number of trades and handicrafts, as are always going forward; the vaſt quantity of victuals, drink, and fuel, that are daily conſumed in it; the waſte and ſuperfluities that muſt be produced from them; the multitudes of horſes, and other cattle, that are always dawbing the ſtreets; the carts, coaches, and more heavy carriages that are perpetually wearing and breaking the pavement of them; and, above all, the numberleſs ſwarms of people that are continually haraſſing and trampling through every part of them: If, I ſay, we mind all theſe, we ſhall find, that every moment muſt produce new filth; and, conſidering how far diſtant the great ſtreets are from the river ſide, what coſt and care ſoever be beſtowed to remove the naſtineſs almoſt as faſt as it is made, it is impoſſible London ſhould be more cleanly before it is leſs flouriſhing. Now would I aſk, if a good citizen, in conſideration of what has been ſaid, might not aſſert, that dirty ſtreets are a neceſſary evil, inſeparable from the felicity of London, without being the leaſt hinderance to the cleaning of ſhoes, or ſweeping of ſtreets, and conſequently without any prejudice either to the blackguard or the ſcavingers.

But if, without any regard to the intereſt or happineſs of the city, the queſtion was put, What place I thought moſt pleaſant to walk in? Nobody can doubt, but before the

ſtinking ſtreets of London, I would eſteem a fragrant garden, or a ſhady grove in the country. In the ſame manner, if laying aſide all worldly greatneſs and vain glory, I ſhould be aſked where I thought it was moſt probable that men might enjoy true happineſs, I would prefer a ſmall peaceable ſociety, in which men, neither envied nor eſteemed by neighbours, ſhould be contented to live upon the natural product of the ſpot they inhabit, to a vaſt multitude abounding in wealth and power, that ſhould always be conquering others by their arms abroad, and debauching themſelves by foreign luxury at home.

Thus much I had ſaid to the reader in the firſt edition; and have added nothing by way of preface in the ſecond. But ſince that, a violent outcry has been made againſt the book, exactly anſwering the expectation I always had of the juſtice, the wiſdom, the charity, and fair-dailing of thoſe whoſe good will I deſpaired of. It has been preſented by the Grand Jury, and condemned by thouſands who never ſaw a word of it. It has been preached againſt before my Lord Mayor; and an utter refutation of it is daily expected from a reverend divine, who has called me names in the advertiſements, and threatened to anſwer me in two months time for above five months together. What I have to ſay for myſelf, the reader will ſee in my Vindication at the end of the book, where he will likewiſe find the Grand Jury's Preſentment, and a letter to the Right Honourable Lord C. which is very rhetorical beyond argument or connection. The author ſhows a fine talent for invectives, and great ſagacity in diſcovering atheiſm, where others can find none. He is zealous againſt wicked books, points at the Fable of the Bees, and is very angry with the author: He beſtows four ſtrong epithets on the enormity of his guilt, and by ſeveral elegant inuendos to the multitude, as the danger there is in ſuffering ſuch authors to live, and the vengeance of Heaven upon a whole nation, very charitably recommends him to their care.

Conſidering the length of this epiſtle, and that it is not wholly levelled at me only, I thought at firſt to have made ſome extracts from it of what related to myſelf; but finding, on a nearer inquiry, that what concerned me was ſo blended and interwoven with what did not, I was obliged to trouble the reader with it entire, not without hopes that, prolix as it is, the extravagancy of it will be entertaining to to thoſe who have peruſed the treatiſe it condemns with ſo much horror.

THE

GRUMBLING HIVE:

OR,

KNAVES TURN'D HONEST.

A spacious hive well ſtock'd with bees,
That liv'd in luxury and eaſe;
And yet as fam'd for laws and arms,
As yielding large and early ſwarms;
Was counted the great nurſery
Of ſciences and induſtry.
No bees had better government,
More fickleneſs, or leſs content:
They were not ſlaves to tyranny,
Nor rul'd by wild democracy;
But kings, that could not wrong, becauſe
Their power was circumſcrib'd by laws.
  Theſe inſects liv'd like men, and all
Our actions they perform'd in ſmall:
They did whatever's done in town,
And what belongs to ſword or gown:
Though th' artful works, by nimble flight
Of minute limbs, 'ſcap'd human ſight;
Yet we've no engines, labourers,
Ships, caſtles, arms, artificers,
Craft, ſcience, ſhop, or inſtrument,
But they had an equivalent:
Which, ſince their language is unknown,
Muſt be call'd, as we do our own.
As grant, that among other things,
They wanted dice, yet they had kings;
And thoſe had guards; from whence we may
Juſtly conclude, they had ſome play;

Unleſs a regiment be ſhown
Of ſoldiers, that make uſe of none.
  Vaſt numbers throng'd the fruitful hive;
Yet thoſe vaſt numbers made 'em thrive;
Millions endeavouring to ſupply
Each other's luſt and vanity;
While other millions were employ'd,
To ſee their handy-works deſtroy'd;
They furniſh'd half the univerſe;
Yet had more work than labourers.
Some with vaſt ſtocks, and little pains,
Jump'd into buſineſs of great gains;
And ſome were damn'd to ſcythes and ſpades,
And all thoſe hard laborious trades;
Where willing wretches daily ſweat,
And wear out ſtrength and limbs to eat:
While others follow'd myſteries,
To which few folks binds 'prentices;
That want no ſtock, but that of braſs,
And may ſet up without a croſs;
As ſharpers, paraſites, pimps, players,
Pickpockets, coiners, quacks, ſouthſayers,
And all thoſe, that in enmity,
With downright working, cunningly
Convert to their own uſe the labour
Of their good-natur'd heedleſs neighbour.
Theſe were call'd Knaves, but bar the name,
The grave induſtrious were the ſame:
All trades and places knew ſome cheat,
No calling was without deceit.
  The lawyers, of whoſe art the baſis
Was raiſing feuds and ſplitting caſes,
Oppos'd all regiſters, that cheats
Might make more work with dipt eſtates;
As were't unlawful, that one's own,
Without a law-ſuit, ſhould be known.
They kept off hearings wilfully,
To finger the refreſhing fee;
And to defend a wicked cauſe,
Examin'd and ſurvey'd the laws,
As burglar's ſhops and houſes do,
To find out where they'd beſt break through.

Phyſicians valu'd fame and wealth
Above the drooping patient's health,
Or their own ſkill: the greateſt part
Study'd, inſtead of rules of art,
Grave penſive looks and dull behaviour,
To gain th' apothecary's favour;
The praiſe of midwives, prieſts, and all
That ſerv'd at birth or funeral.
To bear with th' ever-talking tribe,
And hear my lady's aunt preſcribe;
With formal ſmile, and kind how d'ye,
To fawn on all the family;
And, which of all the greateſt curſe is,
T' endure th' impertinence of nurſes.
Among the many prieſts of Jove,
Hir'd to draw bleſſings from above,
Some few were learn'd and eloquent,
But thouſands hot and ignorant:
Yet all paſs'd muſter that could hide
Their ſloth, luſt, avarice and pride;
For which they were as fam'd as tailors
For cabbage, or for brandy ſailors,
Some, meagre-look'd, and meanly clad,
Would myſtically pray for bread,
Meaning by that an ample ſtore,
Yet lit'rally received no more;
And, while theſe holy drudges ſtarv'd,
The lazy ones, for which they ſerv'd,
Indulg'd their eaſe, with all the graces
Of health and plenty in their faces.
The ſoldiers, that were forc'd to fight,
If they ſurviv'd, got honour by't;
Though ſome, that ſhunn'd the bloody fray,
Had limbs ſhot off, that ran away:
Some valiant gen'rals fought the foe;
Others took bribes to let them go:
Some ventur'd always where 'twas warm,
Loſt now a leg, and then an arm;
Till quite diſabled, and put by,
They liv'd on half their ſalary;
While others never came in play,
And ſtaid at home for double pay.

Their kings were ſerv'd, but knaviſhly,
Cheated by their own miniſtry;
Many, that for their welfare ſlaved,
Robbing the very crown they ſaved:
Penſions were ſmall, and they liv'd high,
Yet boaſted of their honeſty.
Calling, whene'er they ſtrain'd their right,
The ſlipp'ry trick a perquiſite;
And when folks underſtood their cant,
They chang'd that for emolument;
Unwilling to be ſhort or plain,
In any thing concerning gain;
For there was not a bee but would
Get more, I won't ſay, than he ſhould;
But than he dar'd to let them know,
That pay'd for't; as your gameſters do,
That, though at fair play, ne'er will own
Before the loſers that they've won.
But who can all their frauds repeat?
The very ſtuff which in the ſtreet
They ſold for dirt t' enrich the ground,
Was often by the buyers found
Sophiſticated with a quarter
Of good-for-nothing ſtones and mortar;
Though Flail had little cauſe to mutter,
Who ſold the other ſalt for butter.
Juſtice herſelf, fam'd for fair dealing,
By blindneſs had not loſt her feeling;
Her left hand, which the ſcales ſhould hold,
Had often dropt 'em, brib'd with gold;
And, though ſhe ſeem'd impartial,
Where puniſhment was corporal,
Pretended to a reg'lar courſe,
In murder, and all crimes of force;
Though ſome firſt pillory'd for cheating,
Were hang'd in hemp of their own beating;
Yet, it was thought, the ſword ſhe bore
Check'd but the deſp'rate and the poor;
That, urg'd by mere neceſſity,
Were ty'd up to the wretched tree
For crimes, which not deſerv'd that fate,
But to ſecure the rich and great.

Thus every part was full of vice,
Yet the whole mass a paradise;
Flatter'd in peace, and fear'd in wars
They were th' esteem of foreigners,
And lavish of their wealth and lives,
The balance of all other hives.
Such were the blessings of that state;
Their crimes conspir'd to make them great:
And virtue, who from politics
Has learn'd a thousand cunning tricks,
Was, by their happy influence,
Made friends with vice: And ever since,
The worst of all the multitude
Did something for the common good.
This was the state's craft, that maintain'd
The whole of which each part complain'd:
This, as in music harmony
Made jarrings in the main agree,
Parties directly opposite,
Assist each other, as 'twere for spite;
And temp'rance with sobriety,
Serve drunkenness and gluttony.
The root of evil, avarice,
That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful vice,
Was slave to prodigality,
That noble sin; whilst luxury
Employ'd a million of the poor,
And odious pride a million more:
Envy itself, and vanity,
Were ministers of industry;
Their darling folly, fickleness,
In diet, furniture, and dress,
That strange ridic'lous vice, was made
The very wheel that turn'd the trade.
Their laws and clothes were equally
Objects of mutability!
For, what was well done for a time,
In half a year became a crime;
Yet while they alter'd thus their laws,
Still finding and correcting flaws,
They mended by inconstancy
Faults, which no prudence could foresee.

Thus vice nurs'd ingenuity,
Which join'd the time and induſtry,
Had carry'd life's conveniences,
Its real pleaſures, comforts, eaſe,
To ſuch a height, the very poor
Liv'd better than the rich before.
And nothing could be added more.
How vain is mortal hapineſs!
Had they but known the bounds of bliſs;
And that perfection here below
Is more than gods can well beſtow;
The grumbling brutes had been content
With miniſters and government.
But they, at every ill ſucceſs,
Like creatures loſt without redreſs,
Curs'd politicians, armies, fleets;
While every one cry'd, damn the cheats,
And would, though conſcious of his own,
In others barb'rouſly bear none.
One, that had got a princely ſtore,
By cheating maſter, king, and poor,
Dar'd cry aloud, the land muſt ſink
For all its fraud; and whom d'ye think
The ſermonizing raſcal chid?
A glover that ſold lamb for kid.
The leaſt thing was not done amiſs,
Or croſs'd the public buſineſs;
But all the rogues cry'd brazenly,
Good gods, had we but honeſty!
Merc'ry ſmil'd at th' impudence,
And others call'd it want of ſenſe,
Always to rail at what they lov'd:
But Jove with indignation mov'd,
At laſt in anger ſwore, he'd rid
The bawling hive of fraud; and did.
The very moment it departs,
And honeſty fills all their hearts;
There ſhows 'em, like th' inſtructive tree,
Thoſe crimes which they're aſham'd to ſee;
Which now in ſilence they confeſs,
By bluſhing at their uglineſs:

Like children, that would hide their faults,
And by their colour own their thoughts:
Imag'ning, when they're loook'd upon,
That others ſee what they have done.
But, O ye gods! what conſternation,
How vaſt and ſudden was th' alteration!
In half an hour, the nation round,
Meat fell a penny in the pound.
The maſk hypocriſy's ſitting down,
From the great ſtateſman to the clown:
And in ſome borrow'd looks well known,
Appear'd like ſtrangers in their own.
The bar was ſilent from that day;
For now the willing debtors pay,
Ev'n what's by creditors forgot;
Who quitted them that had it not.
Thoſe that were in the wrong, ſtood mute,
And dropt the patch'd vexatious ſuit:
On which ſince nothing elſe can thrive,
Than lawyers in an honeſt hive,
All, except thoſe that got enough,
With inkhorns by their ſides troop'd off.
Juſtice hang'd ſome, ſet others free;
And after gaol delivery,
Her preſence being no more requir'd,
With all her train and pomp retir'd.
Firſt march'd ſome ſmiths with locks and grates,
Fetters, and doors with iron plates:
Next gaolers, turnkeys and aſſiſtants:
Before the goddeſs, at ſome diſtance,
Her chief and faithful miniſter,
'Squire Catch, the law's great finiſher,
Bore not th' imaginary ſword,
But his own tools, an ax and cord:
Then on a cloud the hood-wink'd fair,
Juſtice herſelf was puſh'd by air:
About her chariot, and behind,
Were ſerjeants, bums of every kind,
Tip-ſtaffs, and all thoſe officers,
That ſqueeze a living out of tears.
Though phyſic liv'd, while folks were ill,
None would preſcribe, but bees of ſkill,

Which through the hive diſpers'd ſo wide,
That none of them had need to ride;
Wav'd vain diſputes, and ſtrove to free
The patients of their miſery;
Left drugs in cheating countries grown,
And us'd the product of their own;
Knowing the gods ſent no diſeaſe,
To nations without remedies.
  Their clergy rous'd from lazineſs,
Laid not their charge on journey-bees;
But ſerv'd themſelves, exempt from vice,
The gods with pray'r and ſacrifice;
All thoſe, that were unfit, or knew,
Their ſervice might be ſpar'd, withdrew:
Nor was their buſineſs for ſo many,
(If th' honeſt ſtand in need of any,)
Few only with the high-prieſt ſtaid,
To whom the reſt obedience paid:
Himſelf employ'd in holy cares;
Reſign'd to others ſtate-affairs.
He chas'd no ſtarv'ling from his door,
Nor pinch'd the wages of the poor:
But at his houſe the hungry's fed,
The hireling finds unmeaſur'd bread,
The needy trav'ller board and bed.
  Among the king's great minſters,
And all th' inferior officers,
The change was great; for frugally
They now liv'd on their ſalary:
That a poor bee ſhould ten times come
To aſk his due, a trifling ſum,
And by ſome well-hir'd clerk be made
To give a crown, or ne'er be paid,
Would now be call'd a downright cheat,
Though formerly a perquiſite.
All places manag'd firſt by three,
Who watch'd each other's knavery
And often for a fellow-feeling,
Promoted one another's ſtealing,
Are happily ſupply'd by one,
By which ſome thouſands more are gone.
  No honour now could be content,
To live and owe for what was ſpent;

Liv'ries in brokers ſhops are hung,
They part with coaches for a ſong;
Sell ſtately horſes by whole ſets;
And country-houſes, to pay debts.
Vain coſt is ſhunn'd as much as fraud;
They have no forces kept abroad;
Laugh at th' eſteem of foreigners,
And empty glory got by wars;
They fight but for their country's ſake,
When right or liberty's at ſtake.
Now mind the glorious hive, and ſee
How honeſty and trade agree.
The ſhow is gone, it thins apace;
And looks with quite another face.
For 'twas not only that they went,
By whom vaſt ſums were yearly ſpent;
But multitudes that liv'd on them,
Were daily forc'd to do the ſame.
In vain to other trades they'd fly;
All were o'er-ſtock'd accordingly.
The price of land and houſes falls;
Mirac'lous palaces, whoſe walls,
Like thoſe of Thebes, were rais'd by play,
Are to be let; while the once gay,
Well-ſeated houſehold gods would be
More pleas'd to expire in flames, than ſee
The mean inſcription on the door
Smile at the lofty ones they bore.
The building trade is quite deſtroy'd,
Artificers are not employ'd;
No limner for his art is fam'd,
Stone-cutters, carvers are not nam'd.
Thoſe, that remain'd, grown temp'rate, ſtrive,
Not how to ſpend, but how to live;
And, when they paid their tavern ſcore,
Reſolv'd to enter it no more:
No vintner's jilt in all the hive
Could wear now cloth of gold, and thrive;
Nor Torcol ſuch vaſt ſums advance,
For Burgundy and Ortelans;
The courtier's gone that with his miſs
Supp'd at his houſe on Chriſtmas peas;

Spending as much in two hours ſtay,
As keeps a troop of horſe a day.
  The haughty Chloe, to live great,
Had made her huſband rob the ſtate:
But now ſhe ſells her furniture,
Which th' Indies had been ranſack'd for;
Contracts the expenſive bill of fare,
And wears her ſtrong ſuit a whole year:
The ſlight and fickle age is paſt;
And clothes, as well as faſhions, laſt.
Weavers, that join'd rich ſilk with plate,
And all the trades ſubordinate,
Are gone; ſtill peace and plenty reign,
And every thing is cheap, though plain:
Kind nature, free from gard'ners force,
Allows all fruits in her own courſe;
But rarities cannot be had,
Where pains to get them are not paid.
  As pride and luxury decreaſe,
So by degrees they leave the ſeas.
Not merchants now, but companies
Remove whole manufactories.
All arts and crafts neglected lie;
Content, the bane of induſtry,
Makes 'em admire their homely ſtore,
And neither ſeek nor covet more.
  So few in the vaſt hive remain,
The hundredth part they can't maintain
Againſt th' inſults of numerous foes;
Whom yet they valiantly oppoſe:
'Till ſome well fenc'd retreat is found,
And here they die or ſtand their ground.
No hireling in their army's known;
But bravely fighting for their own,
Their courage and integrity
At laſt were crown'd with victory.
  They triumph'd not without their coſt,
For many thouſand bees were loſt.
Harden'd with toils and exerciſe,
They counted eaſe itſelf a vice;
Which ſo improv'd their temperance;
That, to avoid extravagance,

They flew into a hollow tree,
Bleſt with content and honeſty.

THE MORAL.

THEN leave complaints: fools only ſtrive
To make a great an honeſt hive.
T' enjoy the world's conveniences,
Be fam'd in war, yet live in eaſe,
Without great vices, is a vain
Eutopia ſeated in the brain.
Fraud, luxury, and pride muſt live,
While we the benefits receive:
Hunger's a dreadful plague, no doubt,
Yet who digeſts or thrives without?
Do we not owe the growth of wine
To the dry ſhabby crooked vine?
Which, while its ſhoots neglected ſtood,
Chok'd other plants, and ran to wood;
But bleſt us with its noble fruit,
As ſoon as it was ty'd and cut:
So vice is beneficial found,
When it's by juſtice lopp'd and bound;
Nay, where the people would be great,
As neceſſary to the ſtate,
As hunger is to make 'em eat.
Bare virtue can't make nations live
In ſplendor; they, that would revive
A golden age, muſt be as free,
For acorns as for honeſty.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the greateſt reaſons why ſo few people underſtand themſelves, is, that moſt writers are always teaching men what they ſhould be, and hardly ever trouble their heads with telling them what they really are. As for my part, without any compliment to the courteous reader, or myſelf, I believe man (beſides ſkin, fleſh, bones, &c. that are obvious to the eye) to be a compound of various paſſions; that all of them, as they are provoked and come uppermoſt, govern him by turns, whether he will or no. To ſhow that theſe qualifications, which we all pretend to be aſhamed of, are the great ſupport of a flouriſhing ſociety, has been the ſubject of the foregoing poem. But there being ſome paſſages in it ſeemingly paradoxical, I have in the preface promiſed ſome explanatory remarks on it; which, to render more uſeful, I have thought fit to inquire, how man, no better qualified, might yet by his own imperfections be taught to diſtinguiſh between virtue and vice: and here I muſt deſire the reader once for all to take notice, that when I ſay men, I mean neither Jews nor Chriſtians; but mere man, in the ſtate of nature and ignorance of the true Deity.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

ORIGIN OF MORAL VIRTUE.

All untaught animals are only ſolicitous of pleaſing themſelves, and naturally follow the bent of their own inclinations, without conſidering the good or harm that, from their being pleaſed, will accrue to others. This is the reaſon that, in the wild ſtate of nature, thoſe creatures are fitteſt to live peaceably together in great numbers, that diſcover the leaſt of underſtanding, and have the feweſt appetites to gratify; and conſequently no ſpecies of animals is, without the curb of government, leſs capable of agreeing long together in multitudes, than that of man; yet ſuch are his qualities, whether good or bad I ſhall not determine, that no creature beſides himſelf can ever be made ſociable: but being an extraordinary ſelfiſh and headſtrong, as well as cunning animal, however he may be ſubdued by ſuperior ſtrength, it is impoſſible by force alone to make him tractable, and receive the improvements he his capable of.

The chief thing, therefore, which lawgivers, and other-wiſe men that have laboured for the eſtabliſhment of ſociety, have endeavoured, has been to make the people they were to govern, believe, that it was more beneficial for every body to conquer than indulge his appetites, and much better to mind the public than what ſeemed his private intereſt. As this has always been a very difficult taſk, ſo no wit or eloquence has been left untried to compaſs it; and the moraliſts and philoſophers of all ages employed their utmoſt ſkill to prove the truth of ſo uſeful an aſſertion. But whether mankind would have ever believed it or not, it is not likely that any body could have perſuaded them to diſapprove of their natural inclinations, or prefer the good of others to their own, if, at the ſame time, he had not ſhowed them an equivalent to be enjoyed as a reward for the violence, which, by ſo doing, they of neceſſity muſt commit upon themſelves. Thoſe that have undertaken to civilize mankind, were not ignorant of this; but being unable to give ſo many real re-

wards as would ſatisfy all perſons for every individual action, they were forced to contrive an imaginary one, that, as a general equivalent for the trouble of ſelf-denial, ſhould ſerve on all occaſions, and without coſting any thing either to themſelves or others, be yet a moſt acceptable recompence to the receivers.

They thoroughly examined all the ſtrength and frailties of our nature, and obſerving that none were either ſo ſavage as not to be charmed with praiſe, or ſo deſpicable as patiently to bear contempt, juſtly concluded, that flattery muſt be the moſt powerful argument that could be uſed to human creatures. Making uſe of this bewitching engine, they extolled the excellency of our nature above other animals, and ſetting forth with unbounded praiſes the wonders of our ſagacity and vaſtneſs of underſtanding, beſtowed a thouſand encomiums on the rationality of our ſouls, by the help of which we were capable of performing the moſt noble atchievements. Having, by this artful way of flattery, inſinuated themſelves into the hearts of men, they began to inſtruct them in the notions of honour and ſhame; repreſenting the one as the worſt of all evils, and the other as the higheſt good to which mortals could aſpire: which being done, they laid before them how unbecoming it was the dignity of ſuch ſublime creatures to be ſolicitous about gratifying thoſe appetites, which they had in common with brutes, and at the ſame time unmindful of thoſe higher qualities that gave them the preeminence over all viſible beings. They indeed confeſſed, that thoſe impulſes of nature were very preſſing; that it was troubleſome to reſiſt, and very difficult wholly to ſubdue them. But this they only uſed as an argument to demonſtrate, how glorious the conqueſt of them was on the one hand, and how ſcandalous on the other not to attempt it.

To introduce, moreover, an emulation amongſt men, they divided the whole ſpecies into two claſſes, vaſtly differing from one another: the one conſiſted of abject, low-minded people, that always hunting after immediate enjoyment, were wholly incapable of ſelf-denial, and without regard to the good of others, had no higher aim than their private advantage; ſuch as being enſlaved by voluptuouſneſs, yielded without reſiſtance to every groſs deſire, and make no uſe of their rational faculties but to heighten their ſenſual pleaſure. Theſe wild grovelling wretches, they ſaid, were the droſs of their kind, and having only the ſhape of men, differed from

brutes in nothing but their outward figure. But the other class was made up of lofty high-spirited creatures, that, free from sordid selfishness, esteemed the improvements of the mind to be their fairest possessions; and, setting a true value upon themselves, took no delight but in embellishing that part in which their excellency consisted; such as despising whatever they had in common with irrational creatures, opposed by the help of reason their most violent inclinations; and making a continual war with themselves, to promote the peace of others, aimed at no less than the public welfare, and the conquest of their own passion.

> Fortior est qui se quàm qui fortissima Vincit
> Mœnia———————————

These they called the true representatives of their sublime species, exceeding in worth the first class by more degrees, than that itself was superior to the beasts of the field.

As in all animals that are not too imperfect to discover pride, we find, that the finest, and such as are the most beautiful and valuable of their kind, have generally the greatest share of it; so in man, the most perfect of animals, it is so inseparable from his very essence (how cunningly soever some may learn to hide or disguise it), that without it the compound he is made of would want one of the chiefest ingredients: which, if we consider, it is hardly to be doubted but lessons and remonstrances, so skilfully adapted to the good opinion man has of himself, as those I have mentioned, must, if scattered amongst a multitude, not only gain the assent of most of them, as to the speculative part, but likewise induce several, especially the fiercest, most resolute, and best among them, to endure a thousand inconveniences, and undergo as many hardships, that they may have the pleasure of counting themselves men of the second class, and consequently appropriating to themselves all the excellencies they have heard of it.

From what has been said, we ought to expect, in the first place, that the heroes who took such extraordinary pains to master some of their natural appetites, and preferred the good of others to any visible interest of their own, would not recede an inch from the fine notions they had received concerning the dignity of rational creatures; and having ever the authority of the goverment on their side, with all imaginable vigour assert the esteem that was due to those of the

ſecond claſs, as well as their ſuperiority over the reſt of their kind. In the ſecond, that thoſe who wanted a ſufficient ſtock of either pride or reſolution, to buoy them up in mortifying of what was deareſt to them, followed the ſenſual dictates of nature, would yet be aſhamed of confeſſing themſelves to be thoſe deſpicable wretches that belonged to the inferior claſs, and were generally reckoned to be ſo little removed from brutes; and that therefore, in their own defence, they would ſay, as others did, and hiding their own imperfections as well as they could, cry up ſelf-denial and public ſpiritedneſs as much as any: for it is highly probable, that ſome of them, convinced by the real proofs of fortitude and ſelf-conqueſt they had ſeen, would admire in others what they found wanting in themſelves; others be afraid of the reſolution and proweſs of thoſe of the ſecond claſs, and that all of them were kept in awe by the power of their rulers; wherefore is it reaſonable to think, that none of them (whatever they thought in themſelves) would dare openly contradict, what by every body elſe was thought criminal to doubt of.

This was (or at leaſt might have been) the manner after which ſavage man was broke; from whence it is evident, that the firſt rudiments of morality, broached by ſkilful politicians, to render men uſeful to each other, as well as tractable, were chiefly contrived, that the ambitious might reap the more benefit from, and govern vaſt numbers of them with the greater eaſe and ſecurity. This foundation of politics being once laid, it is impoſſible that man ſhould long remain uncivilized: for even thoſe who only ſtrove to gratify their appetites, being continually croſſed by others of the ſame ſtamp, could not but obſerve, that whenever they checked their inclinations or but followed them with more circumſpection, they avoided a world of troubles, and often eſcaped many of the calamities that generally attended the too eager purſuit after pleaſure.

Firſt, they received, as well as others, the benefit of thoſe actions that were done for the good of the whole ſociety, and conſequently could not forbear wiſhing well to thoſe of the ſuperior claſs that performed them. Secondly, the more intent they were in ſeeking their own advantage, without regard to others, the more they were hourly convinced, that none ſtood ſo much in their way as thoſe that were moſt like themſelves.

It being the intereſt then of the very worſt of them, more than any, to preach up public-ſpiritedneſs, that they might reap the fruits of the labour and ſelf-denial of others, and at the ſame time indulge their own appetites with leſs diſturbance, they agreed with the reſt, to call every thing, which, without regard to the public, man ſhould commit to gratify any of his appetites, VICE; if in that action there could be obſerved the leaſt proſpect, that it might either be injurious to any of the ſociety, or ever render himſelf leſs ſerviceable to others: and to give the name of VIRTUE to every performance, by which man, contrary to the impulſe of nature, ſhould endeavour the benefit of others, or the conqueſt of his own paſſions, out of a rational ambition of being good.

It ſhall be objected, that no ſociety was ever any ways civilized before the major part had agreed upon ſome worſhip or other of an over-ruling power, and conſequently that the notions of good and evil, and the diſtinction between virtue and vice, were never the contrivance of politicians, but the pure effect of religion. Before I anſwer this objection, I muſt repeat what I have ſaid already, that in this inquiry into the origin of moral virtue, I ſpeak neither of Jews or Chriſtians, but man in his ſtate of nature and ignorance of the true Deity; and then I affirm, that the idolatrous ſuperſtitions of all other nations, and the pitiful notions they had of the Supreme Being, were incapable of exciting man to virtue, and good for nothing but to awe and amuſe a rude and unthinking multitude. It is evident from hiſtory, that in all conſiderable ſocieties, how ſtupid or ridiculous ſoever people's received notions have been, as to the deities they worſhipped, human nature has ever exerted itſelf in all its branches, and that there is no earthly wiſdom or moral virtue, but at one time or other men have excelled in it in all monarchies and commonwealths, that for riches and power have been any ways remarkable.

The Egyptians, not ſatisfied with having deified all the ugly monſters they could think on, were ſo ſilly as to adore the onions of their own ſowing; yet at the ſame time their country was the moſt famous nurſery of arts and ſciences in the world, and themſelves more eminently ſkilled in the deepeſt myſteries of nature than any nation has been ſince.

No ſtates or kingdoms under heaven have yielded more or greater patterns in all ſorts of moral virtues, than the Greek

and Roman empires, more eſpecially the latter; and yet how looſe, abſurd and ridiculous were their ſentiments as to ſacred matters? For without reflecting on the extravagant number of their deities, if we only conſider the infamous ſtories they fathered upon them, it is not to be denied but that their religion, far from teaching men the conqueſt of their paſſions, and the way to virtue, ſeemed rather contrived to juſtify their appetites, and encourage their vices. But if we would know what made them excel in fortitude, courage, and magnanimity, we muſt caſt our eyes on the pomp of their triumphs, the magnificence of their monuments and arches; their trophies, ſtatues, and inſcriptions; the variety of their military crowns, their honours decreed to the dead, public encomiums on the living, and other imaginary rewards they beſtowed on men of merit; and we ſhall find, that what carried ſo many of them to the utmoſt pitch of ſelf-denial, was nothing but their policy in making uſe of the moſt effectual means that human pride could be flattered with.

It is viſible, then, that it was not any heathen religion, or other idolatrous ſuperſtition, that firſt put man upon croſſing his appetites and ſubduing his deareſt inclinations, but the ſkilful management of wary politicians; and the nearer we ſearch into human nature, the more we ſhall be convinced, that the moral virtues are the political offspring which flattery begot upon pride.

There is no man, of what capacity or penetration ſoever, that is wholly proof againſt the witchcraft of flattery, if artfully performed, and ſuited to his abilities. Children and fools will ſwallow perſonal praiſe, but thoſe that are more cunning, muſt be managed with much greater circumſpection; and the more general the flattery is, the leſs it is ſuſpected by thoſe it is levelled at. What you ſay in commendation of a whole town is received with pleaſure by all the inhabitants: ſpeak in commendation of letters in general, and every man of learning will think himſelf in particular obliged to you. You may ſafely praiſe the employment a man is of, or the country he was born in; becauſe you give him an opportunity of ſcreening the joy he feels upon his own account, under the eſteem which he pretends to have for others.

It is common among cunning men, that underſtand the power which flattery has upon pride, when they are afraid they ſhall be impoſed upon, to enlarge, though much againſt

their conſcience, upon the honour, fair dealing, and integrity of the family, country, or ſometimes the profeſſion of him they ſuſpect; becauſe they know that men often will change their reſolution, and act againſt their inclination, that they may have the pleaſure of continuing to appear in the opinion of ſome, what they are conſcious not to be in reality. Thus ſagacious moraliſts draw men like angels, in hopes that the pride at leaſt of ſome will put them upon copying after the beautiful originals which they are repreſented to be.

When the incomparable Sir Richard Steele, in the uſual elegance of his eaſy ſtyle, dwells on the praiſes of his ſublime ſpecies, and with all the embelliſhments of rhetoric, ſets forth the excellency of human nature, it is impoſſible not to be charmed with his happy turns of thought, and the politeneſs of his expreſſions. But though I have been often moved by the force of his eloquence, and ready to ſwallow the ingenious ſophiſtry with pleaſure, yet I could never be ſo ſerious, but, reflecting on his artful encomiums, I thought on the tricks made uſe of by the women that would teach children to be mannerly. When an awkward girl before ſhe can either ſpeak or go, begins after many entreaties to make the firſt rude eſſays of curteſying, the nurſe falls in an ecſtacy of praiſe; "There is a delicate curteſy! O fine Miſs! there is a "pretty lady! Mamma! Miſs can make a better curtſey than "her ſiſter Molly!" The ſame is echoed over by the maids, whilſt Mamma almoſt hugs the child to pieces; only Miſs Molly, who being four years older, knows how to make a very handſome curteſy, wonders at the perverſeneſs of their judgment, and ſwelling with indignation, is ready to cry at the injuſtice that is done her, till, being whiſpered in the ear that it is only to pleaſe the baby, and that ſhe is a woman, ſhe grows proud at being let into the ſecret, and rejoicing at the ſuperiority of her underſtanding, repeats what has been ſaid with large additions, and inſults over the weakneſs of her ſiſter, whom all this while ſhe fancies to be the only bubble among them. Theſe extravagant praiſes would by any one, above the capacity of an infant, be called fulſome flatteries, and, if you will, abominable lies; yet experience teaches us, that by the help of ſuch groſs encomiums, young miſſes will be brought to make pretty curteſies, and behave themſelves womanly much ſooner, and with leſs trouble, than they would without them. It is the ſame with boys, whom they will ſtrive to perſuade, that all fine gentlemen do as they are

bid, and that none but beggar boys are rude, or dirty their their clothes; nay, as ſoon as the wild brat with his untaught fiſt begins to fumble for his hat, the mother, to make him pull it off, tells him before he is two years old, that he is a man; and if he repeats that action when ſhe deſires him, he is preſently a captain, a lord mayor, a king, or ſomething higher if ſhe can think of it, till edged on by the force of praiſe, the little urchin endeavours to imitate man as well as he can, and ſtrains all his faculties to appear what his ſhallow noddle imagines he is believed to be.

The meaneſt wretch puts an ineſtimable value upon himſelf, and the higheſt wiſh of the ambitious man is to have all the world, as to that particular, of his opinion: ſo that the moſt inſatiable thirſt after fame that ever heroe was inſpired with, was never more than an ungovernable greedineſs to engroſs the eſteem and admiration of others in future ages as well as his own; and (what mortification ſoever this truth might be to the ſecond thoughts of an Alexander or a Cæſar) the great recompence in view, for which the moſt exalted minds have with ſo much alacrity ſacrificed their quiet, health, ſenſual pleaſures, and every inch of themſelves, has never been any thing elſe but the breath of man, the aerial coin of praiſe. Who can forbear laughing when he thinks on all the great men that have been ſo ſerious on the ſubject of that Macedonian madman, his capacious ſoul, that mighty heart, in one corner of which, according to Lorenzo Gratian, the world was ſo commodiouſly lodged, that in the whole there was room for ſix more? Who can forbear laughing, I ſay, when he compares the fine things that have been ſaid of Alexander, with the end he propoſed to himſelf from his vaſt exploits, to be proved from his own mouth; when the vaſt pains he took to paſs the Hydaſpes forced him to cry out? Oh ye Athenians, could you believe what dangers I expoſe myſelf to, to be praiſed by you! To define then, the reward of glory in the ampleſt manner, the moſt that can be ſaid of it, is, that it conſiſts in a ſuperlative felicity which a man, who is conſcious of having performed a noble action, enjoys in ſelf-love, whilſt he is thinking on the applauſe he expects of others.

But here I ſhall be told, that beſides the noiſy toils of war and public buſtle of the ambitious, there are noble and generous actions that are performed in ſilence; that virtue being its own reward, thoſe who are really good have a ſatisfac-

tion in their conſciouſneſs of being ſo, which is all the recompence they expect from the moſt worthy performances; that among the heathens there have been men, who, when they did good to others, were ſo far from coveting thanks and applauſe, that they took all imaginable care to be for ever concealed from thoſe on whom they beſtowed their benefits, and conſequently that pride has no hand in ſpurring man on to the higheſt pitch of ſelf-denial.

In anſwer to this, I ſay, that it is impoſſible to judge of a man's performance, unleſs we are thoroughly acquainted with the principle and motive from which he acts. Pity, though it is the moſt gentle and the leaſt miſchievous of all our paſſions, is yet as much a frailty of our nature, as anger, pride, or fear. The weakeſt minds have generally the greateſt ſhare of it, for which reaſon none are more compaſſionate than women and children. It muſt be owned, that of all our weakneſſes, it is the moſt amiable, and bears the greateſt reſemblance to virtue; nay, without a conſiderable mixture of it, the ſociety could hardly ſubſiſt: but as it is an impulſe of nature, that conſults neither the public intereſt nor our own reaſon, it may produce evil as well as good. It has helped to deſtroy the honour of virgins, and corrupted the integrity of judges; and whoever acts from it as a principle, what good ſoever he may bring to the ſociety, has nothing to boaſt of, but that he has indulged a paſſion that has happened to be beneficial to the public. There is no merit in ſaving an innocent babe ready to drop into the fire: the action is neither good nor bad, and what benefit ſoever the infant received, we only obliged ourſelves; for to have ſeen it fall, and not ſtrove to hinder it, would have cauſed a pain, which ſelf-preſervation compelled us to prevent: Nor has a rich prodigal, that happens to be of a commiſerating temper, and loves to gratify his paſſions, greater virtue to boaſt of, when he relieves an object of compaſſion with what to himſelf is a trifle.

But ſuch men, as without complying with any weakneſs of their own, can part from what they value themſelves, and, from no other motive but there love to goodneſs, perform a worthy action in ſilence: ſuch men, I confeſs, have acquired more refined notions of virtue than thoſe I have hitherto ſpoke of; yet even in theſe (with which the world has yet never ſwarmed) we may diſcover no ſmall ſymptoms of pride, and the humbleſt man alive muſt confeſs, that the reward of a virtuous action, which is the ſatisfaction that enſues upon it,

conſiſts in a certain pleaſure he procures to himſelf by contemplating on his own worth: which pleaſure, together with the occaſion of it, are as certain ſigns of pride, as looking pale and trembling at any imminent danger, are the ſymptoms of fear.

If the two ſcrupulous reader ſhould at firſt view condemn theſe notions concerning the origin of moral virtue, and think them perhaps offenſive to Chriſtianity, I hope he will forbear his cenſures, when he ſhall conſider, that nothing can render the unſearchable depth of the Divine Wiſdom more conſpicuous, than that man, whom Providence had deſigned for ſociety, ſhould not only by his own frailties and imperfections, be led into the road to temporal happineſs, but likewiſe receive, from a ſeeming neceſſity of natural cauſes, a tincture of that knowledge, in which he was afterwards to be made perfect by the true religion, to his eternal welfare.

LINE 45. Whilſt others follow'd myſteries,
To which few folks bind 'prentices.

IN the education of youth, in order to their getting of a livelihood when they ſhall be arrived at maturity, moſt people look out for ſome warrantable employment or other, of which there are whole bodies or companies, in every large ſociety of men. By this means, all arts and ſciences, as well as trades and handicrafts, are perpetuated in the commonwealth, as long as they are found uſeful; the young ones that are daily brought up to them, continually ſupplying the loſs of the old ones that die. But ſome of theſe employments being vaſtly more creditable than others, according to the great difference of the charges required to ſet up in each of them, all prudent parents, in the choice of them, chiefly conſult their own abilities, and the circumſtances they are in. A man that gives three or four hundred pounds with his ſon to a great merchant, and has not two or three thouſand pounds to ſpare againſt he is out of his time to begin buſineſs with, is much to blame not to have brought his child up to ſomething that might be followed with leſs money.

There are abundance of men of a genteel education, that have but very ſmall revenues, and yet are forced, by their reputable callings, to make a greater figure than ordinary people of twice their income. If theſe have any children, it often happens, that as their indigence renders them incapable of bringing them up to creditable occupations, ſo their pride makes them unwilling to put them out to any of the mean laborious trades, and then, in hopes either of an alteration in their fortune, or that ſome friends, or favourable opportunity ſhall offer, they from time to time put off the diſpoſing of them, until inſenſibly they come to be of age, and are at laſt brought up to nothing. Whether this neglect be more barbarous to the children, or prejudicial to the ſociety, I ſhall not determine. At Athens all children were forced to aſſiſt their parents, if they came to want: But Solon made a law, that no ſon ſhould be obliged to relieve his father, who had not bred him up to any calling.

Some parents put out their ſons to good trades very ſuit-

able to their then preſent abilities, but happen to die, or fail in the world, before their children have finiſhed their apprenticeſhips, or are made fit for the buſineſs they are to follow: A great many young men again, on the other hand, are handſomely provided for and ſet up for themſelves, that yet (ſome for want of induſtry, or elſe a ſufficient knowledge in their callings, others by indulging their pleaſures, and ſome few by misfortunes) are reduced to poverty, and altogether unable to maintain themſelves by the buſineſs they were brought up to. It is impoſſible but that the neglects, miſmanagements, and misfortunes I named, muſt very frequently happen in populous places, and conſequently great numbers of people be daily flung unprovided for into the wide world, how rich and potent a commonwealth may be, or what care ſoever a government may take to hinder it. How muſt theſe people be diſpoſed of? The ſea, I know, and armies, which the world is ſeldom without, will take off ſome. Thoſe that are honeſt drudges, and of a laborious temper, will become journeymen to the trades they are of, or enter into ſome other ſervice: ſuch of them as ſtudied and were ſent to the univerſity, may become ſchoolmaſters, tutors, and ſome few of them get into ſome office or other: But what muſt become of the lazy, that care for no manner of working, and the fickle, that hate to be confined to any thing?

Thoſe that ever took delight in plays and romances, and have a ſpice of gentility, will, in all probability, throw their eyes upon the ſtage, and if they have a good elocution, with tolerable mien, turn actors. Some that love their bellies above any thing elſe, if they have a good palate, and a little knack at cookery, will ſtrive to get in with gluttons and epicures, learn to cringe and bear all manner of uſage, and ſo turn paraſites, ever flattering the maſter, and making miſchief among the reſt of the family. Others, who by their own and companions lewdneſs, judge of people's incontinence, will naturally fall to intriguing, and endeavour to live by pimping for ſuch as either want leiſure or addreſs to ſpeak for themſelves. Thoſe of the moſt abandoned principles of all, if they are ſly and dexterous, turn ſharpers, pick-pockets, or coiners, if their ſkill and ingenuity give them leave. Others again, that have obſerved the credulity of ſimple women, and other foolish people, if they have impudence and a little cunning, either ſet up for doctors, or elſe pretend to

tell fortunes; and every one turning the vices and frailties of others to his own advantage, endeavours to pick up a living the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way his talents and abilities will let him.

Theſe are certainly the bane of civil ſociety; but they are fools, who, not conſidering what has been ſaid, ſtorm at the remiſſneſs of the laws that ſuffer them to live, while wiſe men content themſelves with taking all imaginable care not to be circumvented by them, without quarrelling at what no human prudence can prevent.

LINE 55. Theſe we call'd Knaves, but bar the name,
The grave induſtrious were the ſame.

THIS, I confeſs, is but a very indifferent compliment to all the trading part of the people. But if the word Knave may be underſtood in its full latitude, and comprehend every body that is not ſincerely honeſt, and does to others what he would diſlike to have done to himſelf, I do not queſtion but I ſhall make good the charge. To paſs by the innumerable artifices, by which buyers and ſellers outwit one another, that are daily allowed of and practiſed among the faireſt of dealers, ſhow me the tradeſmen that has always diſcovered the defects of his goods to thoſe that cheapened them; nay, where will you find one that has not at one time or other induſtriouſly concealed them, to the detriment of the buyer? Where is the merchant that has never, againſt his conſcience, extolled his wares beyond their worth, to make them go off the better.

Decio, a man of great figure, that had large commiſſions for ſugar from ſeveral parts beyond ſea, treats about a conſiderable parcel of that commodity with Alcander, an eminent Weſt India merchant; both underſtood the market very well, but could not agree: Decio was a man of ſubſtance, and thought no body ought to buy cheaper than himſelf; Alcander was the ſame, and not wanting money, ſtood for his price. While they were driving their bargain at a tavern near the exchange, Alcander's man brought his maſter a letter from the Weſt Indies, that informed him of a much greater quantity of ſugars coming for England than was expected. Alcander now wiſhed for nothing more than to ſell at Decio's price, before the news was public; but being a cunning fox, that he might not ſeem too precipitant,

nor yet loſe his cuſtomer, he drops the diſcourſe they were upon, and putting on a jovial humour, commends the agreeableneſs of the weather, from whence falling upon the delight he took in his gardens, invites Decio to go along with him to his country houſe, that was not above twelve miles from London. It was in the month of May, and, as it happened, upon a Saturday in the afternoon: Decio, who was a ſingle man, and would have no buſineſs in town before Tueſday, accepts of the other's civility, and away they go in Alcander's coach. Decio was ſplendidly entertained that night and the day following; the Monday morning, to get himſelf an appetite, he goes to take the air upon a pad of Alcander's, and coming back meets with a gentleman of his acquaintance, who tells him news was come the night before that the Barbadoes fleet was deſtroyed by a ſtorm, and adds, that before he came out it had been confirmed at Lloyd's coffee houſe, where it was thought ſugars would riſe 25 per cent. by change-time. Decio returns to his friend, and immediately reſumes the diſcourſe they had broke off at the tavern: Alcander, who thinking himſelf ſure of his chap, did not deſign to have moved it till after dinner, was very glad to ſee himſelf ſo happily prevented; but how deſirous ſoever he was to ſell, the other was yet more eager to buy; yet both of them afraid of one another, for a conſiderable time counterfeited all the indifference imaginable; until at laſt, Decio fired with what he had heard, thought delays might prove dangerous, and throwing a guinea upon the table, ſtruck the bargain at Alcander's price. The next day they went to London; the news proved true, and Decio got five hundred pounds by his ſugars, Alcander, whilſt he had ſtrove to over-reach the other, was paid in his own coin: yet all this is called fair dealing; but I am ſure neither of them would have deſired to be done by, as they did to each other.

LINE 101. The ſoldiers that were forc'd to fight,
If they ſurviv'd got honour by't.

So unaccountable is the deſire to be thought well of in men, that though they are dragged into the war againſt their will, and ſome of them for their crimes, and are compelled to fight with threats, and often blows, yet they would be eſteemed for what they would have avoided, if it had been in their

power: whereas, if reaſon in man was of equal weight with his pride, he could never be pleaſed with praiſes, which he is conſcious he does not deſerve.

By honour, in its proper and genuine ſignification, we mean nothing elſe but the good opinion of others, which is counted more or leſs ſubſtantial, the more or leſs noiſe or buſtle there is made about the demonſtration of it; and when we ſay the ſovereign is the fountain of honour, it ſignifies that he has the power, by titles or ceremonies, or both together, to ſtamp a mark upon whom he pleaſes, that ſhall be as current as his coin, and procure the owner the good opinion of every body, whether he deſerves it or not.

The reverſe of honour is diſhonour, or ignominy, which conſiſts in the bad opinion and contempt of others; and as the firſt is counted a reward for good actions, ſo this is eſteemed a puniſhment for bad ones; and the more or leſs public or heinous the manner is in which this contempt of others is ſhown, the more or leſs the perſon ſo ſuffering is degraded by it. This ignominy is likewiſe called ſhame, from the effect it produces; for though the good and evil of honour and diſhonour are imaginary, yet there is a reality in ſhame, as it ſignifies a paſſion, that has its proper ſymptoms, over-rules our reaſon, and requires as much labour and ſelf-denial to be ſubdued, as any of the reſt; and ſince the moſt important actions of life often are regulated according to the influence this paſſion has upon us, a thorough underſtanding of it muſt help to illuſtrate the notions the world has of honour and ignominy. I ſhall therefore deſcribe it at large.

Firſt, to define the paſſion of ſhame, I think it may be called a ſorrowful reflection on our own unworthineſs, proceeding from an apprehenſion that others either do, or might, if they knew all, deſervedly deſpiſe us. The only objection of weight that can be raiſed againſt this definition is, that innocent virgins are often aſhamed, and bluſh when they are guilty of no crime, and can give no manner of reaſon for this frailty: and that men are often aſhamed for others, for, or with whom, they have neither friendſhip or affinity, and conſequently that there may be a thouſand inſtances of ſhame given, to which the words of the definition are not applicable. To anſwer this, I would have it firſt conſidered, that the modeſty of women is the reſult of cuſtom and education, by

which all unfaſhionable denudations and filthy expreſſions are rendered frightful and abominable to them, and that notwithſtanding this, the moſt virtuous young woman alive will often, in ſpite of her teeth, have thoughts and confuſed ideas of things ariſe in her imagination, which ſhe would not reveal to ſome people for a thouſand worlds. Then, I ſay, that when obſcene words are ſpoken in the preſence of an unexperienced virgin, ſhe is afraid that ſome body will reckon her to underſtand what they mean, and conſequently that ſhe underſtands this, and that, and ſeveral things, which ſhe deſires to be thought ignorant of. The reflecting on this, and that thoughts are forming to her diſadvantage, brings upon her that paſſion which we call ſhame; and whatever can ſting her, though never ſo remote from lewdneſs, upon that ſet of thoughts I hinted, and which ſhe thinks criminal, will have the ſame effect, eſpecially before men, as long as her modeſty laſts.

To try the truth of this, let them talk as much bawdy as they pleaſe in the room next to the ſame virtuous young woman, where ſhe is ſure that ſhe is undiſcovered, and ſhe will hear, if not hearken to it, without bluſhing at all, becauſe then ſhe looks upon herſelf as no party concerned; and if the diſcourſe ſhould ſtain her cheeks with red, whatever her innocence may imagine, it is certain that what occaſions her colour, is a paſſion not half ſo mortifying as that of ſhame; but if, in the ſame place, ſhe hears ſomething ſaid of herſelf that muſt tend to her diſgrace, or any thing is named, of which ſhe is ſecretly guilty, then it is ten to one but ſhe will be aſhamed and bluſh, though nobody ſees her; becauſe ſhe has room to fear, that ſhe is, or, if all was known, ſhould be thought of contemptibly.

That we are often aſhamed, and bluſh for others, which was the ſecond part of the objection, is nothing elſe but that ſometimes we make the caſe of others too nearly our own; ſo people ſhriek out when they ſee others in danger: Whilſt we are reflecting with too much earneſt on the effect which ſuch a blameable action, if it was ours, would produce in us, the ſpirits, and conſequently the blood, are inſenſibly moved, after the ſame manner as if the action was our own, and ſo the ſame ſymptoms muſt appear.

The ſhame that raw, ignorant, and ill-bred people, though ſeemingly without a cauſe, diſcover before their betters, is always acompanied with, and proceeds from a conſciouſneſs

of their weakneſs and inabilities; and the moſt modeſt man, how virtuous, knowing, and accompliſhed ſoever he might be, was never yet aſhamed without ſome guilt or diffidence. Such as out of ruſticity, and want of education are unreaſonably ſubject to, and at every turn overcome by this paſſion, we call baſhful; and thoſe who out of diſreſpect to others, and a falſe opinion of their own ſufficiency, have learned not to be affected with it, when they ſhould be, are called impudent or ſhameleſs. What ſtrange contradictions man is made of! The reverſe of ſhame is pride, (ſee Remark on l. 182) yet no body can be touched with the firſt, that never felt any thing of the latter; for that we have ſuch an extraordinary concern in what others think of us, can proceed from nothing but the vaſt eſteem we have of ourſelves.

That theſe two paſſions, in which the ſeeds of moſt virtues are contained, are realities in our frame, and not imaginary qualities, is demonſtrable from the plain and different effects, that, in ſpite of our reaſon, are produced in us as ſoon as we are affected with either.

When a man is overwhelmed with ſhame, he obſerves a ſinking of the ſpirits! the heart feels cold and condenſed, and the blood flies from it to the circumference of the body; the face glows, the neck and part of the breaſt partake of the fire: he is heavy as lead; the head is hung down, and the eyes through a miſt of confuſion are fixed on the ground: no injuries can move him; he is weary of his being, and heartily wiſhes he could make himſelf inviſible: but when, gratifying his vanity, he exults in his pride, he diſcovers quite contrary ſymptoms; his ſpirits ſwell and fan the arterial blood; a more than ordinary warmth ſtrengthens and dilates the heart; the extremities are cool; he feels light to himſelf, and imagines he could tread on air; his head is held up, his eyes rolled about with ſprightlineſs; he rejoices at his being, is prone to anger, and would be glad that all the world could take notice of him.

It is incredible how neceſſary an ingredient ſhame is to make us ſociable; it is a frailty in our nature; all the world, whenever it affects them, ſubmit to it with regret, and would prevent it if they could; yet the happineſs of converſation depends upon it, and no ſociety could be poliſhed, if the generality of mankind were not ſubject to it. As, therefore, the ſenſe of ſhame is troubleſome, and all creatures are ever labouring for their own defence, it is probable, that man

ſtriving to avoid this uneaſineſs, would, in a great meaſure, conquer his ſhame by that he was grown up; but this would be detrimental to the ſociety, and therefore from his infancy, throughout his education, we endeavour to increaſe, inſtead of leſſening or deſtroying this ſenſe of ſhame; and the only remedy preſcribed, is a ſtrict obſervance of certain rules, to avoid thoſe things that might bring this troubleſome ſenſe of ſhame upon him. But as to rid or cure him of it, the politician would ſooner take away his life.

The rules I ſpeak of, conſiſt in a dextrous management of ourſelves, a ſtifling of our appetites, and hiding the real ſentiments of our hearts before others. Thoſe who are not inſtructed in theſe rules long before they come to years of maturity, ſeldom make any progreſs in them afterwards. To acquire and bring to perfection the accompliſhment I hint at, nothing is more aſſiſting than pride and good ſenſe. The greedineſs we have after the eſteem of others, and the raptures we enjoy in the thoughts of being liked, and perhaps admired, are equivalents that over-pay the conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt paſſions, and conſequently keep us at a great diſtance from all ſuch words or actions that can bring ſhame upon us. The paſſions we chiefly ought to hide, for the happineſs and embelliſhment of the ſociety, are luſt, pride, and ſelfiſhneſs; therefore the word modeſty has three different acceptations, that vary with the paſſions it conceals.

As to the firſt, I mean the branch of modeſty, that has a general pretenſion to chaſtity for its object, it conſiſts in a ſincere and painful endeavour, with all our faculties, to ſtifle and conceal before others, that inclination which nature has given us to propagate our ſpecies. The leſſons of it, like thoſe of grammar, are taught us long before we have occaſion for, or underſtand the uſefulneſs of them; for this reaſon children often are aſhamed, and bluſh out of modeſty, before the impulſe of nature I hint at makes any impreſſion upon them. A girl who is modeſtly educated, may, before ſhe is two years old, begin to obſerve how careful the women ſhe converſes with, are of covering themſelves before men; and the ſame caution being inculcated to her by precept, as well as example, it is very probable that at ſix ſhe will be aſhamed of ſhowing her leg, without knowing any reaſon why ſuch an act is blameable, or what the tendency of it is.

To be modeſt, we ought, in the firſt place, to avoid all unfaſhionable denudations: a woman is not to be found fault

with for going with her neck bare, if the cuſtom of the country allows of it; and when the mode orders the ſtays o be cut very low, a blooming virgin may, without fear of rational cenſure, ſhow all the world:

> How firm her pouting breaſts, that white as ſnow,
> On th' ample cheſt at mighty diſtance grow.

But to ſuffer her ancle to be ſeen, where it is the faſhion for women to hide their very feet, is a breach of modeſty; and ſhe is impudent, who ſhows half her face in a country where decency bids her to be veiled. In the ſecond, our language muſt be chaſte, and not only free, but remote from obſcenities, that is, whatever belongs to the multiplication of our ſpecies is not to be ſpoke of, and the leaſt word or expreſſion, that, though at a great diſtance, has any relation to that performance, ought never to come from our lips. Thirdly, all poſtures and motions that can any ways ſully the imagination, that is, put us in mind of what I have called obſcenities, are to be forbore with great caution.

A young woman, moreover, that would be thought well-bred, ought to be circumſpect before men in all her behaviour, and never known to receive from, much leſs to beſtow favours upon them, unleſs the great age of the man, near conſanguinity, or a vaſt ſuperiority on either ſide, plead her excuſe. A young lady of refined education keeps a ſtrict guard over her looks, as well as actions, and in her eyes we may read a conſciouſneſs that ſhe has a treaſure about her, not out of danger of being loſt, and which yet ſhe is reſolved not to part with at any terms. Thouſand ſatires have been made againſt prudes, and as many encomiums to extol the careleſs graces, and negligent air of virtuous beauty. But the wiſer ſort of mankind are well aſſured, that the free and open countenance of the ſmiling fair, is more inviting, and yields greater hopes to the ſeducer, than the ever-watchful look of a forbidding eye.

This ſtrict reſervedneſs is to be complied with by all young women, eſpecially virgins, if they value the eſteem of the polite and knowing world; men may take greater liberty, becauſe in them the appetite is more violent and ungovernable. Had equal harſhneſs of diſcipline been impoſed upon both, neither of them could have made the firſt advances, and propagation muſt have ſtood ſtill among all the faſhionable people: which being far from the politician's aim, it was ad-

viſable to eaſe and indulge the ſex that ſuffered moſt by the ſeverity, and make the rules abate of their rigour, where the paſſion was the ſtrongeſt, and the burden of a ſtrict reſtraint would have been the moſt intolerable.

For this reaſon, the man is allowed openly to profeſs the veneration and great eſteem he has for women, and ſhow greater ſatisfaction, more mirth and gaiety in their company, than he is uſed to do out of it. He may not only be complaiſant and ſerviceable to them on all occaſions, but it is reckoned his duty to protect and defend them. He may praiſe the good qualities they are poſſeſſed of, and extol their merit with as many exaggerations as his invention will let him, and are conſiſtent with good ſenſe. He may talk of love, he may ſigh and complain of the rigours of the fair, and what his tongue muſt not utter he has the privilege to ſpeak with his eyes, and in that language to ſay what he pleaſes; ſo it be done with decency, and ſhort abrupted glances: but too cloſely to purſue a woman, and faſten upon her with ones eyes, is counted very unmannerly; the reaſon is plain, it makes her uneaſy, and, if ſhe be not ſufficiently fortified by art and diſſimulation, often throws her into viſible diſorders. As the eyes are the windows of the ſoul, ſo this ſtaring impudence flings a raw, unexperienced woman, into panic fears, that ſhe may be ſeen through; and that the man will diſcover, or has already betrayed, what paſſes within her: it keeps her on a perpetual rack, that commands her to reveal her ſecret wiſhes, and ſeems deſigned to extort from her the grand truth, which modeſty bids her with all her faculties to deny.

The multitude will hardly believe the exceſſive force of education, and in the difference of modeſty between men and women, aſcribe that to nature which is altogether owing to early inſtruction: Miſs is ſcarce three years old, but ſhe is ſpoke to every day to hide her leg, and rebuked in good earneſt if ſhe ſhows it; while little Maſter at the ſame age is bid to take up his coats, and piſs like a man. It is ſhame and education that contains the ſeeds of all politeneſs, and he that has neither, and offers to ſpeak the truth of his heart, and what he feels within, is the moſt contemptible creature upon earth, though he committed no other fault. If a man ſhould tell a woman, that he could like no body ſo well to propagate his ſpecies upon, as herſelf, and that he found a violent deſire that moment to go about it, and accordingly offered to lay hold of her for that purpoſe; the conſequence

would be, that he would be called a brute, the woman would run away, and himſelf be never admitted in any civil company. There is no body that has any ſenſe of ſhame, but would conquer the ſtrongeſt paſſion rather than be ſo ſerved. But a man need not conquer his paſſions, it is ſufficient that he conceals them. Virtue bids us ſubdue, but good breeding only requires we ſhould hide our appetites. A faſhionable gentleman may have as violent an inclination to a woman as the brutiſh fellow; but then he behaves himſelf quite otherwiſe; he firſt addreſſes the lady's father, and demonſtrates his ability ſplendidly to maintain his daughter; upon this he is admitted into her company, where, by flattery, ſubmiſſion, preſents, and aſſiduity, he endeavours to procure her liking to his perſon, which if he can compaſs, the lady in a little while reſigns herſelf to him before witneſſes in a moſt ſolemn manner; at night they go to bed together, where the moſt reſerved virgin very tamely ſuffers him to do what he pleaſes, and the upſhot is, that he obtains what he wanted without ever having aſked for it.

The next day they receive viſits, and no body laughs at them, or ſpeaks a word of what they have been doing. As to the young couple themſelves, they take no more notice of one another, I ſpeak of well-bred people, than they did the day before; they eat and drink, divert themſelves as uſually, and having done nothing to be aſhamed of, are looked upon as, what in reality they may be, the moſt modeſt people upon earth. What I mean by this, is to demonſtrate, that by being well-bred, we ſuffer no abridgement in our ſenſual pleaſures, but only labour for our mutual happineſs, and aſſiſt each other in the luxurious enjoyment of all worldly comforts. The fine gentleman I ſpoke of need not practiſe any greater ſelf-denial than the ſavage, and the latter acted more according to the laws of nature and ſincerity than the firſt. The man that gratifies his appetites after the manner the cuſtom of the country allows of, has no cenſure to fear. If he is hotter than goats or bulls, as ſoon as the ceremony is over, let him ſate and fatigue himſelf with joy and ecſtacies of pleaſure, raiſe and indulge his appetites by turns, as extravagantly as his ſtrength and manhood will give him leave, he may with ſafety laugh at the wiſe men that ſhould reprove him: all the women, and above nine in ten of the men are of his ſide; nay, he has the liberty of valuing himſelf upon the fury of his unbridled paſſion, and the more he wal-

lows in luſt, and ſtrains every faculty to be abandonedly voluptuous, the ſooner he ſhall have the good-will and gain the affection of the women, not the young, vain, and laſcivious only, but the prudent, grave, and moſt ſober matrons.

Becauſe impudence is a vice, it does not follow that modeſty is a virtue; it is built upon ſhame, a paſſion in our nature, and may be either good or bad according to the actions performed from that motive. Shame may hinder a proſtitute from yielding to a man before company, and the ſame ſhame may cauſe a baſhful good-natured creature, that has been overcome by frailty, to make away with her infant. Paſſions may do good by chance, but there can be no merit but in the conqueſt of them.

Was there virtue in modeſty, it would be of the ſame force in the dark as it is in the light, which it is not. This the men of pleaſure know very well, who never trouble their heads with a woman's virtue, ſo they can but conquer her modeſty; ſeducers, therefore, do not make their attacks at noon-day, but cut their trenches at night.

> Illa verecundis luxeſt præbenda puellis,
> Qua timidus latebras ſperat habere pudor.

People of ſubſtance may ſin without being expoſed for their ſtolen pleaſure; but ſervants, and the poorer ſort of women, have ſeldom the opportunity of concealing a big belly, or at leaſt the conſequences of it. It is impoſſible that an unfortunate girl of good parentage may be left deſtitute, and know no ſhift for a livelihood than to become a nurſery, or a chambermaid: ſhe may be deligent, faithful, and obliging, have abundance of modeſty, and if you will, be religious: ſhe may reſiſt temptations, and preſerve her chaſtity for years together, and yet at laſt meet with an unhappy moment in which ſhe gives up her honour to a powerful deceiver, who afterwards neglects her. If ſhe proves with child, her ſorrows are unſpeakable, and ſhe cannot be reconciled with the wretchedneſs of her condition; the fear of ſhame attacks her ſo lively, that every thought diſtracts her. All the family ſhe lives in have a great opinion of her virtue, and her laſt miſtreſs took her for a ſaint. How will her enemies, that envied her character, rejoice! How will her relations deteſt her! The more modeſt ſhe is now, and the more violently the dread of coming to ſhame hurries her away, the more wicked and more cruel her reſolutions will be, either againſt herſelf or what ſhe bears.

It is commonly imagined, that she who can destroy her child, her own flesh and blood, must have a vast stock of barbarity, and be a savage monster, different from other women; but this is likewise a mistake, which we commit for the want of understanding nature and the force of passions. The same woman that murders her bastard in the most execrable manner, if she is married afterwards, may take care of, cherish, and feel all the tenderness for her infant that the fondest mother can be capable of. All mothers naturally love their children: but as this is a passion, and all passions centre in self-love, so it may be subdued by any superior passion, to sooth that same self-love, which if nothing had intervened, would have bid her fondle her offspring. Common whores, whom all the world knows to be such, hardly ever destroy their children; nay, even those who assist in robberies and murders seldom are guilty of this crime; not because they are less cruel or more virtuous, but because they have lost their modesty to a greater degree, and the fear of shame makes hardly any impression upon them.

Our love to what never was within the reach of our senses is but poor and inconsiderable, and therefore women have no natural love to what they bear; their affection begins after the birth: what they feel before is the result of reason, education, and the thoughts of duty. Even when children first are born, the mother's love is but weak, and increases with the sensibility of the child, and grows up to a prodigious height, when by signs it begins to express his sorrows and joys, makes his wants known and discovers his love to novelty and the multiplicity of his desires. What labours and hazards have not women undergone to maintain and save their children, what force and fortitude beyond their sex have they not shown in their behalf! but the vilest women have exerted themselves on this head as violently as the best. All are prompted to it by a natural drift and inclination, without any consideration of the injury or benefit the society receives from it. There is no merit in pleasing ourselves, and the very offspring is often irreparably ruined by the excessive fondness of parents: for though infants, for two or three years, may be the better for this indulging care of mothers, yet afterwards, if not moderated, it may totally spoil them, and many it has brought to the gallows.

If the reader thinks I have been too tedious on that branch of modesty, by the help of which we endeavour to appear

chaſte, I ſhall make him amends in the brevity with which I deſign to treat of the remaining part, by which we would make others believe, that the eſteem we have for them exceeds the value we have for ourſelves, and that we have no diſregard ſo great to any intereſt as we have to our own. This laudable quality is commonly known by the name of Manners and Good-breeding, and conſiſts in a faſhionable habit, acquired by precept and example, of flattering the pride and ſelfiſhneſs of others, and concealing our own with judgment and dexterity. This muſt be only underſtood of our commerce with our equals and ſuperiors, and whilſt we are in peace and amity with them; for our complaiſance muſt never interfere with the rules of honour, nor the homage that is due to us from ſervants and others that depend upon us.

With this caution, I believe, that the definition will quadrate with every thing that can be alleged as a piece, or an example of either good-breeding or ill manners; and it will be very difficult throughout the various accidents of human life and converſation, to find out an inſtance of modeſty or impudence that is not comprehended in, and illuſtrated by it, in all countries and in all ages. A man that aſks conſiderable favours of one who is a ſtranger to him, without conſideration, is called impudent, becauſe he ſhows openly his ſelfiſhneſs, without having any regard to the ſelfiſhneſs of the other. We may ſee in it, likewiſe, the reaſon why a man ought to ſpeak of his wife and children, and every thing that is dear to him, as ſparing as is poſſible, and hardly ever of himſelf, eſpecially in commendation of them. A well-bred man may be deſirous, and even greedy after praiſe and the eſteem of others, but to be praiſed to his face offends his modeſty: the reaſon is this; all human creatures, before they are yet poliſhed, receive an extraordinary pleaſure in hearing themſelves praiſed: this we are all conſcious of, and therefore when we ſee a man openly enjoy and feaſt on this delight, in which we have no ſhare, it rouſes our ſelfiſhneſs, and immediately we begin to envy and hate him. For this reaſon, the well-bred man conceals his joy, and utterly denies that he feels any, and by this means conſulting and ſoothing our ſelfiſhneſs, he averts that envy and hatred, which otherwiſe he would have juſtly to fear. When from our childhood we obſerve how thoſe are ridiculed who calmly can hear their own praiſes, it is poſſible that we may ſtrenuouſly en-

deavour to avoid that pleaſure, that in tract of time we grow uneaſy at the approach of it: but this is not following the dictates of nature, but warping her by education and cuſtom; for if the generality of mankind took no delight in being praiſed, there could be no modeſty in refuſing to hear it.

The man of manners picks not the beſt, but rather takes the worſt out of the diſh, and gets of every thing, unleſs it be forced upon him, always the moſt indifferent ſhare. By this civility the beſt remains for others, which being a compliment to all that are preſent, every body is pleaſed with it: the more they love themſelves, the more they are forced to approve of his behaviour, and gratitude ſtepping in, they are obliged almoſt, whether they will or not, to think favourably of him. After this manner, it is the well-bred man inſinuates himſelf in the eſteem of all the companies he comes in, and if he gets nothing elſe by it, the pleaſure he receives in reflecting on the applauſe which he knows is ſecretly given him, is to a proud man more than an equivalent for his former ſelf-denial, and overpays to ſelf-love with intereſt, the loſs it ſuſtained in his complaiſance to others.

If there are ſeven or eight apples or peaches among ſix people of ceremony, that are pretty near equal, he who is prevailed upon to chooſe firſt, will take that, which, if there be any conſiderable difference, a child would know to be the worſt: this he does to inſinuate, that he looks upon thoſe he is with to be of ſuperior merit, and that there is not one whom he wiſhes not better to than he does to himſelf. It is cuſtom and a general practice that makes this modiſh deceit familiar to us, without being ſhocked at the abſurdity of it; for if people had been uſed to ſpeak from the ſincerity of their hearts, and act according to the natural ſentiments they felt within, until they were three or four and twenty, it would be impoſſible for them to aſſiſt at this comedy of manners, without either loud laughter or indignation; and yet it is certain, that ſuch behaviour makes us more tolerable to one another, than we could be otherwiſe.

It is very advantageous to the knowledge of ourſelves, to be able well to diſtinguiſh between good qualities and virtues. The bond of ſociety exacts from every member a certain regard for others, which the higheſt is not exempt from in the preſence of the meaneſt even in an empire: but when we are by ourſelves, and ſo far removed from company, as to be beyond the reach of their ſenſes, the words modeſty and impu-

dence loſe their meaning; a perſon may be wicked, but he cannot be immodeſt while he is alone, and no thought can be impudent that never was communicated to another. A man of exalted pride may ſo hide it, that no body ſhall be able to diſcover that he has any; and yet receive greater ſatisfaction from that paſſion than another, who indulges himſelf in the declaration of it before all the world. Good manners having nothing to do with virtue or religion; inſtead of extinguiſhing, they rather inflame the paſſions. The man of ſenſe and education never exults more in his pride than when he hides it with the greateſt dexterity; and in feaſting on the applauſe, which he is ſure all good judges will pay to his behaviour, he enjoys a pleaſure altogether unknown to the ſhort-ſighted ſurly alderman, that ſhows his haughtineſs glaringly in his face, pulls off his hat to nobody, and hardly deigns to ſpeak to an inferior.

A man may carefully avoid every thing that in the eye of the world, is eſteemed to be the reſult of pride, without mortifying himſelf, or making the leaſt conqueſt of his paſſion. It is poſſible that he only ſacrifices the inſipid outward part of his pride, which none but ſilly ignorant people take delight in, to that part we all feel within, and which the men of the higheſt ſpirit and moſt exalted genius feed on with ſo much ecſtacy in ſilence. The pride of great and polite men is no where more conſpicuous than in the debates about ceremony and precedency, where they have an opportunity of giving their vices the appearance of virtues, and can make the world believe that it is their care, their tenderneſs for the dignity of their office, or the honour of their maſters, what is the reſult of their own perſonal pride and vanity. This is moſt manifeſt in all negotiations of ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries, and muſt be known by all that obſerve what is tranſacted at public treaties; and it will ever be true, that men of the beſt taſte have no reliſh in their pride, as long as any mortal can find out that they are proud.

LINE 125. For there was not a bee but would
Get more, I won't ſay, than he ſhould;
But than, &c.

THE vaſt eſteem we have of ourſelves, and the ſmall value we have for others, make us all very unfair judges in our own

caſes. Few men can be perſuaded that they get too much by thoſe they ſell to, how extraordinary ſoever their gains are, when, at the ſame time, there is hardly a profit ſo inconſiderable, but they will grudge it to thoſe they buy from; for this reaſon the ſmalleſt of the ſeller's advantage being the greateſt perſuaſive to the buyer; tradeſmen are generally forced to tell lies in their own defence, and invent a thouſand improbable ſtories, rather than diſcover what they really get by their commodities. Some old ſtanders, indeed, that pretend to more honeſty (or what is more likely, have more pride), than their neighbours, are uſed to make but few words with their cuſtomers, and refuſe to ſell at a lower price than what they aſk at firſt. But theſe are commonly cunning foxes that are above the world, and know that thoſe who have money, get often more by being ſurly, than others by being obliging. The vulgar imagine they can find more ſincerity in the ſour looks of a grave old fellow, than there appears in the ſubmiſſive air and inviting complacency of a young beginner. But this is a grand miſtake; and if they are mercers, drapers, or others, that have many ſorts of the ſame commodity, you may ſoon be ſatisfied; look upon their goods and you will find each of them have their private marks, which is a certain ſign that both are equally careful in concealing the prime coſt of what they ſell.

LINE 128. ———As your gameſters do,
That, though at fair play ne'er will own
Before the loſers what they've won.

THIS being a general practice, which no body can be ignorant of, that has ever ſeen any play, there muſt be ſomething in the make of man that is the occaſion of it: but as the ſearching into this will ſeem very trifling to many, I deſire the reader to ſkip this remark, unleſs he be in perfect good humour, and has nothing at all to do.

That gameſters generally endeavour to conceal their gains before the loſers, ſeems to me to proceed from a mixture of gratitude, pity, and ſelf-preſervation. All men are naturally grateful while they receive a benefit, and what they ſay or do, while it affects and feels warm about them, is real, and comes from the heart; but when that is over, the returns we make generally proceed from virtue, good manners, reaſon,

and the thoughts of duty, but not from gratitude, which is a motive of the inclination. If we conſider, how tyrannically the immoderate love we bear to ourſelves, obliges us to eſteem every body that with or without deſign acts in our favour, and how often we extend our affection to things inanimate, when we imagine them to contribute to our preſent advantage: if, I ſay, we conſider this, it will not be difficult to find out which way our being pleaſed with thoſe whoſe money we win is owing to a principle of gratitude. The next motive is our pity, which proceeds from our conſciouſneſs of the vexation there is in loſing; and as we love the eſteem of every body, we are afraid of forfeiting theirs by being the cauſe of their loſs. Laſtly, we apprehend their envy, and ſo ſelf-preſervation makes that we ſtrive to extenuate firſt the obligation, then the reaſon why we ought to pity, in hopes that we ſhall have leſs of their ill-will and envy. When the paſſions ſhow themſelves in their full ſtrength, they are known by every body: When a man in power gives a great place to one that did him a ſmall kindneſs in his youth, we call it gratitude: When a woman howls and wrings her hands at the loſs of her child, the prevalent paſſion is grief; and the uneaſineſs we feel at the ſight of great misfortunes, as a man's breaking his legs, or daſhing his brains out, is every where called pity. But the gentle ſtrokes, the ſlight touches of the paſſions, are generally overlooked or miſtaken.

To prove my aſſertion, we have but to obſerve what generally paſſes between the winner and the loſer. The firſt is always complaiſant, and if the other will but keep his temper, more than ordinary obliging; he is ever ready to humour the loſer, and willing to rectify his miſtakes with precaution, and the height of good manners. The loſer is uneaſy, captious, moroſe, and perhaps ſwears and ſtorms; yet as long as he ſays or does nothing deſignedly affronting, the winner takes all in good part, without offending, diſturbing, or contradicting him. Loſers, ſays the proverb, muſt have leave to rail: All which ſhows that the loſer is thought in the right to complain, and for that very reaſon pitied. That we are afraid of the loſer's ill-will, is plain from our being conſcious that we are diſpleaſed with thoſe we loſe to, and envy we always dread when we think ourſelves happier than others: From whence it follows, that when the winner endeavours to conceal his gains, his deſign is to avert the miſchiefs he apprehends, and this is ſelf-preſervation; the cares

of which continue to affect us as long as the motives that firſt produced them remain.

But a month, a week, or perhaps a much ſhorter time after, when the thoughts of the obligation, and conſequently the winner's gratitude, are worn off, when the loſer has recovered his temper, laughs at his loſs, and the reaſon of the winner's pity ceaſes; when the winner's apprehenſion of drawing upon him the ill-will and envy of the loſer is gone; that is to ſay, as ſoon as all the paſſions are over, and the cares of ſelf-preſervation employ the winner's thoughts no longer, he will not only make no ſcruple of owning what he has won, but will, if his vanity ſteps in, likewiſe, with pleaſure, brag off, if not exaggerate his gains.

It is poſſible, that when people play together who are at enmity, and perhaps deſirous of picking a quarrel, or where men playing for trifles contend for ſuperiority of ſkill, and aim chiefly at the glory of conqueſt, nothing ſhall happen of what I have been talking of. Different paſſions oblige us to take different meaſures; what I have ſaid I would have underſtood of ordinary play for money, at which men endeavour to get, and venture to loſe what they value: And even here I know it will be objected by many, that though they have been guilty of concealing their gains, yet they never obſerved thoſe paſſions which I allege as the cauſes of that frailty; which is no wonder, becauſe few men will give themſelves leiſure, and fewer yet take the right method of examining themſelves as they ſhould do. It is with the paſſions in men, as it is with colours in cloth: It is eaſy to know a red, a green, a blue, a yellow, a black, &c. in as many different places; but it muſt be an artiſt that can unravel all the various colours and their proportions, that make up the compound of a well-mixed cloth. In the ſame manner, may the paſſions be diſcovered by every body whilſt they are diſtinct, and a ſingle one employs the whole man; but it is very difficult to trace every motive of thoſe actions that are the reſult of a mixture of paſſions.

LINE 163. And virtue, who from politics
Has learn'd a thouſand cunning tricks,
Was, by their happy influence,
Made friends with vice.——

IT may be ſaid, that virtue is made friends with vice, when induſtrious good people, who maintain their families, and

bring up their children handſomely, pay taxes, and are ſeveral ways uſeful members of the ſociety, get a livelihood by ſomething that chiefly depends on, or is very much influenced by the vices of others, without being themſelves guilty of, or acceſſary to them, any otherwiſe than by way of trade, as a druggiſt may be to poiſoning, or a ſword-cutler to bloodſhed.

Thus the merchant, that ſends corn or cloth into foreign parts to purchaſe wines and brandies, encourages the growth or manufactory of his own country; he is a benefactor to navigation, increaſes the cuſtoms, and is many ways beneficial to the public; yet it is not to be denied, but that his greateſt dependence is laviſhneſs and drunkenneſs: For, if none were to drink wine but ſuch only as ſtand in need of it, nor any body more than his health required, that multitude of wine-merchants, vintners, coopers, &c. that make ſuch a conſiderable ſhow in this flouriſhing city, would be in a miſerable condition. The ſame may be ſaid not only of card and dice-makers, that are the immediate miniſters to a legion of vices; but that of mercers, upholſterers, tailors, and many others, that would be ſtarved in half a year's time, if pride and luxury were at once to be baniſhed the nation.

Line 167. The worſt of all the multitude
Did ſomething for the common good.

This, I know, will ſeem to be a ſtrange paradox to many; and I ſhall be aſked what benefit the public receives from thieves and houſe-breakers. They are, I own, very pernicious to human ſociety, and every government ought to take all imaginable care to root out and deſtroy them; yet if all people were ſtrictly honeſt, and nobody would middle with, or pry into any thing but his own, half the ſmiths of the nation would want employment; and abundance of workmanſhip (which now ſerves for ornament as well as defence) is to be ſeen every where both in town and country, that would never have been thought of, but to ſecure us againſt the attempts of pilferers and robbers.

If what I have ſaid be thought far fetched, and my aſſertion ſeems ſtill a paradox, I deſire the reader to look upon the conſumption of things, and he will find that the lazieſt and moſt unactive, the profligate and moſt miſchievous, are all forced to do ſomething for the common good, and

whilſt their mouths are not ſowed up, and they continue to wear and otherwiſe deſtroy what the induſtrious are daily employed about to make, fetch and procure, in ſpite of their teeth obliged to help, maintain the poor and the public charges. The labour of millions would ſoon be at an end, if there were not other millions, as I ſay, in the fable.

——————Employ'd,
To ſee their handy-works deſtroy'd.

But men are not to be judged by the conſequences that may ſucceed their actions, but the facts themſelves, and the motives which it ſhall appear they acted from. If an ill-natured miſer, who is almoſt a plumb, and ſpends but fifty pounds a-year, though he has no relation to inherit his wealth, ſhould be robbed of five hundred or a thouſand guineas, it is certain, that as ſoon as this money ſhould come to circulate, the nation would be the better for the robbery, and receive the ſame, and as real a benefit from it, as if an archbiſhop had left the ſame ſum to the public; yet juſtice, and the peace of ſociety, require that he or they who robbed the miſer ſhould be hanged, though there were half a dozen of them concerned.

Thieves and pick-pockets ſteal for a livelihood, and either what they can get honeſtly is not ſufficient to keep them, or elſe they have an averſion to conſtant working: they want to gratify their ſenſes, have victuals, ſtrong drink, lewd women, and to be idle when they pleaſe. The victualler, who entertains them, and takes their money, knowing which way they come at it, is very near as great a villain as his gueſts. But if he fleeces them well, minds his buſineſs, and is a prudent man, he may get money, and be punctual with them he deals with: The truſty out-clerk, whoſe chief aim is his maſter's profit, ſends him in what beer he wants, and takes care not to loſe his cuſtom; while the man's money is good, he thinks it no buſineſs of his to examine whom he gets it by. In the mean time, the wealthy brewer, who leaves all the management to his ſervants, knows nothing of the matter, but keeps his coach, treats his friends, and enjoys his pleaſure with eaſe and a good conſcience; he gets an eſtate; builds houſes, and educates his children in plenty, without ever thinking on the labour which wretches perform, the ſhifts fools make, and the tricks knaves play to come at the commodity, by the vaſt ſale of which he amaſſes his great riches.

A highwayman having met with a conſiderable booty,

gives a poor common harlot, he fancies, ten pounds to new-rig her from top to toe; is there a ſpruce mercer ſo conſcientious that he will refuſe to ſell her a thread ſattin, though he knew who ſhe was? She muſt have ſhoes and ſtockings, gloves, the ſtay and mantua maker, the ſempſtreſs, the linen-draper, all muſt get ſomething by her, and a hundred different tradeſmen dependent on thoſe ſhe laid her money out with, may touch part of it before a month is at an end. The generous gentleman, in the mean time, his money being near ſpent, ventured again on the road, but the ſecond day having committed a robbery near Highgate, he was taken with one of his accomplices, and the next ſeſſions both were condemned, and ſuffered the law. The money due on their conviction fell to three country fellows, on whom it was admirably well beſtowed. One was an honeſt farmer, a ſober pains-taking man, but reduced by misfortunes: The ſummer before, by the mortality among the cattle, he had loſt ſix cows out of ten, and now his landlord, to whom he owed thirty pounds, had ſeized on all his ſtock. The other was a day-labourer, who ſtruggled hard with the world, had a ſick wife at home, and ſeveral ſmall children to provide for. The third was a gentleman's gardener, who maintained his father in priſon, where, being bound for a neighbour, he had lain for twelve pounds almoſt a year and a half; this act of filial duty was the more meritorious, becauſe he had for ſome time been engaged to a young woman, whoſe parents lived in good circumſtances, but would not give their conſent before our gardener had fifty guineas of his own to ſhow. They received above fourſcore pounds each, which extricated every one of them out of the difficulties they laboured under, and made them, in their opinion, the happieſt people in the world.

Nothing is more deſtructive, either in regard to the health or the vigilance and induſtry of the poor, than the infamous liquor, the name of which, derived from Juniper in Dutch, is now, by frequent uſe, and the laconic ſpirit of the nation, from a word of meddling length, ſhrunk into a monoſyllable, intoxicating gin, that charms the unactive, the deſperate and crazy of either ſex, and makes the ſtarving ſot behold his rags and nakedneſs with ſtupid indolence, or banter both in ſenſeleſs laughter, and more inſipid jeſts! It is a fiery lake that ſets the brain in flame, burns up the entrails, and ſcorches every part within; and, at the ſame time, a Lethe of oblivion, in which the wretch immerſed drowns his moſt pinching

cares, and with his reaſon, all anxious reflection on brats that cry for food, hard winters froſts, and horrid empty home.

In hot and aduſt tempers it makes men quarrelſome, renders them brutes and ſavages, ſets them on to fight for nothing, and has often been the cauſe of murder. It has broke and deſtroyed the ſtrongeſt conſtitutions, thrown them into conſumptions, and been the fatal and immediate occaſion of apoplexies, phrenzies, and ſudden death. But, as theſe latter miſchiefs happen but ſeldom, they might be overlooked and connived at: but this cannot be ſaid of the many diſeaſes that are familiar to the liquor, and which are daily and hourly produced by it; ſuch as loſs of appetite, fevers, black and yellow jaundice, convulſions, ſtone and gravel, dropſies, and leucophlegmacies.

Among the doting admirers of this liquid poiſon, many of the meaneſt rank, from a ſincere affection to the commodity itſelf, become dealers in it, and take delight to help others to what they love themſelves, as whores commence bawds to make the profits of one trade ſubſervient to the pleaſures of the other. But as theſe ſtarvelings commonly drink more than their gains, they ſeldom, by ſelling, mend the wretchedneſs of condition they laboured under while they were only buyers. In the fag-end and outſkirts of the town, and all places of the vileſt reſort, it is ſold in ſome part or other of almoſt every houſe, frequently in cellars, and ſometimes in the garret. The petty traders in this Stygian comfort, are ſupplied by others in ſomewhat higher ſtation, that keep profeſſed brandy ſhops, and are as little to be envied as the former; and among the middling people, I know not a more miſerable ſhift for a livelihood than their calling; whoever would thrive in it muſt, in the firſt place, be of a watchful and ſuſpicious, as well as a bold and reſolute temper, that he may not be impoſed upon by cheats and ſharpers, nor out-bullied by the oaths and imprecations of hackney coachmen and foot ſoldiers: in the ſecond, he ought to be a dabſter at groſs jokes and loud laughter, and have all the winning ways to allure cuſtomers and draw out their money, and be well verſed in the low jeſts and raileries the mob make uſe of to banter prudence and frugality. He muſt be affable and obſequious to the moſt deſpicable; always ready and officious to help a porter down with his load, ſhake hands with a baſket woman, pull off his hat to an oyſter wench, and be familiar with a beggar; with patience and good humour he

muſt be able to endure the filthy actions and viler language of naſty drabs, and the lewdeſt rakehells, and without a frown, or the leaſt averſion, bear with all the ſtench and ſqualor, noiſe and impertinence, that the utmoſt indigence, lazineſs, and ebriety, can produce in the moſt ſhameleſs and abandoned vulgar.

The vaſt number of the ſhops I ſpeak of throughout the city and ſuburbs, are an aſtoniſhing evidence of the many ſeducers, that, in a lawful occupation, are acceſſary to the introduction and increaſe of all the ſloth, ſottiſhneſs, want, and miſery, which the abuſe of ſtrong waters is the immediate cauſe of, to lift above mediocrity perhaps half a ſcore men that deal in the ſame commodity by wholeſale, while, among the retailers, though qualified as I required, a much greater number are broke and ruined, for not abſtaining from the Circean cup they hold out to others, and the more fortunate are their whole lifetime obliged to take the uncommon pains, endure the hardſhips, and ſwallow all the ungrateful and ſhocking things I named, for little or nothing beyond a bare ſubſtenance, and their daily bread.

The ſhort-ſighted vulgar in the chain of cauſes ſeldom can ſee further than one link; but thoſe who can enlarge their view, and will give themſelves the leiſure of gazing on the proſpect of concatenated events, may, in a hundred places, ſee good ſpring up and pullulate from evil, as naturally as chickens do from eggs. The money that ariſes from the duties upon malt is a conſiderable part of the national revenue, and ſhould no ſpirits be diſtilled from it, the public treaſure would prodigiouſly ſuffer on that head. But if we would ſet in a true light the many advantages, and large catalogue of ſolid bleſſings that accrue from, and are owing to the evil I treat of, we are to conſider the rents that are received, the ground that is tilled, the tools that are made, the cattle that are employed, and above all, the multitude of poor that are maintained, by the variety of labour, requited in huſbandry, in malting, in carriage and diſtillation, before we can have the product of malt, which we call low wines, and is but the beginning from which the various ſpirits are afterwards to be made.

Beſides this, a ſharp-ſighted good-humoured man might pick up abundance of good from the rubbiſh, which I have all flung away for evil. He would tell me, that whatever ſloth and ſottiſhneſs might be occaſioned by the abuſe of

malt-ſpirits, the moderate uſe of it was of ineſtimable benefit to the poor, who could purchaſe no cordials of higher prices, that it was an univerſal comfort, not only in cold and wearineſs, but moſt of the afflictions that are peculiar to the neceſſitous, and had often to the moſt deſtitute ſupplied the places of meat, drink, clothes, and lodging. That the ſtupid indolence in the moſt wretched condition occaſioned by thoſe compoſing draughts, which I complained of, was a bleſſing to thouſands, for that certainly thoſe were the happieſt, who felt the leaſt pain. As to diſeaſes, he would ſay, that, as it cauſed ſome, ſo it cured others, and that if the exceſs in thoſe liquors had been ſudden death to ſome few, the habit of drinking them daily prolonged the lives of many, whom once it agreed with; that for the loſs ſuſtained from the inſignificant quarrels it created at home, we were overpaid in the advantage we received from it abroad, by upholding the courage of ſoldiers, and animating the ſailors to the combat; and that in the two laſt wars no conſiderable victory had been obtained without.

To the diſmal account I have given of the retailers, and what they are forced to ſubmit to, he would anſwer, that not many acquired more than middling riches in any trade, and that what I had counted ſo offenſive and intolerable in the calling, was trifling to thoſe who were uſed to it; that what ſeemed irkſome and calamitous to ſome, was delightful and often raviſhing to others; as men differed in circumſtances and education. He would put me in mind, that the profit of an employment ever made amends for the toil and labour that belonged to it, nor forget, *Dulcis odor lucri e re qualibet;* or to tell me, that the ſmell of gain was fragrant even to night-workers.

If I ſhould ever urge to him, that to have here and there one great and eminent diſtiller, was a poor equivalent for the vile means, the certain want, and laſting miſery of ſo many thouſand wretches, as were neceſſary to raiſe them, he would anſwer, that of this I could be no judge, becauſe I do not know what vaſt benefit they might afterwards be of to the commonwealth. Perhaps, would he ſay, the man thus raiſed will exert himſelf in the commiſſion of the peace, or other ſtation, with vigilance and zeal againſt the diſſolute and diſaffected, and retaining his ſtirring temper, be as induſtrious in ſpreading loyalty, and the reformation of manners, throughout every cranny of the wide populous town, as

once he was in filling it with ſpirits; till he becomes at laſt the ſcourge of whores, of vagabonds and beggars, the terror of rioters and diſcontented rabbles, and conſtant plague to ſabbath-breaking butchers. Here my good-humoured antagoniſt would exult and triumph over me, eſpecially if he could inſtance to me ſuch a bright example, what an uncommon bleſſing, would he cry out, is this man to his country! how ſhining and illuſtrious his virtue!

To juſtify his exclamation, he would demonſtrate to me, that is was impoſſible to give a fuller evidence of ſelf-denial in a grateful mind, than to ſee him at the expence of his quiet and hazard of his life and limbs, be always haraſſing, and even for trifles, perſecuting that very claſs of men to whom he owes his fortune, from no other motive than his averſion to idleneſs, and great concern for religion and the public welfare.

LINE 173. Parties directly oppoſite,
Aſſiſt each other, as 'twere for ſpite.

NOTHING was more inſtrumental in forwarding the Reformation, than the ſloth and ſtupidity of the Roman clergy; yet the ſame reformation has rouſed them from the lazineſs and ignorance they then laboured under; and the followers of Luther, Calvin, and others, may be ſaid to have reformed not only thoſe whom they drew into their ſentiment, but likewiſe thoſe who remained their greateſt oppoſers. The clergy of England, by being ſevere upon the Schiſmatics, and upbraiding them with want of learning, have raiſed themſelves ſuch formidable enemies as are not eaſily anſwered; and again, the Diſſenters by prying into the lives, and diligently watching all the actions of their powerful antagoniſts, render thoſe of the Eſtabliſhed Church more cautious of giving offence, than in all probability they would, if they had no malicious over-lookers to fear. It is very much owing to the great number of Hugonots that have always been in France, ſince the late utter extirpation of them, that that kingdom has a leſs diſſolute and more learned clergy to boaſt of than any other Roman Catholic country. The clergy of that church are no where more ſovereign than in Italy, and therefore no where more debauched; nor any where more ignorant than they are in Spain, becauſe their doctrine is nowhere leſs oppoſed.

Who would imagine, that virtuous women, unknowingly, ſhould be inſtrumental in promoting the advantage of proſtitutes? Or (what ſtill ſeems the greater paradox) that incontinence ſhould be made ſerviceable to the preſervation of chaſtity? and yet nothing is more true. A vicious young fellow, after having been an hour or two at church, a ball, or any other aſſembly, where there is a great parcel of handſome women dreſſed to the beſt advantage, will have his imagination more fired, than if he had the ſame time been poling at Guildhall, or walking in the country among a flock of ſheep. The conſequence of this is, that he will ſtrive to ſatisfy the appetite that is raiſed in him; and when he finds honeſt women obſtinate and uncomatable, it is very natural to think, that he will haſten to others that are more compliable. Who would ſo much as ſurmiſe, that this is the fault of the virtuous women? They have no thoughts of men in dreſſing themſelves, poor ſouls, and endeavour only to appear clean and decent, every one according to her quality,

I am far from encouraging vice, and think it would be an unſpeakable felicity to a ſtate, if the ſin of uncleanneſs could be utterly baniſhed from it; but I am afraid it is impoſſible: The paſſions of ſome people are too violent to be curbed by any law or precept; and it is wiſdom in all governments to bear with leſſer inconveniencies to prevent greater. If courtezans and ſtrumpets were to be proſecuted with as much rigour as ſome ſilly people would have it, what locks or bars would be ſufficient to preſerve the honour of our wives and daughters? For it is not only that the women in general would meet with far greater temptations, and the attempts to enſnare the innocence of virgins would ſeem more excuſeable, even to the ſober part of mankind, than they do now: but ſome men would grow outrageous, and raviſhing would become a common crime. Where ſix or ſeven thouſand ſailors arrive at once, as it often happens, at Amſterdam, that have ſeen none but their own ſex for many months together, how is it to be ſuppoſed that honeſt women ſhould walk the ſtreets unmoleſted, if there were no harlots to be had at reaſonable prices? for which reaſon, the wiſe rulers of that well-ordered city always tolerate an uncertain number of houſes, in which women are hired as publicly as horſes at a livery ſtable; and there being in this toleration a great deal of prudence and economy to be ſeen, a ſhort account of it will be no tireſome digreſſion.

In the firſt place, the houſes I ſpeak of are allowed to be no where but in the moſt ſlovenly and unpoliſhed part of the town, where ſeamen and ſtrangers of no repute chiefly lodge and reſort. The ſtreet in which moſt of them ſtand is counted ſcandalous, and the infamy is extended to all the neighbourhood round it. In the ſecond, they are only places to meet and bargain in, to make appointments in order to promote interviews of greater ſecrecy, and no manner of lewdneſs is ever ſuffered to be tranſacted in them: which order is ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that bar the ill manners and noiſe of the company that frequent them, you will meet with no more indecency, and generally leſs laſciviouſneſs there, than with us are to be ſeen at a playhouſe.

Thirdly, the female traders that come to theſe evening exchanges are always the ſcum of the people, and generally ſuch as in the day time carry fruit and other eatables about in wheel-barrows. The habits, indeed, they appear in at night are very different from their ordinary ones; yet they are commonly ſo ridiculouſly gay, that they look more like the Roman dreſſes of ſtrolling actreſſes than gentlewomen's clothes: if to this you add the awkwardneſs, the hard hands, and courſe breeding of the damſels that wear them, there is no great reaſon to fear, that many of the better ſort of people will be tempted by them.

The muſic in theſe temples of Venus is performed by organs, not out of reſpect to the deity that is worſhipped in them, but the frugality of the owners, whoſe buſineſs it is to procure as much ſound for as little money as they can, and the policy of the government, who endeavour, as little as is poſſible to encourage the breed of pipers and ſcrapers. All ſeafaring men, eſpecially the Dutch, are like the element they belong to, much given to loudneſs and roaring, and the noiſe of half a-dozen of them, when they call themſelves merry, is ſufficient to drown twice the number of flutes or violins; whereas, with one pair of organs, they can make the whole houſe ring, and are at no other charge than the keeping of one ſcurvy muſician, which can coſt them but little: yet notwithſtanding the good rules and ſtrict diſcipline that are obſerved in theſe markets of love, the ſchout and his officers are always vexing, mulcting, and, upon the leaſt complaint, removing the miſerable keepers of them: which policy is of two great uſes; firſt, it gives an opportunity to a large parcel of officers, the magiſtrates make uſe of

on many occaſions, and which they could not be without, to ſqueeze a living out of the immoderate gains accruing from the worſt of employments, and, at the ſame time, puniſh thoſe neceſſary profligates, the bawds and panders, which, though they abominate, they deſire yet not wholly to deſtroy. Secondly, as on ſeveral accounts it might be dangerous to let the multitude into the ſecret, that thoſe houſes and the trade that is drove in them are connived at, ſo by this means appearing unblameable, the wary magiſtrates preſerve themſelves in the good opinion of the weaker ſort of people, who imagine that the government is always endeavouring, though unable, to ſuppreſs what it actually tolerates: whereas, if they had a mind to root them out, their power in the adminiſtration of juſtice is ſo ſovereign and extenſive, and they know ſo well how to have it executed, that one week, nay, one night might ſend them all a packing.

In Italy, the toleration of ſtrumpets is yet more barefaced, as is evident from their public ſtews. At Venice and Naples, impurity is a kind of merchandiſe and traffic; the courtezans at Rome, and the cantoneras in Spain, compoſe a body in the ſtate, and are under a legal tax and impoſt. It is well known, that the reaſon why ſo many good politicians as theſe tolerate lewd houſes, is not their irreligion, but to prevent a worſe evil, an impurity of a more execrable kind, and to provide for the ſafety of women of honour. "About "two hundred and fifty years ago," ſays Monſier de St. Di- "dier, Venice being in want of courtezans, the republic "was obliged to procure a great number from foreign parts." Doglioni, who has written the memorable affairs of Venice, highly extols the wiſdom of the republic in this point, which ſecured the chaſtity of women of honour, daily expoſed to public violences, the churches and conſecrated places not being a ſufficient aſylum for their chaſtity.

Our univerſities in England are much belied, if in ſome colleges there was not a monthly allowance *ad expurgandos renes*: and time was when monks and prieſts in Germany were allowed concubines on paying a certain yearly duty to their prelate. "It is generally believed" ſays Monſieur Bayle, (to whom I owe the laſt paragraph) "that avarice was the cauſe of this ſhameful indulgence; but it is more probable their deſign was to prevent their tempting modeſt women, and to quiet the uneaſineſs of huſbands, whoſe reſentments the clergy do well to avoid. From

what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt that there is a neceſſity of ſacrificing one part of womankind to preſerve the other, and prevent a filthineſs of a more heinous nature. From whence I think I may juſtly conclude (what was the ſeeming paradox I went about to prove) that chaſtity may be ſupported by incontinence, and the beſt of virtues want the aſſiſtance of the worſt of vices.

LINE 177. The root of evil, avarice,
That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful vice,
Was ſlave to prodigality.

I HAVE joined ſo many odious epithets to the word avarice, in compliance to the vogue of mankind, who generally beſtow more ill language upon this than upon any other vice, and indeed not undeſervedly; for there is hardly a miſchief to be named which it has not produced at one time or other: but the true reaſon why every body exclaims ſo much againſt it, is, that almoſt every body ſuffers by it; for the more the money is hoarded up by ſome, the ſcarcer it muſt grow among the reſt, and therefore when men rail very much at miſers, there is generally ſelf-intereſt at bottom.

As there is no living without money, ſo thoſe that are unprovided, and have nobody to give them any, are obliged to do ſome ſervice or other to the ſociety, before they can come at it; but every body eſteeming his labour as he does himſelf, which is generally not under the value, moſt people that want money only to ſpend it again preſently, imagine they do more for it than it is worth. Men cannot forbear looking upon the neceſſaries of life as their due, whether they work or not; becauſe they find that nature, without conſulting whether they have victuals or not, bids them eat whenever they are hungry; for which reaſon, every body endeavours to get what he wants with as much eaſe as he can; and therefore when men find that the trouble they are put to in getting money is either more or leſs, according as thoſe they would have it from are more or leſs tenacious, it is very natural for them to be angry at covetouſneſs in general; for it obliges them either to go without what they have occaſion for, or elſe to take greater pains for it than they are willing.

Avarice, notwithſtanding it is the occaſion of ſo may evils, is yet very neceſſary to the ſociety, to gleau and gather what

has been dropt and ſcattered by the contrary vice. Was it not for avarice, ſpendthrifts would ſoon want materials; and if none would lay up and get faſter than they ſpend, very few could ſpend faſter than they get. That it is a ſlave to prodigality, as I have called it, is evident from ſo many miſers as we daily ſee toil and labour, pinch and ſtarve themſelves, to enrich a laviſh heir. Though theſe two vices appear very oppoſite, yet they often aſſiſt each other. Florio is an extravagant young blade, of a very profuſe temper; as he is the only ſon of a very rich father, he wants to live high, keep horſes and dogs, and throw his money about, as he ſees ſome of his companions do; but the old hunks will part with no money, and hardly allows him neceſſaries. Florio would have borrowed money upon his own credit long ago; but as all would be loſt, if he died before his father, no prudent man would lend him any. At laſt he has met with the greedy Cornaro, who lets him have money at thirty *per cent.* and now Florio thinks himſelf happy, and ſpends a thouſand a-year. Where would Cornaro ever have got ſuch a prodigious intereſt, if it was not for ſuch a fool as Florio, who will give ſo great a price for money to fling it away? And how would Florio get it to ſpend, if he had not lit of ſuch a greedy uſurer as Cornaro, whoſe exceſſive covetouſneſs makes him overlook the great riſk he runs in venturing ſuch great ſums upon the life of a wild debauchee.

Avarice is no longer the reverſe of profuſeneſs, than while it ſignifies that ſordid love of money, and narrowneſs of ſoul that hinders miſers from parting with what they have, and makes them covet it only to hoard up. But there is a ſort of avarice which conſiſts in a greedy deſire of riches, in order to ſpend them, and this often meets with prodigality in the ſame perſons, as is evident in moſt courtiers and great officers, both civil and military. In their buildings and furniture, equipages and entertainments, their gallantry is diſplayed with the greateſt profuſion; while the baſe actions they ſubmit to for lucre, and the many frauds and impoſitions they are guilty of, diſcover the utmoſt avarice. This mixture of contrary vices, comes up exactly to the character of Catiline, of whom it is ſaid, that he was *appetens alieni & fui profuſus*, greedy after the goods of others, and laviſh of his own.

LINE 180. That noble sin———

THE prodigality, I call a noble sin, is not that which has avarice for its companion, and makes men unreasonably profuse to some of what they unjustly extort from others, but that agreeable good-natured vice that makes the chimney smoke, and all the tradesmen smile; I mean the unmixed prodigality of heedless and voluptuous men, that being educated in plenty, abhor the vile thoughts of lucre, and lavish away only what others took pains to scrape together; such as indulge their inclinations at their own expence, that have the continual satisfaction of bartering old gold for new pleasures, and from the excessive largeness of a diffusive soul, are made guilty of despising too much what most people overvalue.

When I speak thus honourably of this vice, and treat it with so much tenderness and good manners as I do, I have the same thing at heart that made me give so many ill names to the reverse of it, viz. the interest of the public; for as the avaricious does no good to himself, and is injurious to all the world besides, except his heir, so the prodigal is a blessing to the whole society, and injures no body but himself. It is true, that as most of the first are knaves, so the latter are all fools; yet they are delicious morsels for the public to feast on, and may with as much justice, as the French call the monks the patridges of the women, be styled the woodcocks of the society. Was it not for prodigality, nothing could make us amends for the rapine and extortion of avarice in power. When a covetous statesman is gone, who spent his whole life in fattening himself with the spoils of the nation, and had by pinching and plundering heaped up an immense treasure it, ought to fill every good member of the society with joy, to behold the uncommon profuseness of his son. This is refunding to the public what was robbed from it. Resuming of grants is a barbarous way of stripping, and it is ignoble to ruin a man faster than he does it himself, when he sets about it in such good earnest. Does he not feed an infinite number of dogs of all sorts and sizes, though he never hunts; keep more horses than any nobleman in the kingdom, though he never rides them; and give as large an allowance to an ill-favoured whore as would keep a dutchess, though he never lies with her? Is he not still more extravagant in those things he makes use of? Therefore let him alone, or praise him, call him public-spirited

lord, nobly bountiful and magnificently generous, and in a few years he will ſuffer himſelf to be ſtript his own way. As long as the nation has its own back again, we ought not to quarrel with the manner in which the plunder is repaid.

Abundance of moderate men, I know, that are enemies to extremes, will tell me, that frugality might happily ſupply the place of the two vices I ſpeak of, that if men had not ſo many profuſe ways of ſpending wealth, they would not be tempted to ſo many evil practices to ſcrape it together, and conſequently that the ſame number of men, by equally avoiding both extremes, might render themſelves more happy, and be leſs vicious without, than they could with them. Whoever argues thus, ſhows himſelf a better man than he is a politician. Frugality is like honeſty, a mean ſtarving virtue, that is only fit for ſmall ſocieties of good peaceable men, who are contented to be poor, ſo they may be eaſy; but, in a large ſtirring nation, you may have ſoon enough of it. It is an idle dreaming virtue that employs no hands, and therefore very uſeleſs in a trading country, where there are vaſt numbers that one way or other muſt be all ſet to work. Prodigality has a thouſand inventions to keep people from ſitting ſtill, that frugality would never think of; and as this muſt conſume a prodigious wealth, ſo avarice again knows innumerable tricks to raiſe it together, which frugality would ſcorn to make uſe of.

Authors are always allowed to compare ſmall things to great ones, eſpecially if they aſk leave firſt. *Si licit exemplis, &c.* but to compare great things to mean trivial ones, is unſufferable, unleſs it be in burleſque; otherwiſe I would compare the body politic (I confeſs the ſimile is very low) to a bowl of punch. Avarice ſhould be the ſouring, and prodigality the ſweetening of it. The water I would call the ignorance, folly, and credulity of the floating inſipid multitude; while wiſdom, honour, fortitude, and the reſt of the ſublime qualities of men, which ſeparated by art from the dregs of nature, the fire of glory has exalted and refined into a ſpiritual eſſence, ſhould be an equivalent to brandy. I do not doubt but a Weſtphalian, Laplander, or any other dull ſtranger that is unacquainted with the wholeſome compoſition, if he was to ſeſt the ſeveral ingredients apart, would think it impoſſible they ſhould make any tolerable liquor. The lemons would be too ſour, the ſugar too luſcious, the brandy he will ſay is too ſtrong ever to be drank in any quantity, and the water he

will call a taſteleſs liquor, only fit for cows and horſes: yet experience teaches us, that the ingredients I named, judiciouſly mixed, will make an excellent liquor, liked of, and admired by men of exquiſite palates.

As to our vices in particular, I could compare avarice, that cauſes ſo much miſchief, and is complained of by every body who is not a miſer, to a griping acid that ſets our teeth on edge, and is unpleaſant to every palate that is not debauched: I could compare the gaudy trimming and ſplendid equipage of a profuſe beau, to the gliſtening brightneſs of the fineſt loaf ſugar; for as the one, by correcting the ſharpneſs, prevent the injuries which a gnawing four might do to the bowels, ſo the other is a pleaſing balſam that heals and makes amends for the ſmart, which the multitude always ſuffers from the gripes of the avaricious; while the ſubſtances of both melt away alike, and they conſume themſelves by being beneficial to the ſeveral compoſitions they belong to. I could carry on the ſimile as to proportions, and the exact nicety to be obſerved in them, which would make it appear how little any of the ingredients could be ſpared in either of the mixtures; but I will not tire my reader by purſuing too far a ludicrous compariſon, when I have other matters to entertain him with of greater importance; and to ſum up what I have ſaid in this and the foregoing remark, ſhall only add, that I look upon avarice and prodigality in the ſociety, as I do upon two contrary poiſons in phyſic, of which it is certain that the noxious qualities being by mutual miſchief corrected in both, they may aſſiſt each other, and often make a good medicine between them.

LINE 180.——————Whilſt luxury
Employ'd a million of the poor, &c.

IF every thing is to be luxury (as in ſtrictneſs it ought) that is not immediately neceſſary to make man ſubſiſt as he is a living creature, there is nothing elſe to be found in the world, no not even among the naked ſavages; of which it is not probable that there are any but what by this time have made ſome improvements upon their former manner of living; and either in the preparation of their eatables, the ordering of their huts, or otherwiſe, added ſomething to what once ſufficed them. This definition every body will ſay is too ri-

gorous: I am of the ſame opinion; but if we are to abate one inch of this ſeverity, I am afraid we ſhall not know where to ſtop. When people tell us they only deſire to keep themſelves ſweet and clean, there is no underſtanding what they would be at: if they made uſe of theſe words in their genuine proper literal ſenſe, they might be ſoon ſatisfied without much coſt or trouble, if they did not want water: but theſe two little adjectives are ſo comprehenſive, eſpecially in the dialect of ſome ladies, that nobody can gueſs how far they may be ſtretched. The comforts of life are likewiſe ſo various and extenſive, that nobody can tell what people mean by them, except he knows what ſort of life they lead. The ſame obſcurity I obſerve in the words decency and conveniency, and I never underſtand them, unleſs I am acquainted with the quality of the perſons that make uſe of them. People may go to church together, and be all of one mind as much as they pleaſe, I am apt to believe that when they pray for their daily bread, the biſhop includes ſeveral things in that petition which the ſexton does not think on.

By what I have ſaid hitherto I would only ſhow, that if once we depart from calling every thing luxury that is not abſolutely neceſſary to keep a man alive, that then there is no luxury at all; for if the wants of men are innumerable, then what ought to ſupply them has no bounds; what is called ſuperfluous, to ſome degree of people, will be thought requiſite to thoſe of higher quality; and neither the world, nor the ſkill of man can produce any thing ſo curious or extravagant, but ſome moſt gracious ſovereign or other, if it either eaſes or diverts him, will reckon it among the neceſſaries of life; not meaning every body's life, but that of his ſacred perſon.

It is a received notion, that luxury is as deſtructive to the wealth of the whole body politic, as it is to that of every individual perſon who is guilty of it, and that a national frugality enriches a country in the ſame manner, as that which is leſs general increaſes the eſtates of private families. I confeſs, that though I have found men of much better underſtanding than myſelf of this opinion, I cannot help diſſenting from them in this point. They argue thus: We ſend, ſay they, for example, to Turkey of woollen manufactury, and other things of our own growth, a million's worth ever year; for this we bring back ſilk, mohair, drugs, &c. to the value of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, that are all ſpent in our own country. By this, ſay they, we get nothing; but if moſt

of us would be content with our own growth, and ſo conſume but half the quantity of thoſe foreign commodities, then thoſe in Turkey, who would ſtill want the ſame quantity of our manufactures, would be forced to pay ready money for the reſt, and ſo by the balance of that trade only, the nation ſhould get ſix hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*.

To examine the force of this argument, we will ſuppoſe (what they would have) that but half the ſilk, &c. ſhall be conſumed in England of what there is now; we will ſuppoſe likewiſe, that thoſe in Turkey, though we refuſe to buy above half as much of their commodities as we uſed to do, either can or will not be without the ſame quantity of our manufactures they had before, and that they will pay the balance in money; that is to ſay, that they ſhall give us as much gold or ſilver, as the value of what they buy from us, exceeds the value of what we buy from them. Though what we ſuppoſe might perhaps be done for one year, it is impoſſible it ſhould laſt: Buying is bartering; and no nation can buy goods of others, that has none of her own to purchaſe them with. Spain and Portugal, that are yearly ſupplied with new gold and ſilver from their mines, may for ever buy for ready money, as long as their yearly increaſe of gold or ſilver continues; but then money is their growth, and the commodity of the country. We know that we could not continue long to purchaſe the goods of other nations, if they would not take our manufactures in payment for them; and why ſhould we judge otherwiſe of other nations? If thoſe in Turkey, then, had no more money fall from the ſkies than we, let us ſee what would be the conſequence of what we ſuppoſed. The ſix hundred thouſand pounds in ſilk, mohair, &c. that are left upon their hands the firſt year, muſt make thoſe commodities fall conſiderably: Of this the Dutch and French will reap the benefit as much as ourſelves; and if we continue to refuſe taking their commodities in payment for our manufactures, they can trade no longer with us, but muſt content themſelves with buying what they want of ſuch nations as are willing to take what we refuſe, though their goods are much worſe than ours; and thus our commerce with Turkey muſt in few years be infallibly loſt.

But they will ſay, perhaps, that to prevent the ill conſequence I have ſhowed, we ſhall take the Turkiſh merchandiſes as formerly, and only be ſo frugal as to conſume but half the quantity of them ourſelves, and ſend the reſt abroad

to be ſold to others. Let us ſee what this will do, and whether it will enrich the nation by the balance of that trade with ſix hundred thouſand pounds. In the firſt place, I will grant them that our people at home making uſe of ſo much more of our own manufactures, thoſe who were employed in ſilk, mohair, &c. will get a living by the various preparations of woollen goods. But, in the ſecond, I cannot allow that the goods can be ſold as formerly; for ſuppoſe the half that is wore at home to be ſold at the ſame rate as before, certainly the other half that is ſent abroad will want very much of it: For we muſt ſend thoſe goods to markets already ſupplied; and beſides that, there muſt be freight, inſurance, proviſion, and all other charges deducted, and the merchants in general muſt loſe much more by this half that is reſhipped, than they got by the half that is conſumed here. For, though the woollen manufactures are our own product, yet they ſtand the merchant that ſhips them off to foreign countries, in as much as they do the ſhopkeeper here that retails them: ſo that if the returns for what he ſends abroad repay him not what his goods coſt him here, with all other charges, till he has the money and a good intereſt for it in caſh, the merchant muſt run out, and the upſhot would be, that the merchants in general, finding they loſt by the Turkiſh commodities they ſent abroad, would ſhip no more of our manufactures, than what would pay for as much ſilk, mohair, &c. as would be conſumed here. Other nations would ſoon find ways to ſupply them with as much as we ſhould ſend ſhort, and ſome where or other to diſpoſe of the goods we ſhould refuſe: So that all we ſhould get by this frugality, would be, that thoſe in Turkey would take but half the quantity of our manufactures of what they do now, while we encourage and wear their merchandiſes, without which they are not able to purchaſe ours.

As I have had the mortification, for ſeveral years, to meet with abundance of ſenſible people againſt this opinion, and who always thought me wrong in this calculation, ſo I had the pleaſure at laſt to ſee the wiſdom of the nation fall into the ſame ſentiments, as is ſo manifeſt from an act of parliament made in the year 1721, where the legiſlature diſobliges a powerful and valuable company, and overlooks very weighty inconveniences at home, to promote the intereſt of the Turkey trade, and not only encourages the conſumption

of ſilk and mohair, but forces the ſubjects, on penalties, to make uſe of them whether they will or not.

What is laid to the charge of luxury beſides, is, that it increaſes avarice and rapine: And where they are reigning vices, offices of the greateſt truſt are bought and ſold; the miniſters that ſhould ſerve the public, both great and ſmall, corrupted, and the countries every moment in danger of being betrayed to the higheſt bidders: And, laſtly, that it effeminates and enervates the people, by which the nations become an eaſy prey to the firſt invaders. Theſe are indeed terrible things; but what is put to the account of luxury belongs to male-adminiſtration, and is the fault of bad politics. Every government ought to be thoroughly acquainted with, and ſtedfaſtly to purſue the intereſt of the country. Good politicians, by dexterous management, laying heavy impoſitions on ſome goods, or totally prohibiting them, and lowering the duties on others, may always turn and divert the courſe of trade which way they pleaſe; and as they will ever prefer, if it be equally conſiderable, the commerce with ſuch countries as can pay with money as well as goods, to thoſe that can make no returns for what they buy, but in the commodities of their own growth and manufactures, ſo they will always carefully prevent the traffic with ſuch nations as refuſe the goods of others, and will take nothing but money for their own. But, above all, they will keep a watchful eye over the balance of trade in general, and never ſuffer that all the foreign commodities together, that are imported in one year, ſhall exceed in value what of their own growth or manufacture is in the ſame imported to others. Note, That I ſpeak now of the intereſt of thoſe nations that have no gold or ſilver of their own growth, otherwiſe this maxim need not to be ſo much inſiſted on.

If what I urged laſt, be but diligently looked after, and the imports are never allowed to be ſuperior to the exports, no nation can ever be impoveriſhed by foreign luxury; and they may improve it as much as they pleaſe, if they can but in proportion raiſe the fund of their own that is to purchaſe it.

Trade is the principal, but not the only requiſite to aggrandize a nation: there are other things to be taken care of beſides. The *meum* and *tuum* muſt be ſecured, crimes puniſhed, and all other laws concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice, wiſely contrived, and ſtrictly executed. Foreign af-

fairs muſt be likewiſe prudently managed, and the miniſtry of every nation ought to have a good intelligence abroad, and be well acquainted with the public tranſactions of all thoſe countries, that either by their neighbourhood, ſtrength, or intereſt, may be hurtful or beneficial to them, to take the neceſſary meaſures accordingly, of croſſing ſome, and aſſiſting others, as policy, and the balance of power direct. The multitude muſt be awed, no man's conſcience forced, and the clergy allowed no greater ſhare in ſtate affairs, than our Saviour has bequeathed in his teſtament. Theſe are the arts that lead to wordly greatneſs: What ſovereign power ſoever makes a good uſe of them, that has any conſiderable nation to govern, whether it be a monarchy, a commonwealth, or a mixture of both, can never fail of making it flouriſh in ſpite of all the other powers upon earth, and no luxury, or other vice, is ever able to ſhake their conſtitution ——But here I expect a full-mouthed cry againſt me; What! has God never puniſhed and deſtroyed great nations for their ſins? Yes, but not without means, by infatuating their governors, and ſuffering them to depart from either all or ſome of thoſe general maxims I have mentioned; and of all the famous ſtates and empires the world has had to boaſt of hitherto, none ever came to ruin, whoſe deſtruction was not principally owing to the bad politics, neglects, or miſmanagements of the rulers.

There is no doubt, but more health and vigour is expected among the people, and their offspring, from temperance and ſobriety, than there is from gluttony and drunkenneſs; yet I confeſs, that as to luxury's effeminating and enervating a nation, I have not ſuch frightful notions now, as I have had formerly. When we hear or read of things which we are altogether ſtrangers to, they commonly bring to our imagination ſuch ideas of what we have ſeen, as (according to our apprehenſion) muſt come the neareſt to them: And I remember, that when I have read of the luxury of Perſia, Egypt, and other countries where it has been a reigning vice, and that were effeminated and enervated by it, it has ſometimes put me in mind of the cramming and ſwilling of ordinary tradeſmen at a city feaſt, and the beaſtlineſs their overgorging themſelves is often attended with; at other times, it has made me think on the diſtraction of diſſolute ſailors, as I had ſeen them in company of halt a dozen lewd women, roaring along with fiddles before them; and was I

to have been carried into any of their great cities, I would have expected to have found one third of the people ſick a-bed with ſurfeits; another laid up with the gout, or crippled by a more ignominious diſtemper; and the reſt, that could go without leading, walk along the ſtreets in petticoats.

It is happy for us to have fear for a keeper, as long as our reaſon is not ſtrong enough to govern our appetites: And I believe, that the great dread I had more particularly againſt the word, to enervate, and ſome conſequent thoughts on the etymology of it, did me abundance of good when I was a ſchool boy: But ſince I have ſeen ſomething in the world, the conſequences of luxury to a nation ſeem not ſo dreadful to me as they did. As long as men have the ſame appetites, the ſame vices will remain. In all large ſocieties, ſome will love whoring, and others drinking. The luſtful that can get no handſome clean women, will content themſelves with dirty drabs: and thoſe that cannot purchaſe true Hermitage or Pontack, will be glad of more ordinary French claret. Thoſe that cannot reach wine, take up with moſt liquors, and a foot ſoldier or a beggar may make himſelf as drunk with ſtale beer or malt ſpirits, as a lord with Burgundy, Champaign, or Tockay. The cheapeſt and moſt ſlovenly way of indulging our paſſions, does as much miſchief to a man's conſtitution, as the moſt elegant and expenſive.

The greateſt exceſſes of luxury are ſhown in buildings, furniture, equipages, and clothes: Clean linen weakens a man no more than flannel; tapeſtry, fine painting, or good wainſcot, are no more unwholeſome than bare walls; and a rich couch, or a gilt chariot, are no more enervating than the cold floor, or a country cart. The refined pleaſures of men of ſenſe are ſeldom injurious to their conſtitution, and there are many great epicures that will refuſe to eat or drink more than their heads or ſtomachs can bear. Senſual people may take as great care of themſelves as any: and the errors of the moſt viciouſly luxurious, do not ſo much conſiſt in the frequent repetitions of their lewdneſs, and their eating and drinking too much (which are the things which would moſt enervate them), as they do in the operoſe contrivances, the profuſeneſs and nicety they are ſerved with, and the vaſt expence they are at in their tables and amours.

But let us once ſuppoſe, that the eaſe and pleaſures, the grandees, and the rich people of every nation live in, render them unfit to endure hardſhips, and undergo the toils of

war. I will allow that moſt of the common council of the city would make but very indifferent foot ſoldiers; and I believe heartily, that if your horſe was to be compoſed of aldermen, and ſuch as moſt of them are, a ſmall artillery of ſquibs would be ſufficient to route them. But what have the aldermen, the common council, or indeed all people of any ſubſtance to do with the war, but to pay taxes? The hardſhips and fatigues of war that are perſonally ſuffered, fall upon them that bear the brunt of every thing, the meaneſt indigent part of the nation, the working ſlaving people: For how exceſſive ſoever the plenty and luxury of a nation may be, ſome body muſt do the work, houſes and ſhips muſt be built, merchandiſes muſt be removed, and the ground tilled. Such a variety of labours in every great nation, require a vaſt multitude, in which there are always looſe, idle, extravagant fellows enough to ſpare for an army; and thoſe that are robuſt enough to hedge and ditch, plow and thraſh, or elſe not too much enervated to be ſmiths, carpenters, ſawyers, cloth-workers, porters or carmen, will always be ſtrong and hardy enough in a campaign or two to make good ſoldiers, who, where good orders are kept, have ſeldom ſo much plenty and ſuperfluity come to their ſhare, as to do them any hurt.

The miſchief, then, to be feared from luxury among the people of war, cannot extend itſelf beyond the officers. The greateſt of them are either men of a very high birth and princely education, or elſe extraordinary parts, and no leſs experience; and whoever is made choice of by a wiſe government to command an army *en chef*, ſhould have a conſummate knowledge in martial affairs, intrepidity to keep him calm in the midſt of danger, and many other qualifications that muſt be the work of time and application, on men of a quick penetration, a diſtinguiſhed genius, and a world of honour. Strong ſinews and ſupple joints are trifling advantages, not regarded in perſons of their reach and grandeur, that can deſtroy cities a-bed, and ruin whole countries while they are at dinner. As they are moſt commonly men of great age, it would be ridiculous to expect a hale conſtitution and agility of limbs from them: So their heads be but active and well furniſhed, it is no great matter what the reſt of their bodies are. If they cannot bear the fatigue of being on horſeback, they may ride in coaches, or be carried in litters. Mens conduct and ſagacity are never the leſs for their being

cripples, and the beſt general the king of France has now, can hardly crawl along. Thoſe that are immediately under the chief commanders muſt be very nigh of the ſame abilities, and are generally men that have raiſed themſelves to thoſe poſts by their merit. The other officers are all of them in their ſeveral ſtations obliged to lay out ſo large a ſhare of their pay in fine clothes, accoutrements, and other things, by the luxury of the times called neceſſary, that they can ſpare but little money for debauches; for, as they are advanced, and their ſalaries raiſed, ſo they are likewiſe forced to increaſe their expences and their equipages, which, as well as every thing elſe, muſt ſtill be proportionable to their quality: by which means, the greateſt part of them are in a manner hindered from thoſe exceſſes that might be deſtructive to health; while their luxury thus turned another way, ſerves, moreover, to heighten their pride and vanity, the greateſt motives to make them behave themſelves like what they would be thought to be (See Remark on l. 321)

There is nothing refines mankind more than love and honour. Thoſe two paſſions are equivalent to many virtues, and therefore the greateſt ſchools of breeding and good manners, are courts and armies; the firſt to accompliſh the women, the other to poliſh the men. What the generality of officers among civilized nations affect, is a perfect knowledge of the world and the rules of honour; an air of frankneſs, and humanity peculiar to military men of experience, and ſuch a mixture of modeſty and undauntedneſs, as may beſpeak them both courteous and valiant. Where good ſenſe is faſhionable, and a genteel behaviour is in eſteem, gluttony and drunkenneſs can be no reigning vices. What officers of diſtinction chiefly aim at, is not a beaſtly, but a ſplendid way of living, and the wiſhes of the moſt luxurious, in their ſeveral degrees of quality, are to appear handſomely, and excel each other in finery of equipage, politeneſs of entertainments, and the reputation of a judicious fancy in every thing about them.

But if there ſhould be more diſſolute reprobates among officers, than there are among men of other profeſſions, which is not true, yet the moſt debauched of them may be very ſerviceable, if they have but a great ſhare of honour. It is this that covers and makes up for a multitude of defects in them, and it is this that none (how abandoned ſoever they are to pleaſure) dare pretend to be without. But as there is no ar-

gument so convincing as matter of fact, let us look back on what so lately happened in our two last wars with France. How many puny young striplings have we had in our armies, tenderly educated, nice in their dress, and curious in their diet, that underwent all manner of duties with gallantry and cheerfulness?

Those that have such dismal apprehensions of luxury's enervating and effeminating people, might, in Flanders and Spain have seen embroidered beaux with fine laced shirts and powdered wigs stand as much fire, and lead up to the mouth of a cannon, with as little concern as it was possible for the most stinking slovens to have done in their own hair, though it had not been combed in a month, and met with abundance of wild rakes, who had actually impaired their healths, and broke their constitutions with excesses of wine and women, that yet behaved themselves with conduct and bravery against their enemies. Robustness is the least thing required in an officer, and if sometimes strength is of use, a firm resolution of mind, which the hopes of preferment, emulation, and the love of glory inspire them with, will at a push supply the place of bodily force.

Those that understand their business, and have a sufficient sense of honour, as soon as they are used to danger will always be capable officers: and their luxury, as long as they spend nobody's money but their own, will never be prejudicial to a nation.

By all which, I think, I have proved what I designed in this remark on luxury. First, that in one sense every thing may be called so, and in another there is no such thing. Secondly, that with a wise administration all people may swim in as much foreign luxury as their product can purchase, without being impoverished by it. And, lastly, that where military affairs are taken care of as they ought, and the soldiers well paid and kept in good discipline, a wealthy nation may live in all the ease and plenty imaginable; and in many parts of it, show as much pomp and delicacy, as human wit can invent, and at the same time be formidable to their neighbours, and come up to the character of the bees in the fable, of which I said, that

> Flatter'd in peace, and fear'd in wars,
> They were th' esteem of foreigners;
> And lavish of their wealth and lives,
> The balance of all other hives.

(See what is farther ſaid concerning luxury in the Remarks on line 182 and 307.)

LINE 182. And odious pride a million more.

PRIDE is that natural faculty by which every mortal that has any underſtanding over-values, and imagines better things of himſelf than any impartial judge, thoroughly acquainted with all his qualities and circumſtances, could allow him. We are poſſeſſed of no other quality ſo beneficial to ſociety, and ſo neceſſary to render it wealthy and flouriſhing as this, yet it is that which is moſt generally deteſted. What is very peculiar to this faculty of ours, is, that thoſe who are the fulleſt of it, are the leaſt willing to connive at it in others; whereas the heinouſneſs of other vices is the moſt extenuated by thoſe who are guilty of them themſelves. The chaſte man hates fornication, and drunkenneſs is moſt abhorred by the temperate; but none are ſo much offended at their neighbour's pride, as the proudeſt of all; and if any one can pardon it, it is the moſt humble: from which, I think, we may juſtly infer, that it being odious to all the world, is a certain ſign that all the world is troubled with it. This all men of ſenſe are ready to confeſs, and nobody denies but that he has pride in general. But, if you come to particulars, you will meet with few that will own any action you can name of theirs to have proceeded from that principle. There are likewiſe many who will allow, that among the ſinful nations of the times, pride and luxury are the great promoters of trade, but they refuſe to own the neceſſity there is, that in a more virtuous age (ſuch a one as ſhould be free from pride), trade would in a great meaſure decay.

The Almighty, they ſay, has endowed us with the dominion over all things which the earth and ſea produce or contain; there is nothing to be found in either, but what was made for the uſe of man; and his ſkill and induſtry above other animals were given him, that he might render both them and every thing elſe within the reach of his ſenſes, more ſerviceable to him. Upon this conſideration they think it impious to imagine, that humility, temperance, and other virtues ſhould debar people from the enjoyment of thoſe comforts of life, which are not denied to the moſt wicked nations; and ſo conclude, that without pride or luxury, the ſame things might be eat, wore, and conſumed; the

ſame number of handicrafts and artificers employed, and a nation be every way as flouriſhing as where thoſe vices are the moſt predominant.

As to wearing apparel in particular, they will tell you, that pride, which ſticks much nearer to us than our clothes, is only lodged in the heart, and that rags often conceal a greater portion of it than the moſt pompous attire; and that as it cannot be denied but that there have always been virtuous princes, who, with humble hearts, have wore their ſplendid diadems, and ſwayed their envied ſceptres, void of ambition, for the good of others; ſo it is very probable, that ſilver and gold brocades, and the richeſt embroideries may, without a thought of pride, be wore by many whoſe quality and fortune are ſuitable to them. May not (ſay they) a good man of extraordinary revenues, make every year a greater variety of ſuits than it is poſſible he ſhould wear out, and yet have no other ends than to ſet the poor at work, to encourage trade, and by employing many, to promote the welfare of his country? And conſidering food and raiment to be neceſſaries, and the two chief articles to which all our worldly cares are extended, why may not all mankind ſet aſide a conſiderable part of their income for the one as well as the other, without the leaſt tincture of pride? Nay, is not every member of the ſociety in a manner obliged, according to his ability, to contribute toward the maintenance of that branch of trade on which the whole has ſo great a dependence? Beſides that, to appear decently is a civility, and often a duty, which, without any regard to ourſelves, we owe to thoſe we converſe with.

Theſe are the objections generally made uſe of by haughty moraliſts, who cannot endure to hear the dignity or their ſpecies arraigned; but if we look narrowly into them, they may ſoon be anſwered.

If we had vices, I cannot ſee why any man ſhould ever make more ſuits than he has occaſion for, though he was never ſo deſirous of promoting the good of the nation: for, though in the wearing of a well-wrought ſilk, rather than a ſlight ſtuff, and the preferring curious fine cloth to coarſe, he had no other view but the ſetting of more people to work, and conſequently the public welfare, yet he could conſider clothes no otherwiſe than lovers of their country do taxes now; they may pay them with alacrity, but nobody gives more than his due; eſpecially where all are juſtly rated ac-

cording to their abilities, as it could no otherwiſe be expected in a very virtuous age. Beſides, that in ſuch golden times nobody would dreſs above his condition, nobody pinch his family, cheat or over reach his neighbour to purchaſe finery, and conſequently there would not be half the conſumption, nor a third part of the people employed as now there are. But, to make this more plain, and demonſtrate, that for the ſupport of trade there can be nothing equivalent to pride, I ſhall examine the ſeveral views men have in outward apparel, and ſet forth what daily experience may teach every body as to dreſs.

Clothes were originally made for two ends, to hide our nakedneſs, and to fence our bodies againſt the weather, and other outward injuries: to theſe our boundleſs pride has added a third, which is ornament; for what elſe but an exceſs of ſtupid vanity, could have prevailed upon our reaſon to fancy that ornamental, which muſt continually put us in mind of our wants and miſery, beyond all other animals that are ready clothed by nature herſelf? It is indeed to be admired how ſo ſenſible a creature as man, that pretends to ſo many fine qualities of his own, ſhould condeſcend to value himſelf upon what is robbed from ſo innocent and defenceleſs an animal as a ſheep, or what he is beholden for to the moſt inſignificant thing upon earth, a dying worm; yet while he is proud of ſuch trifling depredations, he has the folly to laugh at the Hottentots on the furtheſt promontory of Afric, who adorn themſelves with the guts of their dead enemies, without conſidering that they are the enſigns of their valour thoſe barbarians are fine with, the true *ſpolia opima*, and that if their pride be more ſavage than ours, it is certainly leſs ridiculous, becauſe they wear the ſpoils of the more noble animal.

But whatever reflections may be made on this head, the world has long ſince decided the matter; handſome apparel is a main point, fine feathers make fine birds, and people, where they are not known, are generally honoured according to their clothes and other accoutrements they have about them; from the richneſs of them we judge of their wealth, and by their ordering of them we gueſs at their underſtanding. It is this which encourages every body, who is conſcious of his little merit, if he is any ways able to wear clothes above his rank, eſpecially in large and populous cities, where obſcure men may hourly meet with fifty ſtran-

gers to one acquaintance, and conſequently have the pleaſure of being eſteemed by a vaſt majority, not as what they are, but what they appear to be: which is a greater temptation than moſt people want to be vain.

Whoever takes delight in viewing the various ſcenes of low life, may, on Eaſter, Whitſun, and other great holidays, meet with ſcores of people, eſpecially women, of almoſt the loweſt rank, that wear good and faſhionable clothes: if coming to talk with them, you treat them more courteouſly and with greater reſpect than what they are conſcious they deſerve, they will commonly be aſhamed of owning what they are; and often you may, if you are a little inquiſitive, diſcover in them a moſt anxious care to conceal the buſineſs they follow, and the place they live in. The reaſon is plain; while they receive thoſe civilities that are not uſually paid them, and which they think only due to their betters, they have the ſatisfaction to imagine, that they appear what they would be, which, to weak minds, is a pleaſure almoſt as ſubſtantial as they could reap from the very accompliſhments of their wiſhes: this golden dream they are unwilling to be diſturbed in, and being ſure that the meanneſs of their condition, if it is known, muſt ſink them very low in your opinion, they hug themſelves in their diſguiſe, and take all imaginable precaution not to forfeit, by a uſeleſs diſcovery, the eſteem which they flatter themſelves that their good clothes have drawn from you.

Though every body allows, that as to apparel and manner of living, we ought to behave ourſelves ſuitable to our conditions, and follow the examples of the moſt ſenſible, and prudent among our equals in rank and fortune: yet how few, that are not either miſerably covetous, or elſe proud of ſingularity, have this diſcretion to boaſt of? We all look above ourſelves, and, as faſt as we can, ſtrive to imitate thoſe that ſome way or other are ſuperior to us.

The pooreſt labourer's wife in the pariſh, who ſcorns to wear a ſtrong wholeſome frize, as ſhe might, will half ſtarve herſelf and her huſband to purchaſe a ſecond-hand gown and petticoat, that cannot do her half the ſervice; becauſe, forſooth, it is more genteel. The weaver, the ſhoemaker, the tailor, the barber, and every mean working fellow, that can ſet up with little, has the impudence, with the firſt money he gets, to dreſs himſelf like a tradeſman of ſubſtance: the ordinary retailer in the clothing of his wife, takes pattern from

his neighbour, that deals in the ſame commodity by wholeſale, and the reaſon he gives for it is, that twelve years ago the other had not a bigger ſhop than himſelf. The druggiſt, mercer, draper, and other creditable ſhopkeepers, can find no difference between themſelves and merchants, and therefore dreſs and live like them. The merchant's lady, who cannot bear the aſſurance of thoſe mechanics, flies for refuge to the other end of the town, and ſcorns to follow any faſhion but what ſhe takes from thence; this haughtineſs alarms the court, the women of quality are frightened to ſee merchants wives and daughters dreſſed like themſelves: this impudence of the city, they cry, is intolerable; mantua-makers are ſent for, and the contrivance of faſhions becomes all their ſtudy, that they may have always new modes ready to take up, as ſoon as thoſe ſaucy cits ſhall begin to imitate thoſe in being. The ſame emulation is continued through the ſeveral degrees of quality, to an incredible expence, till at laſt the prince's great favourites and thoſe of the firſt rank of all, having nothing left to outſtrip ſome of their inferiors, are forced to lay out vaſt eſtates in pompous equipages, magnificent furniture, ſumptuous gardens, and princely palaces.

To this emulation and continual ſtriving to out-do one another it is owing, that after ſo many various ſhiftings and changes of modes, in trumping up new ones, and renewing of old ones, there is ſtill a *plus ultra* left for the ingenious; it is this, or at leaſt the conſequence of it, that ſets the poor to work, adds ſpurs to induſtry, and encourages the ſkilful artificer to ſearch after further improvements.

It may be objected, that many people of good faſhion, who have been uſed to be well dreſſed, out of cuſtom, wear rich clothes with all the indifferency imaginable, and that the benefit to trade accruing from them cannot be aſcribed to emulation or pride. To this I anſwer, that it is impoſſible, that thoſe who trouble their heads ſo little with their dreſs, could ever have wore thoſe rich clothes, if both the ſtuffs and faſhions had not been firſt invented to gratify the vanity of others, who took greater delight in fine apparel, than they; beſides that every body is not without pride that appears to be ſo; all the ſymptoms of that vice are not eaſily diſcovered; they are manifold, and vary according to the age, humour, circumſtances, and often conſtitution of the people.

The choleric city captain ſeems impatient to come to action, and expreſſing his warlike genius by the firmneſs of his

ſteps, makes his pike, for want of enemies, tremble at the valour of his arm: his martial finery, as he marches along, inſpires him with an unuſual elevation of mind, by which, endeavouring to forget his ſhop as well as himſelf, he looks up at the balconies with the fierceneſs of a Saracen conqueror: while the phlegmatic alderman, now become venerable both for his age and his authority, contents himſelf with being thought a conſiderable man; and knowing no eaſier way to expreſs his vanity, looks big in his coach, where being known by his paultry livery, he receives, in ſullen ſtate, the homage that is paid him by the meaner ſort of people.

The beardleſs enſign counterfeits a gravity above his years, and with ridiculous aſſurance ſtrives to imitate the ſtern countenance of his colonel, flattering himſelf, all the while, that by his daring mien you will judge of his proweſs. The youthful fair, in a vaſt concern of being overlooked, by the continual changing of her poſture, betrays a violent deſire of being obſerved, and catching, as it were, at every body's eyes, courts with obliging looks the admiration of her beholders. The conceited coxcomb, on the contrary, diſplaying an air of ſufficiency, is wholly taken up with the contemplation of his own perfections, and in public places diſcovers ſuch a diſregard to others, that the ignorant muſt imagine, he thinks himſelf to be alone.

Theſe, and ſuch like, are all manifeſt, though different tokens of pride, that are obvious to all the world; but man's vanity is not always ſo ſoon found out. When we perceive an air of humanity, and men ſeem not to be employed in admiring themſelves, nor altogether unmindful of others, we are apt to pronounce them void of pride, when, perhaps, they are only fatigued with gratifying their vanity, and become languid from a ſatiety of enjoyments. That outward ſhow of peace within, and drowſy compoſure of careleſs negligence, with which a great man is often ſeen in his plain chariot to loll at eaſe, are not always ſo free from art, as they may ſeem to be. Nothing is more raviſhing to the proud, than to be thought happy.

The well-bred gentleman places his greateſt pride in the ſkill he has of covering it with dexterity, and ſome are ſo expert in concealing this frailty, that when they are the moſt guilty of it, the vulgar think them the moſt exempt from it. Thus the diſſembling courtier, when he appears in ſtate, aſſumes an air of modeſty and good humour; and while he is

ready to burſt with vanity, ſeems to be wholly ignorant of his greatneſs; well knowing, that thoſe lovely qualities muſt heighten him in the eſteem of others, and be an addition to that grandeur, which the coronets about his coach and harneſſes, with the reſt of his equipage, cannot fail to proclaim without his aſſiſtance.

And as in theſe, pride is overlooked, becauſe induſtriouſly concealed, ſo in others again, it is denied that they have any, when they ſhow (or at leaſt ſeem to ſhow) it in the moſt public manner. The wealthy parſon being, as well as the reſt of his profeſſion, debarred from the gaity of laymen, makes it his buſineſs to look out for an admirable black, and the fineſt cloth that money can purchaſe, and diſtinguiſhes himſelf by the fullneſs of his noble and ſpotleſs garment; his wigs are as faſhionable as that form he is forced to comply with will admit of; but as he is only ſtinted in their ſhape, ſo he takes care that for goodneſs of hair, and colour, few noblemen ſhall be able to match him; his body is ever clean, as well as his clothes, his ſleek face is kept conſtantly ſhaved, and his handſome nails are diligently pared; his ſmooth white hand, and a brilliant of the firſt water, mutually becoming, honour each other with double graces; what linen he diſcovers is tranſparently curious, and he ſcorns ever to be ſeen abroad with a worſe beaver than what a rich banker would be proud of on his wedding-day; to all theſe niceties in dreſs he adds a majeſtic gait, and expreſſes a commanding loftineſs in his carriage; yet common civility, notwithſtanding, the evidence of ſo many concurring ſymptoms, will not allow us to ſuſpect any of his actions to be the reſult of pride: conſidering the dignity of his office, it is only decency in him, what would be vanity in others; and in good manners to his calling we ought to believe, that the worthy gentleman, without any regard to his reverend perſon, puts himſelf to all this trouble and expence, merely out of a reſpect which is due to the divine order he belongs to, and a religious zeal to preſerve his holy function from the contempt of ſcoffers. With all my heart; nothing of all this ſhall be called pride, let me only be allowed to ſay, that to our human capacities it looks very like it.

But if at laſt I ſhould grant, that there are men who enjoy all the fineries of equipage and furniture, as well as clothes, and yet have no pride in them; it is certain, that if all ſhould be ſuch, that emulation I ſpoke of before muſt

ceaſe, and conſequently trade, which has ſo great a dependence upon it, ſuffer in every branch. For to ſay, that if all men were truly virtuous, they might, without any regard to themſelves, conſume as much out of zeal to ſerve their neighbours and promote the public good, as they do now out of ſelf-love and emulation, is a miſerable ſhift, and an unreaſonable ſuppoſition. As there have been good people in all ages, ſo, without doubt, we are not deſtitute of them in this; but let us inquire of the periwig-makers and tailors, in what gentlemen, even of the greateſt wealth and higheſt quality, they ever could diſcover ſuch public-ſpirited views. Aſk the lacemen, the mercers, and the linen-drapers, whether the richeſt, and if you will, the moſt virtuous ladies, if they buy with ready money, or intend to pay in any reaſonable time, will not drive from ſhop to ſhop, to try the market, make as many words, and ſtand as hard with them to ſave a groat or ſixpence in a yard, as the moſt neceſſitous jilts in town. If it be urged, that if there are not, it is poſſible there might be ſuch people; I anſwer that it is as poſſible that cats, inſtead of killing rats and mice, ſhould feed them, and go about the houſe to ſuckle aad nurſe their young ones; or that a kite ſhould call the hens to their meat, as the cock does, and ſit brooding over their chickens inſtead of devouring them; but if they ſhould all do ſo, they would ceaſe to be cats and kites; it is inconſiſtent with their natures, and the ſpecies of creatures which now we mean, when we name cats and kites, would be extinct as ſoon as that could come to paſs.

LINE 183. Envy itſelf, and vanity,
Were miniſters of induſtry.

ENVY is that baſeneſs in our nature, which makes us grieve and pine at what we conceive to be a happineſs in others. I do not believe there is a human creature in his ſenſes arrived to maturity, that at one time or other has not been carried away by this paſſion in good earneſt; and yet I never met with any one that dared own he was guilty of it, but in jeſt. That we are ſo generally aſhamed of this vice, is owing to that ſtrong habit of hypocriſy, by the help of which, we have learned from our cradle to hide even from ourſelves the vaſt extent of ſelf-love, and all its different branches. It is impoſſible man ſhould wiſh better for another than he

does for himself, unless where he supposes an impossibility that himself should attain to those wishes; and from hence we may easily learn after what manner this passion is raised in us. In order to it, we are to consider first, that as well as we think of ourselves, so ill we think of our neighbour with equal injustice; and when we apprehend, that others do or will enjoy what we think they do not deserve, it afflicts and makes us angry with the cause of that disturbance. Secondly, That we are employed in wishing well for ourselves, every one according to his judgment and inclinations, and when we observe something we like, and yet are destitute of, in the possession of others; it occasions first sorrow in us for not having the thing we like. This sorrow is incurable, while we continue our esteem for the thing we want: but as self-defence is restless, and never suffers us to leave any means untried how to remove evil from us, as far and as well as we are able; experience teaches us, that nothing in nature more alleviates this sorrow, than our anger against those who are possessed of what we esteem and want. This latter passion, therefore, we cherish and cultivate to save or relieve ourselves, at least in part, from the uneasiness we felt from the first.

Envy, then, is a compound of grief and anger; the degrees of this passion depend chiefly on the nearness or remoteness of the objects, as to circumstances. If one, who is forced to walk on foot envies a great man for keeping a coach and six, it will never be with that violence, or give him that disturbance which it may to a man, who keeps a coach himself, but can only afford to drive with four horses. The symptoms of envy are as various, and as hard to describe, as those of the plague; at some time it appears in one shape, at others in another quite different. Among the fair, the disease is very common, and the signs of it very conspicuous in their opinions and censures of one another. In beautiful young women, you may often discover this faculty to a high degree; they frequently will hate one another mortally at first sight, from no other principle than envy; and you may read this scorn, and unreasonable aversion, in their very countenances, if they have not a great deal of art, and well learned to dissemble.

In the rude and unpolished multitude, this passion is very bare-faced; especially when they envy others for the goods of fortune: They rail at their betters, rip up their faults, and

take pains to miſconſtrue their moſt commendable actions: They murmur at Providence, and loudly complain, that the good things of this world are chiefly enjoyed by thoſe who do not deſerve them. The groſſer ſort of them it often affects ſo violently, that if they were not withheld by the fear of the laws, they would go directly and beat thoſe their envy is levelled at, from no other provocation than what that paſſion ſuggeſts to them.

The men of letters, labouring under this diſtemper, diſcover quite different ſymptoms. When they envy a perſon for his parts and erudition, their chief care is induſtriouſly to conceal their frailty, which generally is attempted by denying and depreciating the good qualities they envy: They carefully peruſe his works, and are diſpleaſed with every fine paſſage they meet with; they look for nothing but his errors, and wiſh for no greater feaſt than a groſs miſtake: In their cenſures they are captious, as well as ſevere, make mountains of mole-hills, and will not pardon the leaſt ſhadow of a fault, but exaggerate the moſt trifling omiſſion into a capital blunder.

Envy is viſible in brute-beaſts; horſes ſhow it in their endeavours of outſtripping one another; and the beſt ſpirited will run themſelves to death, before they will ſuffer another before them. In dogs, this paſſion is likewiſe plainly to be ſeen, thoſe who are uſed to be careſſed will never tamely bear that felicity in others. I have ſeen a lap-dog that would choke himſelf with victuals, rather than leave any thing for a competitor of his own kind; and we may often obſerve the ſame behaviour in thoſe creatures which we daily ſee in infants that are froward, and by being over-fondled made humourſome. If out of caprice they at any time refuſe to eat what they have aſked for, and we can but make them believe that ſome body elſe, nay, even the cat or the dog is going to take it from them, they will make an end of their oughts with pleaſure, and feed even againſt their appetite.

If envy was not rivetted in human nature, it would not be ſo common in children, and youth would not be ſo generally ſpurred on by emulation. Thoſe who would derive every thing that is beneficial to the ſociety from a good principle, aſcribe the effects of emulation in ſchool-boys to a virtue of the mind; as it requires labour and pains, ſo it is evident, that they commit a ſelf-denial, who act from that diſpoſition; but if we look narrowly into it, we ſhall find, that this ſacri-

fice of eaſe and pleaſure is only made to envy, and the love of glory. If there was not ſomething very like this paſſion, mixed with that pretended virtue, it would be impoſſible to raiſe and increaſe it by the ſame means that create envy. The boy, who receives a reward for the ſuperiority of his performance, is conſcious of the vexation it would have been to him, if he ſhould have fallen ſhort of it: This reflection makes him exert himſelf, not to be outdone by thoſe whom he looks upon as his inferiors, and the greater his pride is, the more ſelf-denial he will practiſe to maintain his conqueſt. The other, who, in ſpite of the pains he took to do well, has miſſed of the prize, is ſorry, and conſequently angry with him whom he muſt look upon as the cauſe of his grief: But to ſhow this anger, would be ridiculous, and of no ſervice to him, ſo that he muſt either be contented to be leſs eſteemed than the other boy; or, by renewing his endeavours, become a greater proficient: and it is ten to one, but the diſintereſted, good-humoured, and peaceable lad, will chooſe the firſt, and ſo become indolent and inactive, while the covetous, peeviſh, and quarrelſome raſcal, ſhall take incredible pains, and make himſelf a conqueror in his turn.

Envy, as it is very common among painters, ſo it is of great uſe for their improvement: I do not mean, that little dawbers envy great maſters, but moſt of them are tainted with this vice againſt thoſe immediately above them. If the pupil of a famous artiſt is of a bright genius, and uncommon application, he firſt adores his maſter; but as his own ſkill increaſes, he begins inſenſibly to envy what he admired before. To learn the nature of this paſſion, and that it conſiſts in what I have named, we are but to obſerve, that, if a painter, by exerting himſelf, comes not only to equal, but to exceed the man he envied, his ſorrow is gone, and all his anger diſarmed; and if he hated him before, he is now glad to be friends with him, if the other will condeſcend to it.

Married women, who are guilty of this vice, which few are not, are always endeavouring to raiſe the ſame paſſion in their ſpouſes; and where they have prevailed, envy and emulation have kept more men in bounds, and reformed more ill huſbands from ſloth, from drinking, and other evil courſes, than all the ſermons that have been preached ſince the time of the Apoſtles.

As every body would be happy, enjoy pleaſure, and

avoid pain, if he could, ſo ſelf-love bids us look on every creature that ſeems ſatisfied, as a rival in happineſs; and the ſatisfaction we have in ſeeing that felicity diſturbed, without any advantage to ourſelves, but what ſprings from the pleaſure we have in beholding it, is called loving miſchief for miſchief's ſake; and the motive of which that frailty is the reſult, malice, another offspring derived from the ſame original; for if there was no envy, there could be no malice. When the paſſions lie dormant, we have no apprehenſion of them, and often people think they have not ſuch a frailty in their nature, becauſe that moment they are not affected with it.

A gentleman well dreſſed, who happens to be dirtied all over by a coach or a cart, is laughed at, and by his inferiors much more than his equals, becauſe they envy him more: they know he is vexed at it, and, imagining him to be happier than themſelves, they are glad to ſee him meet with diſpleaſures in his turn! But a young lady, if ſhe be in a ſerious mood, inſtead of laughing at, pities him, becauſe a clean man is a ſight ſhe takes delight in, and there is no room for envy. At diſaſters, we either laugh, or pity thoſe that befal them, according to the ſtock we are poſſeſſed of either malice or compaſſion. If a man falls or hurts himſelf ſo ſlightly, that it moves not the latter, we laugh, and here our pity and malice ſhake us alternately: Indeed, Sir, I am very ſorry for it, I beg your pardon for laughing, I am the ſilliеſt creature in the world, then laugh again; and again, I am indeed very ſorry, and ſo on. Some are ſo malicious, they would laugh if a man broke his leg, and others are ſo compaſſionate, that they can heartily pity a man for the leaſt ſpot in his clothes; but nobody is ſo ſavage that no compaſſion can touch him, nor any man ſo good-natured, as never to be affected with any malicious pleaſure. How ſtrangely our paſſions govern us! We envy a man for being rich, and then perfectly hate him: But if we come to be his equals, we are calm, and the leaſt condeſcenſion in him makes us friends; but if we become viſibly ſuperior to him, we can pity his misfortunes. The reaſon why men of true good ſenſe envy leſs than others, is becauſe they admire themſelves with leſs heſitation than fools and ſilly people; for, though they do not ſhow this to others, yet the ſolidity of their thinking gives them an aſſurance of their real worth,

which men of weak underſtanding can never feel within, though they often counterfeit it.

The oſtraciſm of the Greeks was a ſacrifice of valuable men made to epidemic envy, and often applied as an infallible remedy to cure and prevent the miſchiefs of popular ſpleen and rancour. A victim of ſtate often appeaſes the murmurs of a whole nation, and after-ages frequently wonder at barbarities of this nature, which, under the ſame circumſtances, they would have committed themſelves. They are compliments to the people's malice, which is never better gratified, than when they can ſee a great man humbled. We believe that we love juſtice, and to ſee merit rewarded; but if men continue long in the firſt poſts of honour, half of us grow weary of them, look for their faults, and, if we can find none, we ſuppoſe they hide them, and it is much if the greateſt part of us do not wiſh them diſcarded. This foul play, the beſt of men ought ever to apprehend from all who are not their immediate friends or acquaintance, becauſe nothing is more tireſome to us, than the repetition of praiſes we have no manner of ſhare in.

The more a paſſion is a compound of many others, the more difficult it is to define it; and the more it is tormenting to thoſe that labour under it, the greater cruelty it is capable of inſpiring them with againſt others: Therefore nothing is more whimſical or miſchievous than jealouſy, which is made up of love, hope, fear, and a great deal of envy: The laſt has been ſufficiently treated of already; and what I have to ſay of fear, the reader will find under Remark on l. 321. So that the better to explain and illuſtrate this odd mixture, the ingredients I ſhall further ſpeak of in this place, are hope and love.

Hoping is wiſhing with ſome degree of confidence, that the thing wiſhed for will come to paſs. The firmneſs and imbecillity of our hope depend entirely on the greater or leſſer degree of our confidence, and all hope includes doubt; for when our confidence is arrived to that height, as to exclude all doubts, it becomes a certainty, and we take for granted what we only hoped for before. A ſilver inkhorn may paſs in ſpeech, becauſe every body knows what we mean by it, but a certain hope cannot: For a man who makes uſe of an epithet that deſtroys the eſſence of the ſubſtantive he joins it to, can have no meaning at all; and the more clearly we underſtand the force of the epithet, and the

nature of the ſubſtantive, the more palpable is the nonſenſe of the heterogeneous compound. The reaſon, therefore, why it is not ſo ſhocking to ſome to hear a man ſpeak of certain hope, as if he ſhould talk of hot ice, or liquid oak, is not becauſe there is leſs nonſenſe contained in the firſt, than there is in either of the latter; but becauſe the word hope, I mean the eſſence of it, is not ſo clearly underſtood by the generality of the people, as the words and eſſence of ice and oak are.

Love, in the firſt place, ſignifies affection, ſuch as parents and nurſes bear to children, and friends to one another; it conſiſts in a liking and well-wiſhing to the perſon beloved. We give an eaſy conſtruction to his words and actions, and feel a proneneſs to excuſe and forgive his faults, if we ſee any; his intereſt we make on all accounts our own, even to our prejudice, and receive an inward ſatisfaction for ſympathiſing with him in his ſorrows, as well as joys. What I ſaid laſt is not impoſſible, whatever it may ſeem to be; for, when we are ſincere in ſharing with one another in his misfortunes, ſelf-love makes us believe, that the ſufferings we feel muſt alleviate and leſſen thoſe of our friend; and while this fond reflection is ſoothing our pain, a ſecret pleaſure ariſes from our grieving for the perſon we love.

Secondly, by love we underſtand a ſtrong inclination, in its nature diſtinct from all other affections of friendſhip, gratitude, and conſanguinity, that perſons of different ſexes, after liking, bear to one another: it is in this ſignification, that love enters into the compound of jealouſy, and is the effect as well as happy diſguiſe of that paſſion that prompts us to labour for the preſervation of our ſpecies. This latter appetite is innate both in men and women, who are not defective in their formation, as much as hunger or thirſt, though they are ſeldom affected with it before the years of puberty. Could we undreſs nature, and pry into her deepeſt receſſes, we ſhould diſcover the ſeeds of this paſſion before it exerts itſelf, as plainly as we ſee the teeth in an embryo, before the gums are formed. There are few healthy people of either ſex, whom it has made no impreſſion on before twenty: yet, as the peace and happineſs of the civil ſociety require that this ſhould be kept a ſecret, never to be talked of in public; ſo, among well-bred people, it is counted highly criminal to mention, before company, any thing in plain words, that is, relating to this myſtery of ſucceſſion: by which means,

the very name of the appetite, though the moſt neceſſary for the continance of mankind, is become odious, and the proper epithets commonly joined to luſt, are filthy and abominable.

This impulſe of nature in people of ſtrict morals, and rigid modeſty, often diſturbs the body for a conſiderable time before it is underſtood or known to be what it is, and it is remarkable, that the moſt poliſhed, and beſt inſtructed, are generally the moſt ignorant as to this affair; and here I can but obſerve the difference between man in the wild ſtate of nature, and the ſame creature in the civil ſociety. In the firſt, men and women, if left rude and untaught in the ſciences of modes and manners, would quickly find out the cauſe of that diſturbance, and be at a loſs no more than other animals for a preſent remedy: beſides, that it is not probable they would want either precept or example from the more experienced. But, in the ſecond, where the rules of religion, law, and decency, are to be followed, and obeyed, before any dictates of nature, the youth of both ſexes are to be armed and fortified againſt this impulſe, and from their infancy artfully frightened from the moſt remote approaches of it. The appetite itſelf, and all the ſymptoms of it, though they are plainly felt and underſtood, are to be ſtifled with care and ſeverity, and, in women, flatly diſowned, and if there be occaſion, with obſtinacy denied, even when themſelves are affected by them. If it throws them into diſtempers, they muſt be cured by phyſic, or elſe patiently bear them in ſilence; and it is the intereſt of the ſociety to preſerve decency and politeneſs; that women ſhould linger, waſte, and die, rather than relieve themſelves in an unlawful manner; and among the faſhionable part of mankind, the people of birth and fortune, it is expected that matrimony ſhould never be entered upon without a curious regard to family, eſtate, and reputation, and, in the making of matches, the call of nature be the very laſt conſideration.

Thoſe, then, who would make love and luſt ſynonymous, confound the effect with the cauſe of it: yet ſuch is the force of education, and a habit of thinking, as we are taught, that ſometimes perſons of either ſex are actually in love without feeling any carnal deſires, or penetrating into the intentions of nature, the end propoſed by her, without which they could never have been affected with that ſort of paſſion. That there are ſuch is certain, but many more whoſe pre-

tences to thoſe refined notions are only upheld by art and diſſimulation. Thoſe, who are really ſuch Platonic lovers, are commonly the pale-faced weakly people, of cold and phlegmatic conſtitutions in either ſex; the hale and robuſt, of bilious temperament, and a ſanguine complexion, never entertain any love ſo ſpiritual as to exclude all thoughts and wiſhes that relate to the body; but if the moſt ſeraphic lovers would know the original of their inclination, let them but ſuppoſe that another ſhould have the corporal enjoyment of the perſon beloved, and by the tortures they will ſuffer from that reflection they will ſoon diſcover the nature of their paſſions: whereas, on the contrary, parents and friends receive a ſatisfaction in reflecting on the joys and comforts of a happy marriage, to be taſted by thoſe they wiſh well to.

The curious, that are ſkilled in anatomizing the inviſible part of man, will obſerve that the more ſublime and exempt this love is from all thoughts of ſenſuality, the more ſpurious it is, and the more it degenerates from its honeſt original and primitive ſimplicity. The power and ſagacity as well as labour and care of the politician in civilizing the ſociety, has been no where more conſpicuous, than in the happy contrivance of playing our paſſions againſt one another. By flattering our pride, and ſtill increaſing the good opinion we have of ourſelves on the one hand, and inſpiring us on the other with a ſuperlative dread and mortal averſion againſt ſhame, the artful moraliſts have taught us cheerfully to encounter ourſelves, and if not ſubdue, at leaſt, ſo to conceal and diſguiſe our darling paſſion, luſt, that we ſcarce know it when we meet with it in our breaſts: Oh! the mighty prize we have in view for all our ſelf-denial! can any man be ſo ſerious as to abſtain from laughter, when he conſiders, that for ſo much deceit and inſincerity practiſed upon ourſelves as well as others, we have no other recompenſe than the vain ſatisfaction of making our ſpecies appear more exalted and remote from that of other animals, than it really is; and we, in our conſciences, know it to be? yet this is fact, and in it we plainly perceive the reaſon why it was neceſſary to render odious every word or action by which we might diſcover the innate deſire we feel to perpetuate our kind; and why tamely to ſubmit to the violence of a furious appetite (which is painful to reſiſt) and innocently to obey the moſt preſſing demand of nature without guile or hypocriſy,

like other creatures, ſhould be branded with the ignominious name of brutality.

What we call love, then, is not a genuine, but an adulterated appetite, or rather a compound, a heap of ſeveral contradictory paſſions blended in one. As it is a product of nature warped by cuſtom and education, ſo the true origin and firſt motive of it, as I have hinted already, is ſtifled in well-bred people, and concealed from themſelves: all which is the reaſon, that, as thoſe affected with it, vary in age, ſtrength, reſolution, temper, circumſtances, and manners, the effects of it are ſo different, whimſical, ſurpriſing, and unaccountable.

It is this paſſion that makes jealouſy ſo troubleſome, and the envy of it often ſo fatal: thoſe who imagine that there may be jealouſy without love, do not underſtand that paſſion. Men may not have the leaſt affection for their wives, and yet be angry with them for their conduct, and ſuſpicious of them either with or without a cauſe: but what in ſuch caſes affects them is their pride, the concern for their reputation. They feel a hatred againſt them without remorſe; when they are outrageous, they can beat them and go to ſleep contentedly: ſuch huſbands may watch their dames themſelves, and have them, obſerved by others; but their vigilance is not ſo intenſe; they are not ſo inquiſitive or induſtrious in their ſearches, neither do they feel that anxiety of heart at the fear of a diſcovery, as when love is mixed with the paſſions.

What confirms me in this opinion is, that we never obſerve this behaviour between a man and his miſtreſs; for when his love is gone and he ſuſpects her to be falſe, he leaves her, and troubles his head no more about her: whereas, it is the greateſt difficulty imaginable, even to a man of ſenſe, to part with his miſtreſs as long as he loves her, whatever faults ſhe may be guilty of. If in his anger he ſtrikes her, he is uneaſy after it; his love makes him reflect on the hurt he has done her, and he wants to be reconciled to her again. He may talk of hating her, and many times from his heart wiſh her hanged, but if he cannot get entirely rid of his frailty, he can never diſentangle himſelf from her: though ſhe is repreſented in the moſt monſtrous guilt to his imagination, and he has reſolved and ſwore a thouſand times never to come near her again, there is no truſting him, even when he is fully convinced of her infidelity, if his love con-

tinues, his deſpair is never ſo laſting, but between the blackeſt fits of it he relents, and finds lucid intervals of hope; he forms excuſes for her, thinks of pardoning, and in order to it racks his invention for poſſibilities that may make her appear leſs criminal.

LINE 200. Rèal pleaſures, comforts, eaſe.

THAT the higheſt good conſiſted in pleaſure, was the doctrine of Epicurus, who yet led a life exemplary for continnence, ſobriety, and other virtues, which made people of the ſucceeding ages quarrel about the ſignification of pleaſure. Thoſe who argued from the temperance of the philoſopher, ſaid, That the delight Epicurus meant, was being virtuous; ſo Eraſmus in his Colloquies tells us, that there are no greater Epicures than pious Chriſtians. Others that reflected on the diſſolute manners of the greateſt part of his followers, would have it, that by pleaſures he could have underſtood nothing but ſenſual ones, and the gratification of our paſſions. I ſhall not decide their quarrel, but am of opinion, that whether men be good or bad, what they take delight in is their pleaſure; and not to look out for any further etymology from the learned languages, I believe an Engliſhman may juſtly call every thing a pleaſure that pleaſes him, and according to this definition, we ought to diſpute no more about men's pleaſures than their taſtes: *Trahit ſua quemque voluptas.*

The worldly-minded, voluptuous, and ambitious man, notwithſtanding he is void of merit, covets precedence every where, and deſires to be dignified above his betters: he aims at ſpacious palaces, and delicious gardens; his chief delight is in excelling others in ſtately horſes, magnificent coaches, a numerous attendance, and dear-bought furniture. To gratify his luſt, he wiſhes for genteel, young, beautiful women of different charms and complexions, that ſhall adore his greatneſs, and be really in love with his perſon: his cellars he would have ſtored with the flower of every country that produces excellent wines: his tables he deſires may be ſerved with many courſes, and each of them contain a choice variety of dainties not eaſily purchaſed, and ample evidences of elaborate and judicious cookery; while harmonious muſic, and well-couched flattery, entertain his hearing by turns. He em-

ploys even in the meaneſt trifles, none but the ableſt and moſt ingenious workmen, that his judgment and fancy may as evidently appear in the leaſt things that belong to him as his wealth and quality are manifeſted in thoſe of greater value. He deſires to have ſeveral ſets of witty, facetious, and polite people to converſe with, and among them he would have ſome famous for learning and univerſal knowledge: for his ſerious affairs, he wiſhes to find men of parts and experience, that ſhould be diligent and faithful. Thoſe that are to wait on him he would have handy, mannerly, and diſcreet, of comely aſpect, and a graceful mien: what he requires in them beſides, is a reſpectful care of every thing that is his, nimbleneſs without hurry, diſpatch without noiſe, and an unlimited obedience to his orders: nothing he thinks more troubleſome than ſpeaking to ſervants; wherefore he will only be attended by ſuch, as by obſerving his looks have learned to interpret his will from the ſlighteſt motions. He loves to ſee an elegant nicety in every thing that approaches him, and in what is to be employed about his perſon, he deſires a ſuperlative cleanlineſs to be religiouſly obſerved. The chief officers of his houſehold he would have to be men of birth, honour and diſtinction, as well as order, contrivance, and economy; for though he loves to be honoured by every body, and receives the reſpects of the common people with joy, yet the homage that is paid him by perſons of quality is raviſhing to him in a more tranſcendant manner.

While thus wallowing in a ſea of luſt and vanity, he is wholly employed in provoking and indulging his appetites, he deſires the world ſhould think him altogether free from pride and ſenſuality, and put a favourable conſtruction upon his moſt glaring vices: nay, if his authority can purchaſe it, he covets to be thought wiſe, brave, generous, good-natured, and endued with the virtues he thinks worth having. He would have us believe that the pomp and luxury he is ſerved with are as many tireſome plagues to him; and all the grandeur he appears in is an ungrateful burden, which, to his ſorrow, is inſeparable from the high ſphere he moves in; that his noble mind, ſo much exalted above vulgar capacities, aims at higher ends, and cannot reliſh ſuch worthleſs enjoyments; that the higheſt of his ambition is to promote the public welfare, and his greateſt pleaſure to ſee his country flouriſh, and every body in it made happy. Theſe are called real pleaſures by the vicious and earthly-minded, and who-

ever is able, either by his ſkill or fortune, after this refined manner at once to enjoy the world, and the good opinion of it, is counted extremely happy by all the moſt faſhionable part of the people.

But, on the other ſide, moſt of the ancient philoſophers and grave moraliſts, eſpecially the Stoics, would not allow any thing to be a real good that was liable to be taken from them by others. They wiſely conſidered the inſtability of fortune, and the favour of princes; the vanity of honour, and popular applauſe; the precarioufneſs of riches, and all earthly poſſeſſions; and therefore placed true happineſs in the calm ſerenity of a contented mind, free from guilt and ambition; a mind that, having ſubdued every ſenſual appetite, deſpiſes the ſmiles as well as frowns of fortune, and taking no delight but in contemplation, deſires nothing but what every body is able to give to himſelf: a mind that, armed with fortitude and reſolution, has learned to ſuſtain the greateſt loſſes without concern, to endure pain without affliction, and to bear injuries without reſentment. Many have owned themſelves arrived to this height of ſelf-denial, and then, if we may believe them, they were raiſed above common mortals, and their ſtrength extended vaſtly beyond the pitch of their firſt nature: they could behold the anger of threatening tyrants and the moſt imminent dangers without terror, and preſerved their tranquillity in the midſt of torments: death itſelf they could meet with intrepidity, and left the world with no greater reluctance than they had ſhowed fondneſs at their entrance into it.

Theſe among the ancients have always bore the greateſt ſway; yet others that were no fools neither, have exploded thoſe precepts as impracticable, called their notions romantic, and endeavoured to prove, that what theſe Stoics aſſerted of themſelves, exceeded all human force and poſſibility; and that therefore the virtues they boaſted of could be nothing but haughty pretence, full of arrogance and hypocriſy; yet notwithſtanding theſe cenſures, the ſerious part of the world, and the generality of wiſe men that have lived ever ſince to this day, agree with the Stoics in the moſt material points; as that there can be no true felicity in what depends on things periſhable; that peace within is the greateſt bleſſing, and no conqueſt like that of our paſſions; that knowledge, temperance, fortitude, humility, and other embelliſhments of the mind are the moſt valuable acquiſitions; that no man

can be happy but he that is good: and that the virtuous are only capable of enjoying real pleaſures.

I expect to be aſked, why in the fable I have called thoſe pleaſures real, that are directly oppoſite to thoſe which I own the wiſe men of all ages have extolled as the moſt valuable? My anſwer is, becauſe I do not call things pleaſures which men ſay are beſt, but ſuch as they ſeem to be moſt pleaſed with; how can I believe that a mans chief delight is in the embelliſhment of the mind, when I ſee him ever employed about, and daily purſue the pleaſures that are contrary to them? John never cuts any pudding, but juſt enough that you cannot ſay he took none: this little bit, after much chomping and chewing, you ſee goes down with him like chopped hay; after that he falls upon the beef with a voracious appetite, and crams himſelf up to his throat. Is it not provoking, to hear John cry every day that pudding is all his delight, and that he does not value the beef of a farthing.

I could ſwagger about fortitude and the contempt of riches as much as Seneca himſelf, and would undertake to write twice as much in behalf of poverty as ever he did; for the tenth part of his eſtate, I could teach the way to his *ſummum bonum* as exactly as I know my way home: I could tell people to extricate themſelves from all worldly engagements, and to purify the mind, they muſt diveſt themſelves of their paſſions, as men take out the furniture when they would clean a room thoroughly; and I am clearly of the opinion, that the malice and moſt ſevere ſtrokes of fortune, can do no more injury to a mind thus ſtripped of all fears, wiſhes, and inclinations, than a blind horſe can do in an empty barn. In the theory of all this I am very perfect, but the practice is very difficult; and if you went about picking my pocket, offered to take the victuals from before me when I am hungry, or made but the leaſt motion of ſpitting in my face, I dare not promiſe how philoſophically I ſhould behave myſelf. But that I am forced to ſubmit to every caprice of my unruly nature, you will ſay, is no argument, that others are as little maſters of theirs, and therefore, I am willing to pay adoration to virtue wherever I can meet with it, with a proviſo that I ſhall not be obliged to admit any as ſuch, where I can ſee no ſelf-denial, or to judge of mens ſentiments from their words, where I have their lives before me.

I have ſearched through every degree and ſtation of men, and confeſs, that I have found no where more auſterity of

manners, or greater contempt of earthly pleaſures, than in ſome religious houſes, where people freely reſigning and retiring from the world to combat themſelves, have no other buſineſs but ſubdue their appetites. What can be a greater evidence of perfect chaſtity, and a ſuperlative love, to immaculate purity in men and women, than that in the prime of their age, when luſt is moſt raging, they ſhould actually ſeclude themſelves from each others company, and by a voluntary renunciation debar themſelves for life, not only from uncleanneſs, but even the moſt lawful embraces? thoſe that abſtain from fleſh, and often all manner of food, one would think in the right way, to conquer all carnal deſires; and I could almoſt ſwear, that he does not conſult his eaſe, who daily mauls his bare back and ſhoulders with unconſcionable ſtripes, and conſtantly rouſed at night from his ſleep, leaves his bed for his devotion. Who can deſpiſe riches more, or ſhow himſelf leſs avaricious than he, who will not ſo much as touch gold or ſilver, no not with his feet? Or can any mortal ſhow himſelf leſs luxurious or more humble than the man, that making poverty his choice, contents himſelf with ſcraps and fragments, and refuſes to eat any bread but what is beſtowed upon him by the charity of others.

Such fair inſtances of ſelf-denial, would make me bow down to virtue, if I was not deterred and warned from it by ſo many perſons of eminence and learning, who unanimouſly tell me that I am miſtaken, and all I have ſeen is farce and hypocriſy; that what ſeraphic love they may pretend to, there is nothing but diſcord among them; and that how penitential the nuns and friars may appear in their ſeveral convents, they none of them ſacrifice their darling luſts: that among the women, they are not all virgins that paſs for ſuch, and that if I was to be let into their ſecrets, and examine ſome of their ſubterraneous privacies, I ſhould ſoon be convinced by ſcenes of horror, that ſome of them muſt have been mothers. That among the men I ſhould find calumny, envy, and ill nature, in the higheſt degree, or elſe gluttony, drunkenneſs, and impurities of a more execrable kind than adultery itſelf: and as for the mendicant orders, that they ſer in nothing but their habits from other ſturdy beggars, who deceive people with a pitiful tone, and an outward ſhow of miſery, and as ſoon as they are out of ſight, lay by their cant, indulge their appetites, and enjoy one another.

If the ſtrict rules, and ſo many outward ſigns of devotion

obſerved among thoſe religious orders, deſerve ſuch harſh cenſures, we may well deſpair of meeting with virtue any where elſe; for if we look into the actions of the antagoniſts and greateſt accuſers of thoſe votaries, we ſhall not find ſo much as the appearance of ſelf-denial. The reverend divines of all ſects, even of the moſt reformed churches in all countries, take care with the *Cyclops Evangelipborus* firſt; *ut ventri bene ſit*, and afterwards, *ne quid deſit iis quæ ſub ventre ſunt*. To theſe they will deſire you to add convenient houſes, handſome furniture, good fires in winter, pleaſant gardens in ſummer, neat clothes, and money enough to bring up their children; precedency in all companies, reſpect from every body, and then as much religion as you pleaſe. The things I have named are the neceſſary comforts of life, which the moſt modeſt are not aſhamed to claim, and which they are very uneaſy without. They are, it is true, made of the ſame mould, and have the ſame corrupt nature with other men, born with the ſame infirmities, ſubject to the ſame paſſions, and liable to the ſame temptations, and therefore if they are diligent in their calling, and can but abſtain from murder, adultry, ſwearing, drunkenneſs, and other heinous vices, their lives are all called unblemiſhed, and their reputations unſpotted; their function renders them holy, and the gratification of ſo many carnal appetites, and the enjoyment of ſo much luxurious eaſe notwithſtanding, they may ſet upon themſelves what value their pride and parts will allow them.

All this I have nothing againſt, but I ſee no ſelf-denial, without which there can be no virtue. Is it ſuch a mortification not to deſire a greater ſhare of worldly bleſſings, than what every reaſonable man ought to be ſatisfied with? Or, is there any mighty merit in not being flagitious, and forbearing indecencies that are repugnant to good manners, and which no prudent man would be guilty of, though he had no religion at all?

I know I ſhall be told, that the reaſon why the clergy are ſo violent in their reſentments, when at any time they are but in the leaſt affronted, and ſhow themſelves ſo void of all patience when their rights are invaded, is their great care to preſerve their calling, their profeſſion from contempt, not for their own ſakes, but to be more ſerviceable to others. It is the ſame reaſon that makes them ſolicitous about the comforts and conveniencies of life; for ſhould they ſuffer themſelves to be inſulted over, be content with a coarſer diet, and

wear more ordinary clothes than other people, the multitude, who judge from outward appearances, would be apt to think that the clergy was no more the immediate care of Providence than other folks, and ſo not only undervalue their perſons, but deſpiſe likewiſe all the reproofs and inſtructions that came from them. This is an admirable plea, and as it is much made uſe of, I will try the worth of it.

I am not of the learned Dr. Echard's opinion, that poverty is one of thoſe things that bring the clergy into contempt, any further than as it may be an occaſion of diſcovering their blind ſide: for when men are always ſtruggling with their low condition, and are unable to bear the burden of it without reluctancy, it is then they ſhow how uneaſy their poverty ſits upon them, how glad they would be to have their circumſtances meliorated, and what a real value they have for the good things of this world. He that harangues on the contempt of riches, and the vanity of earthly enjoyments, in a ruſty threadbare gown, becauſe he has no other, and would wear his old greaſy hat no longer if any body would give him a better; that drinks ſmall beer at home with a heavy countenance, but leaps at a glaſs of wine if he can catch it abroad; that with little appetite feeds upon his own coarſe meſs, but falls to greedily where he can pleaſe his palate, and expreſſes an uncommon joy at an invitation to a ſplendid dinner: it is he that is deſpiſed, not becauſe he is poor, but becauſe he knows not how to be ſo, with that content and reſignation which he preaches to others, and ſo diſcovers his inclinations to be contrary to his doctrine. But, when a man from the greatneſs of his ſoul (or an obſtinate vanity, which will do as well) reſolving to ſubdue his appetites in good earneſt, refuſes all the offers of eaſe and luxury that can be made to him, and embracing a voluntary poverty with cheerfulneſs, rejects whatever may gratify the ſenſes, and actually ſacrifices all his paſſions to his pride, in acting this part, the vulgar, far from contemning, will be ready to deify and adore him. How famous have the Cynic philoſophers made themſelves, only by refuſing to diſſimulate and make uſe of ſuperfluities? Did not the moſt ambitious monarch the world ever bore, condeſcend to viſit Diogenes in his tub, and return to a ſtudied incivility, the higheſt compliment a man of his pride was able to make?

Mankind are very willing to take one anothers word, when they ſee ſome circumſtances that corroborate what is told

them; but when our actions directly contradict what we say, it is counted impudence to desire belief. If a jolly hale fellow, with glowing cheeks and warm hands, newly returned from some smart exercise, or else the cold bath, tells us in frosty weather, that he cares not for the fire, we are easily induced to believe him, especially if he actually turns from it, and we know by his circumstances, that he wants neither fuel nor clothes: but if we should hear the same from the mouth of a poor starved wretch, with swelled hands, and a livid countenance, in a thin ragged garment, we should not believe a word of what he said, especially if we saw him shaking and shivering, creep toward the sunny bank; and we would conclude, let him say what he could, that warm clothes, and a good fire, would be very acceptable to him. The application is easy, and therefore if there be any clergy upon earth that would be thought not to care for the world, and to value the soul above the body, let them only forbear showing a greater concern for their sensual pleasures than they generally do for their spiritual ones, and they may rest satisfied, that no poverty, while they bear it with fortitude, will ever bring them into contempt, how mean soever their circumstances may be.

Let us suppose a pastor that has a little flock intrusted to him, of which he is very careful: He preaches, visits, exhorts, reproves among his people with zeal and prudence, and does them all the kind offices that lie in his power to make them happy. There is no doubt but those under his care must be very much obliged to him. Now, we shall suppose once more, that this good man, by the help of a little self-denial, is contented to live upon half his income, accepting only of twenty pounds a-year instead of forty, which he could claim; and moreover, that he loves his parishioners so well, that he will never leave them for any preferment whatever, no not a bishoprick, though it be offered. I cannot see but all this might be an easy task to a man who professes mortification, and has no value for worldly pleasures; yet such a disinterested divine, I dare promise, notwithstanding the degeneracy of mankind, will be loved, esteemed, and have every body's good word; nay, I would swear, that though he should yet further exert himself, give above half of his small revenue to the poor, live upon nothing but oatmeal and water, lie upon straw, and wear the coarsest cloth that could be made, his mean way of living

would never be reflected on, or be a diſparagement either to himſelf or the order he belonged to; but that on the contrary his poverty would never be mentioned but to his glory, as long as his memory ſhould laſt.

But (ſays a charitable young gentlewoman) though you have the heart to ſtarve your parſon, have you no bowels of compaſſion for his wife and children? pray what muſt remain of forty pounds a year, after it has been twice ſo unmercifully ſplit? or would you have the poor woman and the innocent babes likewiſe live upon oatmeal and water, and lie upon ſtraw, you unconſcionable wretch, with all your ſuppoſitions and ſelf-denials; nay, is it poſſible, though they ſhould all live at your own murdering rate, that leſs than ten pounds a-year could maintain a family?——Do not be in a paſſion, good Mrs. Abigail, I have a greater regard for your ſex than to preſcribe ſuch a lean diet to married men; but I confeſs I forgot the wives and children: The main reaſon was, becauſe I thought poor prieſts could have no occaſion for them. Who could imagine, that the parſon who is to teach others by example as well as precept, was not able to withſtand thoſe deſires which the wicked world itſelf calls unreaſonable? What is the reaſon when an apprentice marries before he is out of his time, that unleſs he meets with a good fortune, all his relations are angry with him, and every body blames him? Nothing elſe, but becauſe at that time he has no money at his diſpoſal, and being bound to his maſter's ſervice, has no leiſure, and perhaps little capacity to provide for a family. What muſt we ſay to a parſon that has twenty, or, if you will, forty pounds a-year, that being bound more ſtrictly to all the ſervices a pariſh and his duty require, has little time, and generally much leſs ability to get any more? Is it not very reaſonable he ſhould marry? But why ſhould a ſober young man, who is guilty of no vice, be debarred from lawful enjoyments? Right; marriage is lawful, and ſo is a coach; but what is that to people that have not money enough to keep one? If he muſt have a wife, let him look out for money, or wait for a greater benefice, or ſomething elſe to maintain her handſomely, and bear all incident charges. But nobody that has any thing herſelf will have him, and he cannot ſtay: He has a very good ſtomach, and all the ſymptoms of health; it is not every body that can live without a woman; it is better to marry than burn.——What a world of ſelf-de-

nial is here? The ſober young man is very willing to be virtuous, but you muſt not croſs his inclinations; he promiſes never to be a deer-ſtealer, upon condition that he ſhall have veniſon of his own, and no body muſt doubt, but that if it come to the puſh, he is qualified to ſuffer martyrdom, though he owns that he has not ſtrength enough, patiently to bear a ſcratched finger.

When we ſee ſo many of the clergy, to indulge their luſt, a brutiſh appetite, run themſelves after this manner upon an inevitable poverty, which, unleſs they could bear it with greater fortitude, than they diſcover in all their actions, muſt of neceſſity make them contemptible to all the world, what credit muſt we give them, when they pretend that they conform themſelves to the world, not becauſe they take delight in the ſeveral decencies, conveniences, and ornaments of it, but only to preſerve their function from contempt, in order to be more uſeful to others? Have we not reaſon to believe, that what they ſay is full of hypocriſy and falſehood, and that concupiſcence is not the only appetite they want to gratify; that the haughty airs and quick ſenſe of injuries, the curious elegance in dreſs, and niceneſs of palate, to be obſerved in moſt of them that are able to ſhow them, are the reſults of pride and luxury in them, as they are in other people, and that the clergy are not poſſeſſed of more intrinſic virtue than any other profeſſion?

I am afraid, by this time I have given many of my readers a real diſpleaſure, by dwelling ſo long upon the reality of pleaſure; but I cannot help it, there is one thing comes into my head to corroborate what I have urged already, which I cannot forbear mentioning: It is this: Thoſe who govern others throughout the world, are at leaſt as wiſe as the people that are governed by them, generally ſpeaking: If, for this reaſon, we would take pattern from our ſuperiors, we have but to caſt our eyes on all the courts and governments in the univerſe, and we ſhall ſoon perceive from the actions of the great ones, which opinion they ſide with, and what pleaſures thoſe in the higheſt ſtations of all ſeem to be moſt fond of: For, if it be allowable at all to judge of people's inclinations, from their manner of living, none can be leſs injured by it, than thoſe who are the moſt at liberty to do as they pleaſe.

If the great ones of the clergy, as well as the laity of any country whatever, had no value for earthly pleaſures, and did not endeavour to gratify their appetites, why are envy

and revenge ſo raging among them, and all the other paſſions improved and refined upon in courts of princes more than any where elſe, and why are their repaſts, their recreations, and whole manner of living always ſuch as are approved of, coveted, and imitated by the moſt ſenſual people of that ſame country? If deſpiſing all viſible decorations they were only in love with the embelliſhments of the mind, why ſhould they borrow ſo many of the implements, and make uſe of the moſt darling toys of the luxurious? Why ſhould a lord treaſurer, or a biſhop, or even the grand ſignior, or the pope of Rome, to be good and virtuous, and endeavour the conqueſt of his paſſions, have occaſion for greater revenues, richer furniture, or a more numerous attention, as to perſonal ſervice, than a private man? What virtue is it the exerciſe of which requires ſo much pomp and ſuperfluity, as are to be ſeen by all men in power? A man has as much opportunity to practiſe temperance, that has but one diſh at a meal, as he that is conſtantly ſerved with three courſes, and a dozen diſhes in each: One may exerciſe as much patience, and be as full of ſelf-denial on a few flocks, without curtains or teſter, as in a velvet bed that is ſixteen foot high. The virtuous poſſeſſions of the mind are neither charge nor burden: A man may bear misfortunes with fortitude in a garret, forgive injuries a-foot, and be chaſte, though he has not a ſhirt to his back: and therefore I ſhall never believe, but that an indifferent ſculler, if he was intruſted with it, might carry all the learning and religion that one man can contain, as well as a barge with ſix oars, eſpecially if it was but to croſs from Lambeth to Weſtminſter; or that humility is ſo ponderous a virtue, that it requires ſix horſes to draw it.

To ſay that men not being ſo eaſily governed by their equals as by their ſuperiors, it is neceſſary, that to keep the multitude in awe, thoſe who rule over us ſhould excel others in outward appearance, and conſequently, that all in high ſtations ſhould have badges of honour, and enſigns of power to be diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, is a frivolous objection. This, in the firſt place, can only be of uſe to poor princes, and weak and precarious governments, that being actually unable to maintain the public peace, are obliged with a pageant ſhow to make up what they want in real power: ſo the governor of Batavia, in the Eaſt Indies, is forced to keep up a grandeur, and live in a magnificence above his quality, to ſtrike a terror in the na-

tives of Java, who, if they had ſkill and conduct, are ſtrong enough to deſtroy ten times the number of their maſters; but great princes and ſtates that keep large fleets at ſea, and numerous armies in the field, have no occaſion for ſuch ſtratagems; for what makes them formidable abroad, will never fail to be their ſecurity at home. Secondly, what muſt protect the lives and wealth of people from the attempts of wicked men in all ſocieties, is the ſeverity of the laws, and diligent adminiſtration of impartial juſtice. Theft, houſe-breaking, and murder, are not to be prevented by the ſcarlet gowns of the aldermen, the gold chains of the ſheriffs, the fine trappings of their horſes, or any gaudy ſhow whatever: Thoſe pageant ornaments are beneficial another way; they are eloquent lectures to apprentices, and the uſe of them is to animate, not to deter: but men of abandoned principles muſt be awed by rugged officers, ſtrong priſons, watchful jailors, the hangman, and the gallows. If London was to be one week deſtitute of conſtables and watchmen to guard the houſes a-nights, half the bankers would be ruined in that time, and if my lord mayor had nothing to defend himſelf but his great two handed ſword, the huge cap of maintenance, and his gilded mace, he would ſoon be ſtripped, in the very ſtreets to the city, of all his finery in his ſtately coach.

But let us grant that the eyes of the mobility are to be dazzled with a gaudy outſide; if virtue was the chief delight of great men, why ſhould their extravagance be extended to things not underſtood by the mob, and wholly removed from public view, I mean their private diverſions, the pomp and luxury of the dining-room and the bed-chamber, and the curioſities of the cloſet? few of the vulgar know that there is wine of a guinea the bottle, that birds, no bigger than larks, are often ſold for half-a-guinea a piece, or that a ſingle picture may be worth ſeveral thouſand pounds: beſides, is it to be imagined, that unleſs it was to pleaſe their own appetites, men ſhould put themſelves to ſuch vaſt expences for a political ſhow, and be ſo ſolicitous to gain the eſteem of thoſe whom they ſo much deſpiſe in every thing elſe? if we allow that the ſplendor and all the elegancy of a court inſipid, and only tireſome to the prince himſelf, and are altogether made uſe of to preſerve royal majeſty from contempt, can we ſay the ſame of half a dozen illegitimate children, moſt of them the offspring of adultery, by the ſame majeſty, got, educated, and made princes at the expence of

the nation! therefore, it is evident, that this awing of the multitude, by a diſtinguiſhed manner of living, is only a cloak and pretence, under which, great men would ſhelter their vanity, and indulge every appetite about them without reproach.

A burgomaſter of Amſterdam, in his plain black ſuit, followed perhaps by one footman, is fully as much reſpected, and better obeyed, than a lord mayor of London, with all his ſplendid equipage, and great train of attendance. Where there is a real power, it is ridiculous to think that any temperance or auſterity of life ſhould ever render the perſon, in whom that power is lodged, contemptible in his office, from an emperor to the beadle of a pariſh. Cato, in his government of Spain, in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much glory, had only three ſervants to attend him; do we hear that any of his orders were ever ſlighted for this, notwithſtanding that he loved his bottle? and, when that great man marched on foot through the ſcorching ſands of Libya, and parched up with thirſt, refuſed to touch the water that was brought him, before all his ſoldiers had drank, do we ever read that this heroic forbearance weakened his authority, or leſſened him in the eſteem of his army? but what need we go ſo far off? there has not, for theſe many ages, been a prince leſs inclined to pomp and luxury than the * preſent king of Sweden, who, enamoured with the title of hero, has not only ſacrificed the lives of his ſubjects, and welfare of his dominions, but (what is more uncommon in ſovereigns) his own eaſe, and all the comforts of life, to an implacable ſpirit of revenge; yet he is obeyed to the ruin of his people, in obſtinately maintaining a war that has almoſt utterly deſtroyed his kingdom.

Thus I have proved, that the real pleaſures of all men in nature are worldly and ſenſual, if we judge from their practice; I ſay all men in nature, becauſe devout Chriſtians, who alone are to be excepted here, being regenerated, and preternaturally aſſiſted by the Divine grace, cannot be ſaid to be in nature. How ſtrange it is, that they ſhould all ſo unanimouſly deny it! aſk not only the divines and moraliſts of every nation, but likewiſe all that are rich and powerful, about real pleaſure, and they will tell you, with the Stoics, that there can be no true felicity in things mundane and

* This was wrote in 1714.

corruptible: but then look upon their lives, and you will find they take delight in no other.

What muſt we do in this dilemma? ſhall we be ſo uncharitable, as judging from mens actions, to ſay, that all the world prevaricates, and that this is not their opinion, let them talk what they will? or ſhall we be ſo ſilly, as relying on what they ſay, to think them ſincere in their ſentiments, and ſo not believe our own eyes? or ſhall we rather endeavour to believe ourſelves and them too, and ſay with Montagne, that they imagine, and are fully perſuaded, that they believe what they do not believe? theſe are his words: "ſome impoſe on the world, and would be thought to belive what "they really do not: but much the greater number impoſe "upon themſelves, not conſidering, nor thoroughly appre"hending what it is to believe." But this is making all mankind either fools or impoſtors, which, to avoid, there is nothing left us, but to ſay what Mr. Bayle has endeavoured to prove at large in his Reflections on Comets: "that man is "ſo unaccountable a creature as to act moſt commonly a"gainſt his principle;" and this is ſo far from being injurious, that it is a compliment to human nature, for we muſt ſee either this or worſe.

This contradiction in the frame of man is the reaſon that the theory of virtue is ſo well underſtood, and the practice of it ſo rarely to be met with. If you aſk me where to look for thoſe beautiful ſhining qualities of prime miniſters, and the great favourites of princes that are ſo finely painted in dedications, addreſſes, epitaphs, funeral ſermons, and inſcriptions, I anſwer, there, and no where elſe. Where would you look for the excellency of a ſtatue, but in that part which you ſee of it? It is the poliſhed outſide only that has the ſkill and labour of the ſculptor to boaſt of; what is out of ſight is untouched. Would you break the head, or cut open the breaſt to look for the brains or the heart, you would only ſhow your ignorance, and deſtroy the workmanſhip. This has often made me compare the virtues of great men to your large China jars: they make a fine ſhow, and are ornamental even to a chimney; one would, by the bulk they appear in, and the value that is ſet upon them, think they might be very uſeful, but look into a thouſand of them, and you will find nothing in them but duſt and cobwebs.

LINE 201.——————The very poor
Liv'd better than the rich before.

IF we trace the moſt flouriſhing nations in their origin, we ſhall find, that in the remote beginnings of every ſociety, the richeſt and moſt conſiderable men among them were a great while deſtitute of a great many comforts of life that are now enjoyed by the meaneſt and moſt humble wretches: ſo that many things which were once looked upon as the invention of luxury, are now allowed, even to thoſe that are ſo miſerably poor as to become the objects of public charity, nay, counted ſo neceſſary, that we think no human creature ought to want them.

In the firſt ages, man, without doubt, fed on the fruits of the earth, without any previous preparation, and repoſed himſelf naked like other animals on the lap of their common parent: whatever has contributed ſince to make life more comfortable, as it muſt have been the reſult of thought, experience, and ſome labour, ſo it more or leſs deſerves the name of luxury, the more or leſs trouble it required, and deviated from the primitive ſimplicity. Our admiration is extended no farther than to what is new to us, and we all overlook the excellency of things we are uſed to, be they never ſo curious. A man would be laughed at, that ſhould diſcover luxury in the plain dreſs of a poor creature, that walks along in a thick pariſh gown, and a coarſe ſhirt underneath it; and yet what a number of people, how many different trades, and what a variety of ſkill and tools muſt be employed to have the moſt ordinary Yorkſhire cloth? What depth of thought and ingenuity, what toil and labour, and what length of time muſt it have coſt, before man could learn from a ſeed, to raiſe and prepare ſo uſeful a product as linen.

Muſt that ſociety not be vainly curious, among whom this admirable commodity, after it is made, ſhall not be thought fit to be uſed even by the pooreſt of all, before it is brought to a perfect whiteneſs, which is not to be procured but by the aſſiſtance of all the elements, joined to a world of induſtry and patience? I have not done yet: can we reflect not only on the coſt laid out upon this luxurious invention, but likewiſe on the little time the whiteneſs of it continues, in which part of its beauty conſiſts, that every ſix or ſeven days at fartheſt it wants cleaning, and while it laſts is a continual

charge to the wearer; can we, I ſay, reflect on all this, and not think it an extravagant piece of nicety, that even thoſe who receive alms of the pariſh, ſhould not only have whole garments made of this operoſe manufacture, but likewiſe that as ſoon as they are ſoiled, to reſtore them to their priſtine purity, they ſhould make uſe of one of the moſt judicious as well as difficult compoſitions that chemiſtry can boaſt of; with which, diſſolved in water by the help of fire, the moſt deterſive, and yet innocent lixivium is prepared that human induſtry has hitherto been able to invent?

It is certain, time was that the things I ſpeak of would have bore thoſe lofty expreſſions, and in which every body would have reaſoned after the ſame manner; but the age we live in would call a man fool, who ſhould talk of extravagance and nicety, if he ſaw a poor woman, after having wore her crown cloth ſmock a whole week, waſh it with a bit of ſtinking ſoap of a groat a pound.

The arts of brewing, and making bread, have by ſlow degrees been brought to the perfection they now are in, but to have invented them at once, and *a priori*, would have required more knowledge and a deeper inſight into the nature of fermentation, than the greateſt philoſopher has hitherto been endowed with; yet the fruits of both are now enjoyed by the meaneſt of our ſpecies, and a ſtarving wretch knows not how to make a more humble, or a more modeſt petition, than by aſking for a bit of bread, or a draught of ſmall beer.

Man has learned by experience, that nothing was ſofter than the ſmall plumes and down of birds, and found that heaped together, they would by their elaſticity, gently reſiſt any incumbent weight, and heave up again of themſelves as ſoon as the preſſure is over. To make uſe of them to ſleep upon was, no doubt, firſt invented to compliment the vanity as well as eaſe of the wealthy and potent; but they are long ſince become ſo common, that almoſt every body lies upon featherbeds, and to ſubſtitute flocks in the room of them is counted a miſerable ſhift of the moſt neceſſitous. What a vaſt height muſt luxury have been arrived to, before it could be reckoned a hardſhip to repoſe upon the ſoft wool of animals!

From caves, huts, hovels, tents, and barracks, with which mankind took up at firſt, we are come to warm and well-wrought houſes, and the meaneſt habitations to be ſeen in cities, are regular buildings, contrived by perſons ſkilled in

proportions and architecture. If the ancient Britons and Gauls ſhould come out of their graves, with what amazement would they gaze on the mighty ſtructures every where raiſed for the poor! Should they behold the magnificence of a Chelſey-College, a Greenwich-Hoſpital, or what ſurpaſſes all them, a *Des Invalides* at Paris, and ſee the care, the plenty, the ſuperfluities and pomp, which people that have no poſſeſſions at all are treated with in thoſe ſtately palaces, thoſe who were once the greateſt and richeſt of the land would have reaſon to envy the moſt reduced of our ſpecies now.

Another piece of luxury the poor enjoy, that is not looked upon as ſuch, and which there is no doubt but the wealthieſt in a golden age would abſtain from, is their making uſe of the fleſh of animals to eat. In what concerns the faſhions and manners of the ages men live in, they never examine into the real worth or merit of the cauſe, and generally judge of things not as their reaſon, but cuſtom direct them. Time was when the funeral rites in the diſpoſing of the dead, were performed by fire, and the cadavers of the greateſt emperors were burnt to aſhes. Then burying the corps in the ground was a funeral for ſlaves, or made a puniſhment for the worſt of malefactors. Now nothing is decent or honourable but interring; and burning the body is reſerved for crimes of the blackeſt dye. At ſome times we look upon trifles with horror, at other times we can behold enormities without concern. If we ſee a man walk with his hat on in a church, though out of ſervice time, it ſhocks us; but if on a Sunday night we meet half a dozen fellows drunk in the ſtreet, the fight makes little or no impreſſion upon us. If a woman at a merry-making dreſſes in man's clothes, it is reckoned a frolic amongſt friends, and he that finds too much fault with it is counted cenſorious: upon the ſtage it is done without reproach, and the moſt virtuous ladies will diſpenſe with it in an actreſs, though every body has a full view of her legs and thighs; but if the ſame woman, as ſoon as ſhe has petticoats on again, ſhould ſhow her leg to a man as high as her knee, it would be a very immodeſt action, and every body will call her impudent for it.

I have often thought, if it was not for this tyranny which cuſtom uſurps over us, that men of any tolerable good-nature could never be reconciled to the killing of ſo many animals, for their daily food, as long as the bountiful earth ſo plenti-

fully provides them with varieties of vegetable dainties. I know that reaſon excites our compaſſion but faintly, and therefore I would not wonder how men ſhould ſo little commiſerate ſuch imperfect creatures as cray-fiſh, oyſters, cockles, and indeed all fiſh in general: as they are mute, and their inward formation, as well as outward figure, vaſtly different from ours, they expreſs themſelves unintelligibly to us, and therefore it is not ſtrange that their grief ſhould not affect our underſtanding which it cannot reach; for nothing ſtirs us to pity ſo effectually, as when the ſymptoms of miſery ſtrike immediately upon our ſenſes, and I have ſeen people moved at the noiſe a live lobſter makes upon the ſpit, that could have killed half a dozen fowls with pleaſure. But in ſuch perfect animals as ſheep and oxen, in whom the heart, the brain and nerves differ ſo little from ours, and in whom the ſeparation of the ſpirits from the blood, the organs of ſenſe, and conſequently feeling itſelf, are the ſame as they are in human creatures; I cannot imagine how a man not hardened in blood and maſſacre, is able to ſee a violent death, and the pangs of it, without concern.

In anſwer to this, moſt people will think it ſufficient to ſay, that all things being allowed to be made for the ſervice of man, there can be no cruelty in putting creatures to the uſe they were deſigned for; but I have heard men make this reply, while their nature within them has reproached them with the falſehood of the aſſertion. There is of all the multitude not one man in ten but what will own (if he was not brought up in a ſlaughter houſe), that of all trades he could never have been a butcher; and I queſtion whether ever any body ſo much as killed a chicken without reluctancy the firſt time. Some people are not to be perſuaded to taſte of any creatures they have daily ſeen and been acquainted with, while they were alive; others extend their ſcruple no further than to their own poultry, and refuſe to eat what they fed and took care of themſelves; yet all of them will feed heartily and without remorſe on beef, mutton, and fowls, when they are bought in the market. In this behaviour, methinks, there appears ſomething like a conſciouſneſs of guilt, it looks as if they endeavoured to ſave themſelves from the imputation of a crime (which they know ſticks ſomewhere) by removing the cauſe of it as far as they can from themſelves; and I can diſcover in it ſome ſtrong remains of primitive pity and innocence, which all the arbitrary power

of cuſtom, and the violence of luxury, have not yet been able to conquer.

What I build upon I ſhall be told is a folly that wiſe men are not guilty of: I own it; but while it proceeds from a real paſſion inherent in our nature, it is ſufficient to demonſtrate, that we are born with a repugnancy to the killing, and conſequently the eating of animals; for it is impoſſible that a natural appetite ſhould ever prompt us to act, or deſire others to do, what we have an averſion to, be it as fooliſh as it will.

Every body knows, that ſurgeons, in the cure of dangerous wounds and fractures, the extirpations of limbs, and other dreadful operations, are often compelled to put their patients to extraordinary torments, and that the more deſperate and calamitous caſes occur to them, the more the outcries and bodily ſufferings of others muſt become familiar to them; for this reaſon, our Engliſh law, out of a moſt affectionate regard to the lives of the ſubject, allows them not to be of any jury upon life and death, as ſuppoſing that their practice itſelf is ſufficient to harden and extinguiſh in them that tenderneſs, without which no man is capable of ſetting a true value upon the lives of his fellow-creatures. Now, if we ought to have no concern for what we do to brute beaſts, and there was not imagined to be any cruelty in killing them, why ſhould of all callings butchers, and only they, jointly with ſurgeons, be excluded from being jurymen by the ſame law?

I ſhall urge nothing of what Pythagoras and many other wiſe men have ſaid concerning this barbarity of eating fleſh; I have gone too much out of my way already, and ſhall therefore beg the reader, if he would have any more of this, to run over the following fable, or elſe, if he be tired, to let it alone, with an aſſurance that in doing of either he ſhall equally oblige me.

A Roman merchant, in one of the Cathaginian wars, was caſt away upon the coaſt of Afric: himſelf and his ſlave with great difficulty got ſafe aſhore; but going in queſt of relief, were met by a lion of a mighty ſize. It happened to be one of the breed that ranged in Æſop's days, and one that could not only ſpeak ſeveral languages, but ſeemed, moreover, very well acquainted with human affairs. The ſlave got upon a tree, but his maſter not thinking himſelf ſafe there, and having heard much of the generoſity of lions, fell down proſtrate be-

fore him, with all the ſigns of fear and ſubmiſſion. The lion who had lately filled his belly, bids him riſe, and for a while lay by his fears, aſſuring him withal, that he ſhould not be touched, if he could give him any tolerable reaſons why he ſhould not be devoured. The merchant obeyed; and having now received ſome glimmering hopes of ſafety, gave a diſmal account of the ſhipwreck he had ſuffered, and endeavouring from thence to raiſe the lion's pity, pleaded his cauſe with abundance of good rhetoric; but obſerving by the countenance of the beaſt, that flattery and fine words made very little impreſſion, he betook himſelf to arguments of greater ſolidity, and reaſoning from the excellency of man's nature and abilities, remonſtrated how improbable it was that the gods ſhould not have deſigned him for a better uſe, than to be eat by ſavage beaſts. Upon this the lion became more attentive, and vouchſafed now and then a reply, till at laſt the following dialogue enſued between them.

Oh vain and covetous animal (ſaid the lion), whoſe pride and avarice can make him leave his native ſoil, where his natural wants might be plentifully ſupplied, and try rough ſeas and dangerous mountains to find out ſuperfluities, why ſhould you eſteem your ſpecies above ours? And if the gods have given you a ſuperiority over all creatures, then why beg you of an inferior? Our ſuperiority (anſwered the merchant) conſiſts not in bodily force, but ſtrength of underſtanding; the gods have endued us with a rational ſoul, which, though inviſible, is much the better part of us. I deſire to touch nothing of you but what is good to eat; but why do you value yourſelf ſo much upon that part which is inviſible? Becauſe it is immortal, and ſhall meet with rewards after death for the actions of this life, and the juſt ſhall enjoy eternal bliſs and tranquillity with the heroes and demigods in the Elyſian fields. What life have you led? I have honoured the gods, and ſtudied to be beneficial to man. Then why do you fear death, if you think the gods as juſt as you have been? I have a wife and five ſmall children that muſt come to want if they loſe me. I have two whelps that are not big enough to ſhift for themſelves, that are in want now, and muſt actually be ſtarved if I can provide nothing for them: Your children will be provided for one way or other; at leaſt as well when I have eat you, as if you had been drowned.

As to the excellency of either ſpecies, the value of things

among you has ever increaſed with the ſcarcity of them, and to a million of men there is hardly one lion; beſides that, in the great veneration man pretends to have for his kind, there is little ſincerity farther than it concerns the ſhare which every one's pride has in it for himſelf; it is a folly to boaſt of the tenderneſs ſhown, and attendance given to your young ones, or the exceſſive and laſting trouble beſtowed in the education of them: Man being born the moſt neceſſitous and moſt helpleſs animal, this is only an inſtinct of nature, which, in all creatures, has ever proportioned the care of the parents to the wants and imbecillities of the offspring. But if a man had a real value for his kind, how is it poſſible that often ten thouſand of them, and ſometimes ten times as many, ſhould be deſtroyed in few hours, for the caprice of two? All degrees of men deſpiſe thoſe that are inferior to them, and if you could enter into the hearts of kings and princes, you would hardly find any but what have leſs value for the greateſt part of the multitudes they rule over, than thoſe have for the cattle that belong to them. Why ſhould ſo many pretend to derive their race, though but ſpuriouſly, from the immortal gods; why ſhould all of them ſuffer others to kneel down before them, and more or leſs take delight in having divine honours paid them, but to inſinuate that themſelves are of a more exalted nature, and a ſpecies ſuperior to that of their ſubjects?

Savage I am, but no creature can be called cruel, but what either by malice or inſenſibility extinguiſhes his natural pity: The lion was born without compaſſion; we follow the inſtinct of our nature; the gods have appointed us to live upon the waſte and ſpoil of other animals, and as long as we can meet with dead ones, we never hunt after the living. It is only man, miſchievous man, that can make death a ſport. Nature taught your ſtomach to crave nothing but vegetables; but your violent fondneſs to change, and great eagerneſs after novelties, have prompted you to the deſtruction of animals without juſtice or neceſſity, perverted your nature, and warped your appetites which way ſoever your pride or luxury have called them. The lion has a ferment within him that conſumes the toughest ſkin and hardeſt bones, as well as the fleſh of all animals without exception: Your ſqueamiſh ſtomach, in which the digeſtive heat is weak and inconſiderable, will not ſo much as admit of the moſt tender parts of them, unleſs above half the con-

coction has been performed by artificial fire before hand; and yet what animal have you ſpared to ſatisfy the caprices of a languid appetite? Languid I ſay; for what is man's hunger, if compared to the lion's? Yours, when it is at the worſt, makes you faint, mine makes me mad: Oft have I tried with roots and herbs to allay the violence of it, but in vain; nothing but large quantities of fleſh can anywiſe appeaſe it.

Yet the fierceneſs of our hunger notwithſtanding, lions have often requited benefits received; but ungrateful and perfidious man feeds on the ſheep that clothes him, and ſpares not her innocent young ones, whom he has taken into his care and cuſtody. If you tell me the gods made man maſter over all other creatures, what tyranny was it then to deſtroy them out of wantonneſs? No, fickle, timorous animal, the gods have made you for ſociety, and deſigned that millions of you, when well joined together, ſhould compoſe the ſtrong Leviathan. A ſingle lion bears ſome ſway in the creation, but what is ſingle man? A ſmall and inconſiderable part, a trifling atom of one great beaſt. What nature deſigns, ſhe executes; and it is not ſafe to judge of what ſhe purpoſed, but from the effects ſhe ſhows: If ſhe had intended that man, as man from a ſuperiority of ſpecies, ſhould lord it over all other animals, the tiger, nay, the whale and eagle would have obeyed his voice.

But if your wit and underſtanding exceeds ours, ought not the lion, in deference to that ſuperiority, to follow the maxims of men, with whom nothing is more ſacred, than that the reaſon of the ſtrongeſt is ever the moſt prevalent? Whole multitudes of you have conſpired and compaſſed the deſtruction of one, after they had owned the gods had made him their ſuperior; and one has often ruined and cut off whole multitudes, whom, by the ſame gods, he had ſworn to defend and maintain. Man never acknowledged ſuperiority without power, and why ſhould I? The excellence I boaſt of is viſible, all animals tremble at the ſight of the lion, not out of panic fear. The gods have given me ſwiftneſs to overtake, and ſtrength to conquer whatever comes near me. Where is there a creature that has teeth and claws like mine, behold the thickneſs of theſe maſſy jaw-bones, conſider the width of them, and feel the firmneſs of this brawny neck. The nimbleſt deer, the wildeſt boar, the ſtouteſt horſe, and

ſtrongeſt bull, are my prey wherever I meet them. Thus ſpoke the lion, and the merchant fainted away.

The lion, in my opinion, has ſtretched the point too far; yet, when to ſoften the fleſh of male animals, we have by caſtration prevented the firmneſs their tendons, and every fibre would have come to, without it, I confeſs, I think it ought to move a human creature, when he reflects upon the cruel care with which they are fattened for deſtruction. When a large and gentle bullock, after having reſiſted a ten times greater force of blows than would have killed his murderer, falls ſtunned at laſt, and his armed head is faſtened to the ground with cords; as ſoon as the wide wound is made, and the jugulars are cut aſunder, what mortal can, without compaſſion, hear the painful bellowings intercepted by his blood, the bitter ſighs that ſpeak the ſharpneſs of his anguiſh, and the deep ſounding groans, with loud anxiety, fetched from the bottom of his ſtrong and palpitating heart; look on the trembling and violent convulſions of his limbs; ſee, while his reeking gore ſtreams from him, his eyes become dim and languid, and behold his ſtrugglings, gaſps, and laſt efforts for life, the certain ſigns of his approaching fate? When a creature has given ſuch convincing and undeniable proofs of the terrors upon him, and the pains and agonies he feels, is there a follower of Deſcartes ſo inured to blood, as not to refute, by his commiſeration, the philoſophy of that vain reaſoner?

LINE 307. ——————For frugally
They now liv'd on their ſalary.

WHEN people have ſmall comings in, and are honeſt withal, it is then that the generality of them begin to be frugal, and not before. Frugality in ethics is called that virtue, from the principle of which men abſtain from ſuperfluities, and, deſpiſing the operoſe contrivances of art to procure either eaſe or pleaſure, content themſelves with the natural ſimplicity of things, and are carefully temperate in the enjoyment of them, without any tincture of covetouſneſs. Frugality thus limited, is perhaps ſcarcer than many may imagine; but what is generally underſtood by it, is a quality more often to be met with, and conſiſts in a medium between profuſeneſs and avarice, rather leaning to the latter. As this prudent economy, which ſome people call ſaving,

is in private families the moſt certain method to increaſe an eſtate. So ſome imagine, that whether a country be barren or fruitful, the ſame method, if generally purſued (which they think practicable), will have the ſame effect upon a whole nation, and that, for example, the Engliſh might be much richer than they are, if they would be as frugal as ſome of their neighbours. This, I think, is an error, which to prove, I ſhall firſt refer the reader to what has been ſaid upon this head in Remark on l. 180. and then go on thus.

Experience teaches us firſt, that as people differ in their views and perceptions of things, ſo they vary in their inclinations; one man is given to covetouſneſs, another to prodigality, and a third is only ſaving. Secondly, that men are never, or at leaſt very ſeldom, reclaimed from their darling paſſions, either by reaſon or precept, and that if any thing ever draws them from what they are naturally propenſe to, it muſt be a change in their circumſtances or their fortunes. If we reflect upon theſe obſervations, we ſhall find, that to render the generality of a nation laviſh, the product of the country muſt be conſiderable, in proportion to the inhabitants, and what they are profuſe of cheap; that, on the contrary, to make a nation generally frugal, the neceſſaries of life muſt be ſcarce, and conſequently dear; and that, therefore, let the beſt politician do what he can, the profuſeneſs or frugality of a people in general, muſt always depend upon, and will, in ſpite of his teeth, be ever proportioned to the fruitfulneſs and product of the country, the number of inhabitants, and the taxes they are to bear. If any body would refute what I have ſaid, let them only prove from hiſtory, that there ever was in any country a national frugality without a national neceſſity.

Let us examine then what things are requiſite to aggrandize and enrich a nation. The firſt deſirable bleſſings for any ſociety of men, are a fertile ſoil, and a happy climate, a mild government, and more land than people. Theſe things will render man eaſy, loving, honeſt, and ſincere. In this condition they may be as virtuous as they can, without the leaſt injury to the public, and conſequently as happy as they pleaſe themſelves. But they ſhall have no arts or ſciences, or be quiet longer then their neighbours will let them; they muſt be poor, ignorant, and almoſt wholly deſtitute of what we call the comforts of life, and all the cardinal virtues together would not ſo much as procure a tolerable coat

or a porridge-pot among them: for in this ſtate of ſlothful eaſe and ſtupid innocence, as you need not fear great vices, ſo you muſt not expect any conſiderable virtues. Man never exerts himſelf but when he is rouſed by his deſires: while they lie dormant, and there is nothing to raiſe them, his excellence and abilities will be for ever undiſcovered, and the lumpiſh machine, without the influence of his paſſions, may be juſtly compared to a huge wind-mill without a breath of air.

Would you render a ſociety of men ſtrong and powerful, you muſt touch their paſſions. Divide the land, though there be never ſo much to ſpare, and their poſſeſſions will make them covetous: rouſe them, though but in jeſt, from their idleneſs with praiſes, and pride will ſet them to work in earneſt: teach them trades and handicrafts, and you will bring envy and emulation among them: to increaſe their numbers, ſet up a variety of manufactures, and leave no ground uncultivated; let property be inviolably ſecured, and privileges equal to all men; ſuffer nobody to act but what is lawful, and every body to think what he pleaſes; for a country where every body may be maintained that will be employed, and the other maxims are obſerved, muſt always be thronged, and can never want people, as long as there is any in the world. Would you have them bold and warlike, turn to military diſcipline, make good uſe of their fear, and flatter their vanity with art and aſſiduity: but would you, moreover, render them an opulent, knowing, and polite nation, teach them commerce with foreign countries, and, if poſſible, get into the ſea, which to compaſs ſpare no labour nor induſtry, and let no difficulty deter you from it; then promote navigation, cheriſh the merchant, and encourage trade in every branch of it; this will bring riches, and where they are, arts and ſciences will ſoon follow: and by the help of what I have named and good management, it is that politicians can make a people potent, renowned, and flouriſhing.

But would you have a frugal and honeſt ſociety, the beſt policy is to preſerve men in their native ſimplicity, ſtrive not to increaſe their numbers; let them never be acquainted with ſtrangers or ſuperfluities, but remove, and keep from them every thing that might raiſe their deſires, or improve their underſtanding.

Great wealth, and foreign treaſure, will ever ſcorn to come among men, unleſs you will admit their inſeparable companions, avarice and luxury: where trade is conſiderable, fraud will intrude. To be at once well-bred and ſincere, is no leſs than a contradiction; and, therefore, while man advances in knowledge, and his manners are poliſhed, we muſt expect to ſee, at the ſame time, his deſires enlarged, his appetites refined, and his vices increaſed.

The Dutch may aſcribe their preſent grandeur to the virtue and frugality of their anceſtors as they pleaſe; but what made that contemptible ſpot of ground ſo conſiderable among the principal powers of Europe, has been their political wiſdom in poſtponing every thing to merchandiſe and navigation, the unlimitted liberty of conſcience that is enjoyed among them, and the unwearied application with which they have always made uſe of the moſt effectual means to encourage and increaſe trade in general.

They never were noted for frugality before Philip II. of Spain began to rage over them with that unheard of tyranny. Their laws were trampled upon, their rights and large immunities taken from them, and their conſtitution torn to pieces. Several of their chief nobles were condemned and executed without legal form of proceſs. Complaints and remonſtrances were puniſhed as ſeverely as reſiſtance, and thoſe that eſcaped being maſſacred, were plundered by ravenous ſoldiers. As this was intolerable to a people that had always been uſed to the mildeſt of governments, and enjoyed greater privileges than any of the neighbouring nations, ſo they choſe rather to die in arms than periſh by cruel executioners. If we conſider the ſtrength Spain had then, and the low circumſtances thoſe diſtreſſed ſtates were in, there never was heard of a more unequal ſtrife; yet, ſuch was their fortitude and reſolution, that only ſeven of thoſe provinces, uniting themſelves together, maintained againſt the greateſt and beſt diſciplined nation in Europe, the moſt tedious and bloody war, that is to be met with in ancient or modern hiſtory.

Rather than to become a victim to the Spaniſh fury, they were contented to live upon a third part of their revenues, and lay out far the greateſt part of their income in defending themſelves againſt their mercileſs enemies. Theſe hardſhips and calamities of a war within their bowels, firſt put them upon that extraordinary frugality; and the continuance under the ſame difficulties for above fourſcore years,

could not but render it cuſtomary and habitual to them. But all their arts of ſaving, and penurious way of living, could never have enabled them to make head againſt ſo potent an enemy, if their induſtry in promoting their fiſhery and navigation in general, had not helped to ſupply the natural wants and diſadvantages they laboured under.

The country is ſo ſmall and ſo populous, that there is not land enough (though hardly an inch of it is unimproved) to feed the tenth part of the inhabitants. Holland itſelf is full of large rivers, and lies lower than the ſea, which would run over it every tide, and waſh it away in one winter, if it was not kept out by vaſt banks and huge walls: the repairs of thoſe, as well as their ſluices, quays, mills, and other neceſſaries they are forced to make uſe of to keep themſelves from being drowned, are a greater expence to them, one year with another, than could be raiſed by a general land tax of four ſhillings in the pound, if to be deducted from the neat produce of the landlord's revenue.

Is it a wonder, that people, under ſuch circumſtances, and loaden with greater taxes, beſides, than any other nation, ſhould be obliged to be ſaving? but why muſt they be a pattern to others, who, beſides, that they are more happily ſituated, are much richer within themſelves, and have, to the ſame number of people, above ten times the extent of ground? The Dutch and we often buy and ſell at the ſame markets, and ſo far our views may be ſaid to be the ſame: otherwiſe the intereſts and political reaſons of the two nations, as to the private economy of either, are very different. It is their intereſt to be frugal, and ſpend little; becauſe they muſt have every thing from abroad, except butter, cheeſe, and fiſh, and therefore of them, eſpecially the latter, they conſume three times the quantity, which the ſame number of people do here. It is our intereſt to eat plenty of beef and mutton to maintain the farmer, and further improve our land, of which we have enough to feed ourſelves, and as many more, if it was better cultivated. The Dutch perhaps have more ſhipping, and more ready money than we, but then thoſe are only to be conſidered as the tools they work with. So a carrier may have more horſes than a man of ten times his worth, and a banker that has not above fifteen or ſixteen hundred pounds in the world, may have generally more ready caſh by him, than a gentleman of two thouſand a-year. He that keeps three or four ſtage-coaches to get his bread, is to a gentleman that keeps

a coach for his pleaſure, what the Dutch are in compariſon to us; having nothing of their own but fiſh, they are carriers and freighters to the reſt of the world, while the baſis of our trade chiefly depends upon our own product.

Another inſtance, that what makes the bulk of the people ſaving, are heavy taxes, ſcarcity of land, and ſuch things that occaſion a dearth of proviſions, may be given from what is obſervable among the Dutch themſelves. In the province of Holland their is a vaſt trade, and an unconceivable treaſure of money. The land is almoſt as rich as dung itſelf, and (as I have ſaid once already) not an inch of it unimproved. In Gelderland, and Overyſſel, there is hardly any trade, and very little money: the ſoil is very indifferent, and abundance of ground lies waſte. Then, what is the reaſon that the ſame Dutch, in the two latter provinces, though poorer than the firſt, are yet leſs ſtingy and more hoſpitable? Nothing but that their taxes in moſt things are leſs extravagant, and in proportion to the number of people, they have a great deal more ground. What they ſave in Holland, they ſave out of their bellies; it is eatables, drinkables, and fuel, that their heavieſt taxes are upon, but they wear better clothes, and have richer furniture, than you will find in the other provinces.

Thoſe that are frugal by principle, are ſo in every thing; but in Holland the people are only ſparing in ſuch things as are daily wanted, and ſoon conſumed; in what is laſting they are quite otherwiſe: in pictures and marble they are profuſe; in their buildings and gardens they are extravagant to folly. In other countries, you may meet with ſtately courts and palaces of great extent, that belong to princes, which nobody can expect in a commonwealth, where ſo much equality is obſerved as there is in this; but in all Europe you ſhall find no private buildings ſo ſumptuouſly magnificent, as a great many of the merchants and other gentlemen's houſes are in Amſterdam, and ſome other great cities of that ſmall province; and the generality of thoſe that build there, lay out a greater proportion of their eſtates on houſes they dwell in, than any people upon the earth.

The nation I ſpeak of was never in greater ſtraits, nor their affairs in a more diſmal poſture ſince they were a republic, than in the year 1671, and the beginning of 1672. What we know of their economy and conſtitution with any certainty, has been chiefly owing to Sir William Temple, whoſe

obſervations upon their manners and government, it is evident from ſeveral paſſages in his memoirs, were made about that time. The Dutch, indeed, were then very frugal; but ſince thoſe days, and that their calamities have not been ſo preſſing (though the common people, on whom the principal burden of all exciſes and impoſitions lies, are perhaps much as they were), a great alteration has been made among the better ſort of people in their equipages, entertainments, and whole manner of living.

Thoſe who would have it, that the frugality of that nation flows not ſo much from neceſſity, as a general averſion to vice and luxury, will put us in mind of their public adminiſtration, and ſmallneſs of ſalaries, their prudence in bargaining for, and buying ſtores and other neceſſaries, the great care they take not to be impoſed upon by thoſe that ſerve them, and their ſeverity againſt them that break their contracts. But what they would aſcribe to the virtue and honeſty of miniſters, is wholly due to their ſtrict regulations, concerning the management of the public treaſure, from which their admirable form of government will not ſuffer them to depart; and indeed one good man may take another's word, if they ſo agree, but a whole nation ought never to truſt to any honeſty, but what is built upon neceſſity; for unhappy is the people, and their conſtitution will be ever precarious, whoſe welfare muſt depend upon the virtues and conſciences of miniſters and politicians.

The Dutch generally endeavour to promote as much frugality among their ſubjects as it is poſſible, not becauſe it is a virtue, but becauſe it is, generally ſpeaking, their intereſt, as I have ſhown before; for, as this latter changes, ſo they alter their maxims, as will be plain in the following inſtance.

As ſoon as their Eaſt India ſhips come home, the Company pays off the men, and many of them receive the greateſt part of what they have been earning in ſeven or eight, or ſome fifteen or ſixteen years time. Theſe poor fellows are encouraged to ſpend their money with all profuſeneſs imaginable; and conſidering that moſt of them, when they ſet out firſt, were reprobates, that under the tuition of a ſtrict diſcipline, and a miſerable diet, have been ſo long kept at hard labour without money, in the midſt of danger, it cannot be difficult to make them laviſh, as ſoon as they have plenty.

They ſquander away in wine, women, and muſic, as much

as people of their taſte and education are well capable of, and are ſuffered (ſo they but abſtain from doing of miſchief), to revel and riot with greater licentiouſneſs than is cuſtomary to be allowed to others. You may in ſome cities ſee them accompanied with three or four lewd women, few of them ſober, run roaring through the ſtreets by broad day-light with a fidler before them: And if the money, to their thinking, goes not faſt enough theſe ways, they will find out others, and ſometimes fling it among the mob by handfuls. This madneſs continues in moſt of them while they have any thing left, which never laſts long, and for this reaſon, by a nick-name, they are called, *Lords of ſix Weeks*, that being generally the time by which the Company has other ſhips ready to depart; where theſe infatuated wretches (their money being gone) are forced to enter themſelves again, and may have leiſure to repent their folly.

In this ſtratagem there is a double policy: Firſt, if the ſailors that have been inured to the hot climates and unwholeſome air and diet, ſhould be frugal, and ſtay in their own country, the Company would be continually obliged to employ freſh men, of which (beſides that they are not ſo fit for their buſineſs), hardly one in two ever lives in ſome places of the Eaſt Indies, which often would prove great charge as well as diſappointment to them. The ſecond is, that the large ſums ſo often diſtributed among thoſe ſailors, are by this means made immediately to circulate throughout the country, from whence, by heavy exciſes, and other impoſitions, the greateſt part of it is ſoon drawn back into the public treaſure.

To convince the champions for national frugality by another argument, that what they urge is impracticable, we will ſuppoſe that I am miſtaken in every thing which in Remark, l. 180, I have ſaid in behalf of luxury, and the neceſſity of it to maintain trade: after that let us examine what a general frugality, if it was by art and management to be forced upon people whether they have occaſion for it or not, would produce in ſuch a nation as ours. We will grant, then, that all the people in Great Britain ſhall conſume but four-fifths of what they do now, and ſo lay by one-fifth part of their income; I ſhall not ſpeak of what influence this would have upon almoſt every trade, as well as the farmer, the grazier, and the landlord, but favourably ſuppoſe (what is yet impoſſible), that the ſame work ſhall be done, and conſequent-

ly the ſame handicrafts be employed as there are now. The conſequence would be, that unleſs money ſhould all at once fall prodigiouſly in value, and every thing elſe, contrary to reaſon, grow very dear, at the five years end all the working people, and the pooreſt of labourers (for I would not meddle with any of the reſt), would be worth in ready caſh as much as they now ſpend in a whole year; which, by the bye, would be more money than ever the nation had at once.

Let us now, overjoyed with this increaſe of wealth, take a view of the condition the working people would be in, and, reaſoning from experience, and what we daily obſerve of them, judge what their behaviour would be in ſuch a caſe. Every body knows that there is a vaſt number of journeymen weavers, tailors, clothworkers, and twenty other handicrafts, who, if by four days labour in a week they can maintain themſelves, will hardly be perſuaded to work the fifth; and that there are thouſands of labouring men of all ſorts, who will, though they can hardly ſubſiſt, put themſelves to fifty inconveniences, diſoblige their maſters, pinch their bellies, and run in debt to make holidays. When men ſhow ſuch an extraordinary proclivity to idleneſs and pleaſure, what reaſon have we to think that they would ever work, unleſs they were obliged to it by immediate neceſſity? When we ſee an artificer that cannot be drove to his work before Tueſday, becauſe the Monday morning he has two ſhillings left of his laſt week's pay; why ſhould we imagine he would go to it at all, if he had fifteen or twenty pounds in his pocket?

What would, at this rate, become of our manufactures? If the merchant would ſend cloth abroad, he muſt make it himſelf, for the clothier cannot get one man out of twelve that uſed to work for him. If what I ſpeak of was only to befal the journeymen ſhoemakers, and nobody elſe, in leſs than a twelvemonth, half of us would go barefoot. The chief and moſt preſſing uſe there is for money in a nation, is to pay the labour of the poor, and when there is a real ſcarcity of it, thoſe who have a great many workmen to pay, will always feel it firſt; yet notwithſtanding this great neceſſity of coin, it would be eaſier, where property was well ſecured, to live without money, than without poor; for who would do the work? For this reaſon the quantity of circulating coin in a country, ought always to be proportioned to the number of

hands that are employed; and the wages of labourers to the price of provifions. From whence it is demonftrable, that whatever procures plenty, makes labourers cheap, where the poor are well managed; who as they ought to be kept from ftarving, fo they fhould receive nothing worth faving. If here and there one of the loweft clafs by uncommon induftry, and pinching his belly, lifts himfelf above the condition he was brought up in, nobody ought to hinder him; nay, it is undeniably the wifeft courfe for every perfon in the fociety, and for every private family to be frugal; but it is the intereft of all rich nations, that the greateft part of the poor fhould almoft never be idle, and yet continually fpend what they get.

All men, as Sir William Temple obferves very well, are more prone to eafe and pleafure than they are to labour, when they are not prompted to it by pride and avarice, and thofe that get their living by their daily labour, are feldom powerfully influenced by either: fo that they have nothing to ftir them up to be ferviceable but their wants, which it is prudence to relieve, but folly to cure. The only thing, then, that can render the labouring man induftrious, is a moderate quantity of money; for as too little will, according as his temper is, either difpirit or make him defperate, fo too much will make him infolent and lazy.

A man would be laughed at by moft people, who fhould maintain that too much money could undo a nation: yet this has been the fate of Spain; to this the learned Don Diego Savedra afcribes the ruin of his country. The fruits of the earth in former ages had made Spain fo rich, that King Lewis XI. of France being come to the court of Toledo, was aftonifhed at its fplendour, and faid, that he had never feen any thing to be compared to it, either in Europe or Afia; he that in his travels to the Holy Land had run through every province of them. In the kingdom of Caftile alone (if we may believe fome writers), there were for the holy war, from all parts of the world got together one hundred thoufand foot, ten thoufand horfe, and fixty thoufand carriages for baggage, which Alonfo III. maintained at his own charge, and paid every day, as well foldiers as officers and princes, every one according to his rank and dignity: nay, down to the reign of Ferdinand and Ifabella (who equipped Columbus), and fome time after, Spain was a fertile country, where trade and manufactures flourifhed, and had a

knowing induſtrious people to boaſt of. But as ſoon as that mighty treaſure, that was obtained with more hazard and cruelty than the world until then had known, and which to come at, by the Spaniard's own confeſſion, had coſt the lives of twenty millions of Indians; as ſoon, I ſay, as that ocean of treaſure came rolling in upon them, it took away their ſenſes, and their induſtry forſook them. The farmer left his plough, the mechanic his tools, the merchant his compting-houſe, and every body ſcorning to work, took his pleaſure and turned gentleman. They thought they had reaſon to value themſelves above all their neighbours, and now nothing but the conqueſt of the world would ſerve them.

The conſequence of this has been, that other nations have ſupplied what their own ſloth and pride denied them; and when every body ſaw, that notwithſtanding all the prohibitions the government could make againſt the exportation of bullion, the Spaniard would part with his money, and bring it you aboard himſelf at the hazard of his neck, all the world endeavoured to work for Spain. Gold and ſilver being by this means yearly divided and ſhared among all the trading countries, have made all things dear, and moſt nations of Europe induſtrious, except their owners, who, ever ſince their mighty acquiſitions, ſit with their arms acroſs, and wait every year with impatience and anxiety, the arrival of their revenues from abroad, to pay others for what they have ſpent already: and thus by too much money, the making of colonies and other miſmanagements, of which it was the occaſion, Spain is, from a fruitful and well-peopled country, with all its mighty titles and poſſeſſions, made a barren and empty thoroughfare, through which gold and ſilver paſs from America to the reſt of the world; and the nation, from a rich, acute, diligent, and laborious, become a ſlow, idle, proud, and beggarly people: So much for Spain. The next country where money is called the product, is Portugal, and the figure which that kingdom with all its gold makes in Europe, I think is not much to be envied.

The great art then to make a nation happy, and what we call flouriſhing, conſiſts in giving every body an opportunity of being employed; which to compaſs, let a government's firſt care be to promote as great a variety of manufactures, arts, and handicrafts, as human wit can invent; and the ſecond, to encourage agriculture and fiſhery in all their branches, that the whole earth may be forced to exert itſelf

as well as man; for as the one is an infallible maxim to draw vaſt multitudes of people into a nation, ſo the other is the only method to maintain them.

It is from this policy, and not the trifling regulations of laviſhneſs and frugality (which will ever take their own courſe, according to the circumſtances of the people), that the greatneſs and felicity of nations muſt be expected; for let the value of gold and ſilver either riſe or fall, the enjoyment of all ſocieties will ever depend upon the fruits of the earth, and the labour of the people; both which joined together are a more certain, a more inexhauſtible, and a more real treaſure, than the gold of Brazil, or the ſilver of Potoſi.

LINE 321 No honour now, &c.

HONOUR, in its figurative ſenſe, is a chimera without truth or being, an invention of moraliſts and politicians, and ſignifies a certain principle of virtue not related to religion, found in ſome men that keeps them cloſe to their duty and engagements whatever they be; as for example, a man of honour enters into a conſpiracy with others to murder a king; he is obliged to go thorough ſtitch with it; and if overcome by remorſe or good nature, he ſtartles at the enormity of his purpoſe, diſcovers the plot, and turns a witneſs againſt his accomplices, he then forfeits his honour, at leaſt among the party he belonged to. The excellency of this principle is, that the vulgar are deſtitute of it, and it is only to be met with in people of the better ſort, as ſome oranges have kernels, and others not, though the outſide be the ſame. In great families it is like the gout, generally counted hereditary, and all the lords children are born with it. In ſome that never felt any thing of it, it is acquired by converſation and reading (eſpecially of romances), in others by preferment; but there is nothing that encourages the growth of it more than a ſword, and upon the firſt wearing of one, ſome people have felt conſiderable ſhoots of it in four and twenty hours.

The chief and moſt important care a man of honour ought to have, is the preſervation of this principle, and rather than forfeit it, he muſt loſe his employments and eſtate, nay, life itſelf: for which reaſon, whatever humility he may ſhow by way of good-breeding, he is allowed to put an ineſtimable value upon himſelf, as a poſſeſſor of this inviſible ornament.

The only method to preſerve this principle, is to live up to the rules of honour, which are laws he is to walk by: himſelf is obliged always to be faithful to his truſt, to prefer the public intereſt to his own, not to tell lies, nor defraud or wrong any body, and from others to ſuffer no affront, which is a term of art for every action deſignedly done to undervalue him.

The men of ancient honour, of which I reckon Don Quixote to have been the laſt upon record, were very nice obſervers of all theſe laws, and a great many more than I have named; but the moderns ſeem to be more remiſs: they have a profound veneration for the laſt of them, but they pay not an equal obedience to any of the other; and whoever will but ſtrictly comply with that I hint at, ſhall have abundance of treſpaſſes againſt all the reſt connived at.

A man of honour is always counted impartial, and a man of ſenſe of courſe; for nobody never heard of a man of honour that was a fool: for this reaſon, he has nothing to do with the law, and is always allowed to be a judge in his own caſe; and if the leaſt injury be done either to himſelf or his friend, his relation, his ſervant, his dog, or any thing which he is pleaſed to take under his honourable protection, ſatisfaction muſt be forthwith demanded; and if it proves an affront, and he that gave it likewiſe a man of honour, a battle muſt enſue. From all this it is evident, that a man of honour muſt be poſſeſſed of courage, and that without it his other principle would be no more than a ſword without a point. Let us, therefore, examine what courage conſiſts in, and whether it be, as moſt people will have it, a real ſomething that valiant men have in their nature diſtinct from all their other qualities or not.

There is nothing ſo univerſally ſincere upon earth, as the love which all creatures, that are capable of any, bear to themſelves; and as there is no love but what implies a care to preſerve the thing beloved, ſo there is nothing more ſincere in any creature than his will, wiſhes, and endeavours, to preſerve himſelf. This is the law of nature, by which no creature is endued with any appetite or paſſion, but what either directly or indirectly tends to the preſervation either of himſelf or his ſpecies.

The means by which nature obliges every creature continually to ſtir in this buſineſs of ſelf-preſervation, are grafted in him, and, in man, called deſires, which either com-

pel him him to crave what he thinks will ſuſtain or pleaſe him, or command him to avoid what he imagines might diſpleaſe, hurt, or deſtroy him. Theſe deſires or paſſions have all their different ſymptoms by which they manifeſt themſelves to thoſe they diſturb, and from that variety of diſturbances they make within us, their various denominations have been given them, as has been ſhown already in pride and ſhame.

The paſſion that is raiſed in us when we apprehend that miſchief is approaching us, is called fear: the diſturbance it makes within us is always more or leſs violent in proportion, not of the danger, but our apprehenſion of the miſchief dreaded, whether real or imaginary. Our fear then being always proportioned to the apprehenſion we have of the danger, it follows that while that apprehenſion laſts, a man can no more ſhake off his fear than he can a leg or an arm. In a fright, it is true, the apprehenſion of danger is ſo ſudden, and attacks us ſo lively (as ſometimes to take away reaſon and ſenſes), that when it is over we often do not remember we had any apprehenſion at all; but, from the event, it is plain we had it, for how could we have been frightened if we had not apprehended that ſome evil or other was coming upon us?

Moſt people are of opinion, that this apprehenſion is to be conquered by reaſon, but I confeſs I am not: Thoſe that have been frightened will tell you, that as ſoon as they could recollect themſelves, that is, make uſe of their reaſon, their apprehenſion was conquered. But this is no conqueſt at all, for in a fright the danger was either altogether imaginary, or elſe it is paſt by that time they can make uſe of their reaſon; and therefore if they find there is no danger, it is no wonder that they ſhould not apprehend any: but, when the danger is permanent, let them then make uſe of their reaſon, and they will find that it may ſerve them to examine the greatneſs and reality of the danger, and that, if they find it leſs than they imagined, the apprehenſion will be leſſened accordingly; but, if the danger proves real, and the ſame in every circumſtance as they took it to be at firſt, then their reaſon, inſtead of diminiſhing, will rather increaſe their apprehenſion. While this fear laſts, no creature can fight offenſively; and yet we ſee brutes daily fight obſtinately, and worry one another to death; ſo that ſome other paſſion muſt be able to overcome this fear, and the moſt contrary to it is

anger: which, to trace to the bottom, I muſt beg leave to make another digreſſion.

No creature can ſubſiſt without food, nor any ſpecies of them (I ſpeak of the more perfect animals) continue long unleſs young ones are continually born as faſt as the old ones die. Therefore the firſt and fierceſt appetite that nature has given them is hunger, the next is luſt; the one prompting them to procreate, as the other bids them eat. Now, if we obſerve that anger is that paſſion which is raiſed in us when we are croſſed or diſturbed in our deſires, and that, as it ſums up all the ſtrength in creatures, ſo it was given them, that by it they might exert themſelves more vigorouſly in endeavouring to remove, overcome, or deſtroy whatever obſtructs them in the purſuit of ſelf preſervation; we ſhall find that brutes, unleſs themſelves or what they love, or the liberty of either are threatened or attacked, have nothing worth notice that can move them to anger, but hunger or luſt. It is they that make them more fierce, for we muſt obſerve, that the appetites of creatures are as actually croſſed, while they want and cannot meet with what they deſire (though perhaps with leſs violence) as when hindered from enjoying what they have in view. What I have ſaid will appear more plainly, if we but mind what nobody can be ignorant of, which is this: all creatures upon earth live either upon the fruits and product of it, or elſe the fleſh of other animals, their fellow-creatures. The latter, which we call beaſts of prey, nature has armed accordingly, and given them weapons and ſtrength to overcome and tear aſunder thoſe whom ſhe has deſigned for their food, and likewiſe a much keener appetite than to other animals that live upon herbs, &c. For, as to the firſt, if a cow loved mutton as well as ſhe does graſs, being made as ſhe is, and having no claws or talons, and but one row of teeth before, that are all of an equal length, ſhe would be ſtarved even among a flock of ſheep. Secondly, as to their voraciouſneſs, if experience did not teach us, our reaſon might: in the firſt place, it is highly probable, that the hunger which can make a creature fatigue, haraſs and expoſe himſelf to danger for every bit he eats, is more piercing than that which only bids him eat what ſtands before him, and which he may have for ſtooping down. In the ſecond, it is to be conſidered, that as beaſts of prey have an inſtinct by which they learn to crave, trace, and diſcover thoſe creatures

that are good food for them; ſo the others have likewiſe an inſtinct that teaches them to ſhun, conceal themſelves, and run away from thoſe that hunt after them: from hence it muſt follow, that beaſts of prey, though they could almoſt eat forever, go yet more often with empty bellies than other creatures, whoſe victuals neither fly from nor oppoſe them. This muſt perpetuate as well as increaſe their hunger, which hereby becomes a conſtant fuel to their anger.

If you aſk me what ſtirs up this anger in bulls and cocks that will fight to death, and yet are neither animals of prey, nor very voracious, I anſwer, luſt. Thoſe creatures, whoſe rage proceeds from hunger, both male and female, attack every thing they can maſter, and fight obſtinately againſt all: But the animals, whoſe fury is provoked by a venereal ferment, being generally males, exert themſelves chiefly againſt other males of the ſame ſpecies. They may do miſchief by chance to other creatures; but the main objects of their hatred are their rivals, and it is againſt them only that their proweſs and fortitude are ſhown. We ſee likewiſe in all thoſe creatures, of which the male is able to ſatisfy a great number of females, a more conſiderable ſuperiority in the male, expreſſed by nature in his make and features, as well as fierceneſs, than is obſerved in other creatures, where the male is contented with one or two females. Dogs, though become domeſtic animals, are ravenous to a proverb, and thoſe of them that will fight being carnivorous, would ſoon become beaſts of prey, if not fed by us; what we may obſerve in them is an ample proof of what I have hitherto advanced. Thoſe of a true fighting breed, being voracious creatures, both male and female, will faſten upon any thing, and ſuffer themſelves to be killed before they give over. As the female is rather more ſalacious than the male; ſo there is no difference in their make at all, what diſtinguiſhes the ſexes excepted, and the female is rather the fierceſt of the two. A bull is a terrible creature when he is kept up, but where he has twenty or more cows to range among, in a little time he will become as tame as any of them, and a dozen hens will ſpoil the beſt game cock in England. Harts and deers are counted chaſte and timorous creatures, and ſo indeed they are almoſt all the year long, except in rutting time, and then on a ſudden they become bold to admiration, and often make at the keepers themſelves.

That the influence of thoſe two principal appetites, hunger and luſt, upon the temper of animals, is not ſo whimſical

as ſome may imagine, may be partly demonſtrated from what is obſervable in ourſelves; for, though our hunger is infinitely leſs violent than that of wolves and other ravenous creatures, yet we ſee that people who are in health, and have a tolerable ſtomach, are more fretful, and ſooner put out of humour for trifles when they ſtay for their victuals beyond their uſual hours, than at any other time. And again, though luſt in man is not ſo raging as it is in bulls, and other ſalacious creatures, yet nothing provokes men and women both ſooner, and more violently to anger, than what croſſes their amours, when they are heartily in love; and the moſt fearful and tenderly educated of either ſex, have ſlighted the greateſt dangers, and ſet aſide all other conſiderations, to compaſs the deſtruction of a rival.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to demonſtrate, that no creature can fight offenſively as long as his fear laſts; that fear cannot be conquered but by another paſſion; that the moſt contrary to it, and moſt effectual to overcome it, is anger; that the two principal appetites which, diſappointed, can ſtir up this laſt-named paſſion, are hunger and luſt, and that, in all brute beaſts, the proneneſs to anger and obſtinacy in fighting, generally depend upon the violence of either or both thoſe appetites together: From whence it muſt follow, that what we call proweſs, or natural courage in creatures, is nothing but the effect of anger, and that all fierce animals muſt be either very ravenous, or very luſtful, if not both.

Let us now examine what by this rule we ought to judge of our own ſpecies. From the tenderneſs of man's ſkin, and the great care that is required for years together to rear him; from the make of his jaws, the evenneſs of his teeth, the breadth of his nails, and the ſlightneſs of both, it is not probable that nature ſhould have deſigned him for rapine; for this reaſon his hunger is not voracious as it is in beaſts of prey; neither is he ſo ſalacious as other animals that are called ſo, and being beſides very induſtrious to ſupply his wants, he can have no reigning appetite to perpetuate his anger, and muſt conſequently be a timorous animal.

What I have ſaid laſt muſt only be underſtood of man in his ſavage ſtate; for, if we examine him as a member of a ſociety, and a taught animal, we ſhall find him quite another creature: As ſoon as his pride has room to play, and envy, avarice, and ambition begin to catch hold of him, he is rouſed from his natural innocence and ſtupidity. As his

knowledge increaſes, his deſires are enlarged, and conſequently his wants and appetites are multiplied: Hence it muſt follow, that he will often be croſſed in the purſuit of them, and meet with abundance more diſappointment to ſtir up his anger in this than his former condition, and man would in a little time become the moſt hurtful and obnoxious creature in the world, if let alone, whenever he could overpower his adverſary, if he had no miſchief to fear but from the perſon that angered him.

The firſt care, therefore, of all governments is, by ſevere puniſhments to curb his anger when it does hurt, and ſo, by increaſing his fears, prevent the miſchief it might produce. When various laws to reſtrain him from uſing force are ſtrictly executed, ſelf-preſervation muſt teach him to be peaceable; and, as it is every body's buſineſs to be as little diſturbed as is poſſible, his fears will be continually augmented and enlarged as he advances in experience, underſtanding, and foreſight. The conſequence of this muſt be, that as the provocations he will receive to anger will be infinite in the civilized ſtate, ſo his fears to damp it will be the ſame, and thus, in a little time, he will be taught by his fears to deſtroy his anger, and by art to conſult, in an oppoſite method, the ſame ſelf-preſervation for which nature before had furniſhed him with anger, as well as the reſt of his paſſions.

The only uſeful paſſion, then, that man is poſſeſſed of toward the peace and quiet of a ſociety, is his fear, and the more you work upon it the more orderly and governable he will be; for how uſeful ſoever anger may be to man, as he is a ſingle creature by himſelf, yet the ſociety has no manner of occaſion for it: But nature being always the ſame, in the formation of animals, produces all creatures as like to thoſe that beget and bear them, as the place ſhe forms them in, and the various influences from without, will give her leave; and conſequently all men, whether they are born in courts or foreſts, are ſuſceptible of anger. When this paſſion overcomes (as among all degrees of people it ſometimes does) the whole ſet of fears man has, he has true courage, and will fight as boldly as a lion or a tiger, and at no other time; and I ſhall endeavour to prove, that whatever is called courage in man, when he is not angry, is ſpurious and artificial.

It is poſſible, by good government, to keep a ſociety always quiet in itſelf, but nobody can enſure peace from without

for ever. The ſociety may have occaſion to extend their limits further, and enlarge their territories, or others may invade theirs, or ſomething elſe will happen that man muſt be brought to fight; for how civilized ſoever men may be, they never forget that force goes beyond reaſon: The politician now muſt alter his meaſures, and take off ſome of man's fears; he muſt ſtrive to perſuade him, that all what was told him before of the barbarity of killing men ceaſes as ſoon as theſe men are enemies to the public, and that their adverſaries are neither ſo good nor ſo ſtrong as themſelves. Theſe things well managed will ſeldom fail of drawing the hardieſt, the moſt quarrelſome, and the moſt miſchievous into combat; but unleſs they are better qualified, I will not anſwer for their behaviour there: If once you can make them undervalue their enemies, you may ſoon ſtir them up to anger, and while that laſts they will fight with greater obſtinacy than any diſciplined troops: But if any thing happens that was unforeſeen, and a ſudden great noiſe, a tempeſt, or any ſtrange or uncommon accident that ſeems to threaten them, intervenes, fear ſeizes them, diſarms their anger, and makes them run away to a man.

This natural courage, therefore, as ſoon as people begin to have more wit, muſt be ſoon exploded. In the firſt place, thoſe that have felt the ſmart of the enemy's blows, will not always believe what is ſaid to undervalue him, and are often not eaſily provoked to anger. Secondly, anger conſiſting in an ebullition of the ſpirits, is a paſſion of no long continuance (*ira furor brevis eſt*), and the enemies, if they withſtand the firſt ſhock of theſe angry people, have commonly the better of it. Thirdly, as long as people are angry, all counſel and diſcipline are loſt upon them, and they can never be brought to uſe art or conduct in their battles. Anger then, without which no creature has natural courage, being altogether uſeleſs in a war to be managed by ſtratagem, and brought into a regular art, the government muſt find out an equivalent for courage that will make men fight.

Whoever would civilize men, and eſtabliſh them into a body politic, muſt be thoroughly acquainted with all the paſſions and appetites, ſtrength and weakneſſes of their frame, and underſtand how to turn their greateſt frailties to the advantage of the public. In the Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue, I have ſhown how eaſily men were induced

to believe any thing that is ſaid in their praiſe. If, therefore, a lawgiver or politician, whom they have a great veneration for, ſhould tell them, that the generality of men had within them a principle of valour diſtinct from anger, or any other paſſion, that made them to deſpiſe danger, and face death itſelf with intrepidity, and that they who had the moſt of it were the moſt valuable of their kind, it is very likely, conſidering what has been ſaid, that moſt of them, though they felt nothing of this principle, would ſwallow it for truth, and that the proudeſt, feeling themſelves moved at this piece of flattery, and not well verſed in diſtinguiſhing the paſſions, might imagine that they felt it heaving in their breaſts, by miſtaking pride for courage. If but one in ten can be perſuaded openly to declare, that he is poſſeſſed of this principle, and maintain it againſt all gainſayers, there will ſoon be half a dozen that ſhall aſſert the ſame. Whoever has once owned it is engaged, the politician has nothing to do but to take all imaginable care to flatter the pride of thoſe that brag of, and are willing to ſtand by it a thouſand different ways: The ſame pride that drew him in firſt will ever after oblige him to defend the aſſertion, till at laſt the fear of diſcovering the reality of his heart, comes to be ſo great, that it outdoes the fear of death itſelf. Do but increaſe man's pride, and his fear of ſhame will ever be proportioned to it: for the greater value a man ſets upon himſelf, the more pains he will take, and the greater hardſhips he will undergo, to avoid ſhame.

The great art to make man courageous, is firſt to make him own this principle of valour within, and afterwards to inſpire him with as much horror againſt ſhame, as nature has given him againſt death; and that there are things to which man has, or may have, a ſtronger averſion than he has to death, is evident from ſuicide. He that makes death his choice, muſt look upon it as leſs terrible than what he ſhuns by it; for whether the evil dreaded be preſent or to come, real or imaginary, nobody would kill himſelf wilfully but to avoid ſomething. Lucretia held out bravely againſt all the attacks of the raviſher, even when he threatened her life; which ſhows that ſhe valued her virtue beyond it: but when he threatened her reputation with eternal infamy, ſhe fairly ſurrendered, and then ſlew herſelf; a certain ſign that ſhe valued her virtue leſs than her glory, and her life leſs than either. The fear of death did not make her yield, for ſhe

reſolved to die before ſhe did it, and her compliance muſt only be conſidered as a bribe, to make Tarquin forbear ſullying her reputation; ſo that life had neither the firſt nor ſecond place in the eſteem of Lucretia. The courage, then, which is only uſeful to the body politic, and what is generally called true valour, is artificial, and conſiſts in a ſuperlative horror againſt ſhame, by flattery infuſed into men of exalted pride.

As ſoon as the notions of honour and ſhame are received among a ſociety, it is not difficult to make men fight. Firſt, take care they are perſuaded of the juſtice of their cauſe; for no man fights heartily that thinks himſelf in the wrong; then ſhow them that their altars, their poſſeſſions, wives, children, and every thing that is near and dear to them, is concerned in the preſent quarrel, or at leaſt may be influenced by it hereafter; then put feathers in their caps, and diſtinguiſh them from others, talk of public-ſpiritedneſs, the love of their country, facing an enemy with intrepidity, deſpiſing death the bed of honour, and ſuch like high-ſounding words, and every proud man will take up arms and fight himſelf to death before we will turn tail, if it be by daylight. One man in an army is a check upon another, and a hundred of them, that ſingle and without witneſs, would be all cowards, are, for fear of incurring one another's contempt, made valiant by being together. To continue and heighten this artificial courage, all that run away ought to be puniſhed with ignominy; thoſe that fought well, whether they did beat or were beaten, muſt be flattered and ſolemnly commended; thoſe that loſt their limbs rewarded; and thoſe that were killed, ought, above all to be taken notice of, artfully lamented, and to have extraordinary encomiums beſtowed upon them; for to pay honours to the dead, will ever be a ſure method to make bubbles of the living.

When I ſay, that the courage made uſe of in the wars is artificial, I do not imagine that by the ſame art, all men may be made equally valiant: as men have not an equal ſhare of pride, and differ from one another in ſhape and inward ſtructure, it is impoſſible they ſhould be all equally fit for the ſame uſes, Some men will never be able to learn muſic, and yet make good mathematicians; others will play excellently well upon the violin, and yet be coxcombs as long as they live, let them converſe with whom they pleaſe. But to ſhow that there is no evaſion, I ſhall prove, that ſetting aſide

what I ſaid of artificial courage already, what the greateſt heroe differs in from the rankeſt coward, is altogether corporeal, and depends upon the inward make of man. What I mean is called conſtitution; by which is underſtood the orderly or diſorderly mixture of the fluids in our body: that conſtitution which favours courage, conſiſts in the natural ſtrength, elaſticity, and due contexture of the finer ſpirits, and upon them wholly depends what we call ſtedfaſtneſs, reſolution, and obſtinacy. It is the only ingredient that is common to natural and artificial bravery, and is to either what ſize is to white walls, which hinders them from coming off, and makes them laſting. That ſome people are very much, others very little frightened at things that are ſtrange and ſudden to them, is likewiſe altogether owing to the firmneſs or imbecillity in the tone of the ſpirits. Pride is of no uſe in a fright, becauſe while it laſts we cannot think, which, being counted a diſgrace, is the reaſon people is always angry with any thing that frightens them, as ſoon as the ſurpriſe is over; and when at the turn of a battle the conquerors give no quarter, and are very cruel, it is a ſign their enemies fought well, and had put them firſt into great fears.

That reſolution depends upon this tone of the ſpirits, appears likewiſe from the effects of ſtrong liquors, the fiery particles whereof crowding into the brain, ſtrengthen the ſpirits; their operation imitates that of anger, which I ſaid before was an ebullition of the ſpirits. It is for this reaſon, that moſt people when they are in drink, are ſooner touched and more prone to anger, than at other times, and ſome raving mad without any provocation at all. It is likewiſe obſerved, that brandy makes men more quarrelſome at the ſame pitch of drunkenneſs than wine; becauſe the ſpirits of diſtilled waters have abundance of fiery particles mixed with them, which the other has not. The contexture of ſpirits is ſo weak in ſome, that though they have pride enough, no art can ever make them fight, or overcome their fears; but this is a defect in the principle of the fluids, as other deformities are faults of the ſolids. Theſe puſillanimous people, are never thoroughly provoked to anger, where there is any danger, and drinking makes them bolder, but ſeldom ſo reſolute as to attack any, unleſs they be women or children, or ſuch who they know dare not reſiſt. This conſtitution is often influenced by health and ſickneſs, and impaired by great loſſes of blood; ſometimes it is corrected by diet; and it is this which

the Duke de la Rochefocault means, when he ſays; vanity, ſhame, and above all conſtitution, make up very often the courage of men, and virtue of women.

There is nothing that more improves the uſeful martial courage I treat of, and at the ſame time ſhows it to be artificial, than practice; for when men are diſciplined, come to be acquainted with all the tools of death, and engines of deſtruction, when the ſhouts, the outcries, the fire and ſmoke, the grones of wounded, and ghoſtly looks of dying men, with all the various ſcenes of mangled carcaſes and bloody limbs tore off, begin to be familiar to them, their fear abate apace; not that they are now leſs afraid to die than before, but being uſed ſo often to ſee the ſame dangers, they apprehend the reality of them leſs than they did: as they are deſervedly valued for every ſiege they are at, and every battle they are in, it is impoſſible but the ſeveral actions they ſhare in, muſt continually become as many ſolid ſteps by which their pride mounts up; and thus their fear of ſhame, as I ſaid before, will always be proportioned to their pride, increaſing as the apprehenſion of the danger decreaſes, it is no wonder that moſt of them learn to diſcover little or no fear: and ſome great generals are able to preſerve a preſence of mind, and counterfeit a calm ſerenity within the midſt of all the noiſe, horror, and confuſion, that attend a battle.

So ſilly a creature is man, as that, intoxicated with the fumes of vanity, he can feaſt on the thoughts of the praiſes that ſhall be paid his memory in future ages, with ſo much ecſtacy, as to neglect his preſent life, nay, court and covet death, if he but imagines that it will add to the glory he had acquired before. There is no pitch of ſelf-denial, that a man of pride and conſtitution cannot reach, nor any paſſion ſo violent but he will ſacrifice it to another, which is ſuperior to it; and here I cannot but admire at the ſimplicity of ſome good men, who, when they hear of the joy and alacrity with which holy men in perſecutions have ſuffered for their faith, imagine that ſuch conſtancy muſt exceed all human force, unleſs it was ſupported by ſome miraculous aſſiſtance from Heaven. As moſt people are willing to acknowledge all the frailties of their ſpecies, ſo they are unacquainted with the ſtrength of our nature, and know not that ſome men of firm conſtitution may work themſelves up into enthuſiaſm, by no other help than the violence of their paſſions; yet, it is certain, that there have been men who only aſſiſted with

pride and conſtitution to maintain the worſt of cauſes, have undergone death and torments, with as much cheerfulneſs as the beſt of men, animated with piety and devotion, ever did for the true religion.

To prove this aſſertion, I could produce many inſtances; but one or two will be ſufficient. Jordanus Bruno of Nola, who wrote that ſilly piece of blaſphemy, called *Spaccio della Beſtia triumphante*, and the infamous Vanini, were both executed for openly profeſſing and teaching of atheiſm: the latter might have been pardoned the moment before the execution, if he would have retracted his doctrine; but rather than recant, he choſe to be burnt to aſhes. As he went to the ſtake, he was ſo far from ſhowing any concern, that he held his hand out to a phyſician whom he happened to know, deſiring him to judge of the calmneſs of his mind by the regularity of his pulſe, and from thence taking an opportunity of making an impious compariſon, uttered a ſentence too execrable to be mentioned. To theſe we may join one Mahomet Effendi, who, as Sir Paul Ricaut tells us, was put to death at Conſtantinople, for having advanced ſome notions againſt the exiſtence of a God. He likewiſe might have ſaved his life by confeſſing his error, and renouncing it for the future; but choſe rather to perſiſt in his blaſphemies, ſaying, "Though he had no reward to expect, the love of truth "conſtrained him to ſuffer martyrdom in its defence.

I have made this digreſſion chiefly to ſhow the ſtrength of human nature, and what mere man may perform by pride and conſtitution alone. Man may certainly be as violently roufed by his vanity, as a lion is by his anger; and not only this, avarice, revenge, ambition, and almoſt every paſſion, pity not excepted, when they are extraordinary, may, by overcoming fear, ſerve him inſtead of valour, and be miſtaken for it even by himſelf; as daily experience muſt teach every body that will examine and look into the motives from which ſome men act. But that we may more clearly perceive what this pretended principle is really built upon, let us look into the management of military affairs, and we ſhall find that pride is no where ſo openly encouraged as there. As for clothes, the very loweſt of the commiſſion officers have them richer, or at leaſt more gay and ſplendid, than are generally wore by other people of four or five times their income. Moſt of them, and eſpecially thoſe that have families, and can hardly ſubſiſt, would be very glad, all Europe over, to be leſs

expenſive that way; but it is a force put upon them to uphold their pride, which they do not think on.

But the ways and means to rouſe man's pride, and catch him by it, are nowhere more groſsly conſpicuous, than in the treatment which the common ſoldiers receive, whoſe vanity is to be worked upon (becauſe there muſt be ſo many) at the cheapeſt rate imaginable. Things we are accuſtomed to we do not mind, or elſe what mortal that never had ſeen a ſoldier, could look without laughing upon a man accoutred with ſo much paltry gaudineſs, and affected finery? The coarſeſt manufacture that can be made of wool, dyed of a brickduſt colour, goes down with him, becauſe it is in imitation of ſcarlet or crimſon cloth; and to make him think himſelf as like his officer as it is poſſible, with little or no coſt, inſtead of ſilver or gold lace, his hat is trimmed with white or yellow worſted, which in others would deſerve bedlam; yet theſe fine allurements, and the noiſe made upon a calf's ſkin, have drawn in, and been the deſtruction of more men in reality, than all the killing eyes and bewitching voices of women ever flew in jeſt. To-day the ſwine herd puts on his red coat, and believes every body in earneſt that calls him gentleman; and two days after Serjeant Kite gives him a ſwinging wrap with his cane, for holding his muſket an inch higher than he ſhould do. As to the real dignity of the employment, in the two laſt wars, officers, when recruits were wanted, were allowed to liſt fellows that were convicted of burglary and other capital crimes, which ſhows that to be made a ſoldier is deemed to be a preferment next to hanging. A trooper is yet worſe than a foot ſoldier; for when he is moſt at eaſe, he has the mortification of being groom to a horſe, that ſpends more money than himſelf. When a man reflects on all this, the uſage they generally receive from their officers, their pay, and the care that is taken of them, when they are not wanted, muſt he not wonder how wretches can be ſo ſilly as to be proud of being called gentlemen ſoldiers? Yet if there were not, no art, dicipline, or money, would be capable of making them ſo brave as thouſands of them are.

If we will mind what effects man's bravery, without any other qualifications to ſweeten him, would have out of an army, we ſhall find that it would be very pernicious to the civil ſociety; for if man could conquer all his fears, you would hear of nothing but rapes, murders, and violences of

all ſorts, and valiant men would be like giants in romances: politics, therefore, diſcovered in men a mixed-metal principle, which was a compound of juſtice, honeſty, and all the moral virtues joined to courage, and all that were poſſeſſed of it turned knights-errant of courſe. They did abundance of good throughout the world, by taming monſters, delivering the diſtreſſed, and killing the oppreſſors: but the wings of all the dragons being clipped, the giants deſtroyed, and the damſels every where ſet at liberty, except ſome few in Spain and Italy, who remained ſtill captivated by their monſters, the order of chivalry, to whom the ſtandard of ancient honour belonged, has been laid aſide ſome time. It was like their armours very maſſy and heavy; the many virtues about it made it very troubleſome, and as ages grew wiſer and wiſer, the principle of honour in the beginning of the laſt century was melted over again, and brought to a new ſtandard; they put in the ſame weight of courage, half the quantity of honeſty, and a very little juſtice, but not a ſcrap of any other virtue, which has made it very eaſy and portable to what it was. However, ſuch as it is, there would be no living without it in a large nation; it is the tie of ſociety, and though we are beholden to our frailties for the chief ingredient of it, there is no virtue, at leaſt that I am acquainted with, that has been half ſo inſtrumental to the civilizing of mankind, who in great ſocieties would ſoon degenerate into cruel villians and treacherous ſlaves, were honour to be removed from among them.

As to the duelling part which belongs to it, I pity the unfortunate whoſe lot it is; but to ſay, that thoſe who are guilty of it go by falſe rules, or miſtake the notions of honour, is ridiculous; for either there is no honour at all, or it teaches men to reſent injuries, and accept of challenges. You may as well deny that it is the faſhion what you ſee every body wear, as to ſay that demanding and giving ſatisfaction is againſt the laws of true honour. Thoſe that rail at duelling do not conſider the benefit the ſociety receives from that faſhion: if every ill-bred fellow might uſe what language he pleaſed, without being called to an account for it, all converſation would be ſpoiled. Some grave people tell us, that the Greeks and Romans were ſuch valiant men, and yet knew nothing of duelling but in their country's quarrel. This is very true, but, for that reaſon, the kings and princes in Homer gave one another worſe language than

our porters and hackney coachmen would be able to bear without reſentment.

Would you hinder duelling, pardon nobody that offends that way, and make the laws as ſevere as you can, but do not take away the thing itſelf, the cuſtom of it. This will not only prevent the frequency of it, but likewiſe, by rendering the moſt reſolute and moſt powerful cautious and circumſpect in their behaviour, poliſh and brighten ſociety in general. Nothing civilizes a man equally as his fear, and if not all (as my lord Rocheſter ſaid), at leaſt moſt men would be cowards if they durſt. The dread of being called to an account keeps abundance in awe; and there are thouſands of mannerly and well-accompliſhed gentlemen in Europe, who would have been inſolent and inſupportable coxcombs without it: beſides, if it was out of faſhion to aſk ſatisfaction for injuries which the law cannot take hold of, there would be twenty times the miſchief done there is now, or elſe you muſt have twenty times the conſtables and other officers to keep the peace. I confeſs that though it happens but ſeldom, it is a calamity to the people, and generally the families it falls upon; but there can be no perfect happineſs in this world, and all felicity has an allay. The act itſelf is uncharitable, but when above thirty in a nation deſtroy themſelves in one year, and not half that number are killed by others, I do not think the people can be ſaid to love their neighbours worſe than themſelves. It is ſtrange that a nation ſhould grudge to ſee, perhaps, half-a-dozen men ſacrificed in a twelvemonth to obtain ſo valuable a bleſſing, as the politeneſs of manners, the pleaſure of converſation, and the happineſs of company in general, that is often ſo willing to expoſe, and ſometimes loſes as many thouſands in a few hours, without knowing whether it will do any good or not.

I would have nobody that reflects on the mean original of honour, complain of being gulled and made a property by cunning politicians, but deſire every body to be ſatisfied, that the governors of ſocieties, and thoſe in high ſtations, are greater bubbles to pride than any of the reſt. If ſome great men had not a ſuperlative pride, and every body underſtood the enjoyment of life, who would be a lord chancellor of England, a prime miniſter of ſtate in France, or what gives more fatigue, and not a ſixth part of the profit of either, a grand penſionary of Holland? The reciprocal ſervices

which all men pay to one another, are the foundation of the ſociety. The great ones are not flattered with their high birth for nothing: it is to rouſe their pride, and excite them to glorious actions, that we extol their race, whether it deſerves it or not; and ſome men have been complimented with the greatneſs of their family, and the merit of their anceſtors, when in the whole generation you could not find two but what were uxorious fools, ſilly biggots, noted poltrons, or debauched whore-maſters. The eſtabliſhed pride that is inſeparable from thoſe that are poſſeſſed of titles already, makes them often ſtrive as much not to ſeem unworthy of them, as the working ambition of others that are yet without, renders them induſtrious and indefatigable to deſerve them. When a gentleman is made a baron or an earl, it is as great a check upon him in many reſpects, as a gown and caſſock are to a young ſtudent that has been newly taken into orders.

The only thing of weight that can be ſaid againſt modern honour is, that it is directly oppoſite to religion. The one bids you bear injuries with patience; the other tells you if you do not reſent them, you are not fit to live. Religion commands you to leave all revenge to God; honour bids you truſt your revenge to nobody but yourſelf, even where the law would do it for you: religion plainly forbids murder; honour openly juſtifies it: religion bids you not ſhed blood upon any account whatever; honour bids you fight for the leaſt trifle: religion is built on humility, and honour upon pride: how to reconcile them muſt be left to wiſer heads than mine.

The reaſon why there are ſo few men of real virtue, and ſo many of real honour, is, becauſe all the recompence a man has of a virtuous action, is the pleaſure of doing it, which moſt people reckon but poor pay; but the ſelf-denial a man of honour ſubmits to in one appetite, is immediately rewarded by the ſatisfaction he receives from another, and what he abates of his avarice, or any other paſſion, is doubly repaid to his pride: beſides, honour gives large grains of allowance, and virtue none. A man of honour muſt not cheat or tell a lie; he muſt punctually repay what he borrows at play, though the creditor has nothing to ſhow for it; but he may drink, and ſwear and owe money to all the tradeſmen in town, without taking notice of their dunning. A man of honour muſt be true to his prince and country, while he is in their ſervice; but if

he thinks himſelf not well uſed, he may quit it, and do them all the miſchief he can A man of honour muſt never change his religion for intereſt; but he may be as debauched as he pleaſes, and never practiſe any. He muſt make no attempts upon his friend's wife, daughter, ſiſter, or any body that is truſted to his care; but he may lie with all the world beſides.

LINE 353. No limner for his art is fam'd,
Stone-cutters, carvers are not nam'd.

IT is, without doubt, that among the conſequences of a national honeſty and frugality, it would be one not to build any new houſes, or uſe new materials as long as there were old ones enough to ſerve. By this three parts in four. of maſons, carpenters, bricklayers, &c. would want employment; and the building trade being once deſtroyed, what would become of limning, carving, and other arts that are miniſtering to luxury, and have been carefully forbid by thoſe lawgivers that preferred a good and honeſt, to a great and wealthy ſociety, and endeavoured to render their ſubjects rather virtuous than rich. By a law of Lycurgus, it was enacted, that the cielings of the Spartan houſes ſhould only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only ſmoothed by the ſaw; and this, ſays Plutarch, was not without myſtery: for if Epaminondas could ſay with ſo good a grace, inviting ſome of his friends to his table; "Come, "gentlemen, be ſecure, treaſon would never come to ſuch "a poor dinner as this:" Why might not this great lawgiver, in all probabiblity, have thought that ſuch ill-favoured houſes would never be capable of receiving luxury and ſuperfluity?

It is reported, as the ſame author tells us, that Leotichidas, the firſt of that name, was ſo little uſed to the ſight of carved work, that being entertained at Corinth in a ſtately room, he was much ſurpriſed to ſee the timber and ceiling ſo finely wrought, and aſked his hoſt whether the trees grew ſo in his country.

The ſame want of employment would reach innumerable callings; and, among the reſt, that of the

Weavers that join'd rich ſilk with plate,
And all the trades ſubordinate,

(as the fable has it) would be one of the firſt that ſhould have reaſon to complain; for the price of land and houſes being, by the removal of the vaſt numbers that had left the hive, ſunk very low on the one ſide, and every body abhorring all other ways of gain, but ſuch as were ſtrictly honeſt on the other, it is not probable that many without pride or prodigality ſhould be able to wear cloth of gold and ſilver, or rich brocades. The conſequence of which would be, that not only the weaver, but likewiſe the ſilver-ſpinner, the flatter, the wire-drawer, the bar-man, and the refiner, would, in a little time be affected with this frugality.

LINE 367. ————To live great,
Had made her huſband rob the ſtate.

WHAT our common rogues, when they are going to be hanged, chiefly complain of, as the cauſe of their untimely end, is, next to the neglect of the Sabbath, their having kept company with ill women, meaning whores; and I do not queſtion, but that among the leſſer villains, many venture their necks to indulge and ſatisfy their low amours. But the words that have given occaſion to this remark, may ſerve to hint to us, that among the great ones, men are often put upon ſuch dangerous projects, and forced into ſuch pernicious meaſures by their wives, as the moſt ſubtle miſtreſs never could have perſuaded them to. I have ſhown already, that the worſt of women, and moſt profligate of the ſex, did contribute to the conſumption of ſuperfluities, as well as the neceſſaries of life, and conſequently were beneficial to many peaceable drudges, that work hard to maintain their families, and have no worſe deſign than an honeſt livelihood. Let them be baniſhed, notwithſtanding, ſays a good man: When every ſtrumpet is gone, and the land wholly freed from lewdneſs, God Almighty will pour ſuch bleſſings upon it, as will vaſtly exceed the profits that are now got by harlots. This perhaps would be true; but I can make it evident, that, with or without proſtitutes, nothing could make amends, for the detriment trade would ſuſtain, if all thoſe of that ſex, who enjoy the happy ſtate of matrimony, ſhould act and behave themſelves as a ſober wiſe man could wiſh them.

The variety of work that is performed, and the number of hands employed to gratify the fickleneſs and luxury of

women, is prodigious, and if only the married ones ſhould hearken to reaſon and juſt remonſtrances, think themſelves ſufficiently anſwered with the firſt refuſal, and never aſk a ſecond time what had been once denied them: If, I ſay, married women would do this, and then lay out no money but what their huſbands knew, and freely allowed of, the conſumption of a thouſand things, they now make uſe of, would be leſſened by at leaſt a fourth part. Let us go from houſe to houſe, and obſerve the way of the world only among the middling people, creditable ſhop-keepers, that ſpend two or three hundred a-year, and we ſhall find the women when they have half a ſcore ſuits of clothes, two or three of them not the worſe for wearing, will think it a ſufficient plea for new ones, if they can ſay that they have never a gown or petticoat, but what they have been often ſeen in, and are known by, eſpecially at church; I do not ſpeak now of profuſe extravagant women, but ſuch as are counted prudent and moderate in their deſires.

If by this pattern we ſhould in proportion judge of the higheſt ranks, where the richeſt clothes are but a trifle to their other expences, and not forget the furniture of all ſorts, equipages, jewels, and buildings of perſons of quality, we ſhould find the fourth part I ſpeak of a vaſt article in trade, and that the loſs of it would be a greater calamity to ſuch a nation as ours, than it is poſſible to conceive any other, a raging peſtilence not excepted: for the death of half a million of people could not cauſe a tenth part of the diſturbance to the kingdom, than the ſame number of poor unemployed would certainly create, if at once they were to be added to thoſe, that already, one way or other, are a burden to the ſociety.

Some few men have a real paſſion for their wives, and are fond of them without reſerve; others that do not care, and have little occaſion for women, are yet ſeemingly uxurious, and love out of vanity; they take delight in a handſome wife, as a coxcomb does in a fine horſe, not for the uſe he makes of it, but becauſe it is his: The pleaſure lies in the conſciouſneſs of an uncontrolable poſſeſſion, and what follows from it, the reflection on the mighty thoughts he imagines others to have of his happineſs. The men of either ſort may be very laviſh to their wives, and often preventing their wiſhes, crowd new clothes, and other finery upon them, faſter than they can aſk it, but the greateſt part are wiſer,

than to indulge the extravagances of their wives ſo far, as to give them immediately every thing they are pleaſed to fancy. It is incredible what vaſt quantity of trinkets, as well as apparel, are purchaſed and uſed by women, which they could never have come at by any other means, than pinching their families, marketing, and other ways of cheating and pilfering from their huſbands: Others, by ever teazing their ſpouſes, tire them into compliance, and conquer even obſtinate churls by perſeverance, and their aſſiduity of aſking: A third ſort are outrageous at a denial, and by downright noiſe and ſcolding, bully their tame fools out of any thing they have a mind to; while thouſands, by the force of wheedling, know how to overcome the beſt weighed reaſons, and the moſt poſitive reiterated refuſals; the young and beautiful, eſpecially, laugh at all remonſtrances and denials, and few of them ſcruple to employ the moſt tender minutes of wedlock to promote a ſordid intereſt. Here, had I time, I could inveigh with warmth againſt thoſe baſe, thoſe wicked women, who calmly play their arts and falſe deluding charms againſt our ſtrength and prudence, and act the harlots with their huſbands! Nay, ſhe is worſe than whore, who impiouſly profanes and proſtitutes the ſacred rites of love to vile ignoble ends; that firſt excites to paſſion, and invites to joy with ſeeming ardour, then racks our fondneſs for no other purpoſe than to extort a gift, while full of guile in counterfeited tranſports, ſhe watches for the moment when men can leaſt deny.

I beg pardon for this ſtart out of my way, and deſire the experienced reader duly to weigh what has been ſaid as to the main purpoſe, and after that call to mind the temporal bleſſings, which men daily hear not only toaſted and wiſhed for, when people are merry and doing of nothing; but likewiſe gravely and ſolemnly prayed for in churches, and other religious aſſemblies, by clergymen of all ſorts and ſizes: And as ſoon as he ſhall have laid theſe things together, and, from what he has obſerved in the common affairs of life, reaſoned upon them conſequentially without prejudice, I dare flatter myſelf, that he will be obliged to own, that a conſiderable portion of what the proſperity of London and trade in general, and conſequently the honour, ſtrength, ſafety, and all the wordly intereſt of the nation conſiſt in, depend entirely on the deceit and vile ſtratagems of women; and that humility, content, meekneſs, obedience to reaſonable huſbands,

frugality, and all the virtues together, if they were poſſeſſed of them in the moſt eminent degree, could not poſſibly be a thouſandth part ſo ſerviceable, to make an opulent, powerful, and what we call a flouriſhing kingdom, than their moſt hateful qualities.

I do not queſtion, but many of my readers will be ſtartled at this aſſertion, when they look on the conſequences that may be drawn from it; and I ſhall be aſked, whether people may not as well be virtuous in a populous, rich, wide, extended kingdom, as in a ſmall, indigent ſtate or principality, that is poorly inhabited? And if that be impoſſible, Whether it is not the duty of all ſovereigns to reduce their ſubjects, as to wealth and numbers, as much as they can? If I allow they may, I own myſelf in the wrong; and if I affirm the other, my tenets will juſtly be called impious, or at leaſt dangerous to all large ſocieties. As it is not in this place of the book only, but a great many others, that ſuch queries might be made even by a well-meaning reader, I ſhall here explain myſelf, and endeavour to ſolve thoſe difficulties, which ſeveral paſſages might have raiſed in him, in order to demonſtrate the conſiſtency of my opinion to reaſon, and the ſtricteſt morality.

I lay down as a firſt principle, that in all ſocieties, great or ſmall, it is the duty of every member of it to be good, that virtue ought to be encouraged, vice diſcountenanced, the laws obeyed, and the tranſgreſſors puniſhed. After this I affirm, that if we conſult hiſtory, both ancient and modern, and take a view of what has paſſed in the world, we ſhall find that human nature, ſince the fall of Adam, has always been the ſame, and that the ſtrength and frailties of it have ever been conſpicuous in one part of the globe or other, without any regard to ages, climates, or religion. I never ſaid, nor imagined, that man could not be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty kingdom, as in the moſt pitiful commonwealth; but I own it is my ſenſe, that no ſociety can be raiſed into ſuch a rich and mighty kingdom, or ſo raiſed, ſubſiſt in their wealth and power for any conſiderable time, without the vices of man.

This, I imagine, is ſufficiently proved throughout the book; and as human nature ſtill continues the ſame, as it has always been for ſo many thouſand years, we have no great reaſon to ſuſpect a future change in it, while the world endures. Now, I cannot ſee what immorality there is in

ſhowing a man the origin and power of thoſe paſſions, which ſo often, even unknowingly to himſelf, hurry him away from his reaſon; or that there is any impiety in putting him upon his guard againſt himſelf, and the ſecret ſtratagems of ſelf-love, and teaching him the difference between ſuch actions as proceed from a victory over the paſſions, and thoſe that are only the reſult of a conqueſt which one paſſion obtains over another; that is, between real and counterfeited virtue. It is an admirable ſaying of a worthy divine, That though many diſcoveries have been made in the world of ſelf-love, there is yet abundance of *terra incognita* left behind. What hurt do I do to man, if I make him more known to himſelf than he was before? But we are all ſo deſperately in love with flattery, that we can never reliſh a truth that is mortifying, and I do not believe that the immortality of the ſoul, a truth broached long before Chriſtianity, would have ever found ſuch a general reception in human capacities as it has, had it not been a pleaſing one, that extolled, and was a compliment to the whole ſpecies, the meaneſt and moſt miſerable not excepted.

Every one loves to hear the thing well ſpoke of that he has a ſhare in, even bailiffs, goal-keepers, and the hangman himſelf would have you think well of their functions; nay, thieves and houſe breakers have a greater regard to thoſe of their fraternity, than they have for honeſt people; and I ſincerely believe, that it is chiefly ſelf-love that has gained this little treatiſe (as it was before the laſt impreſſion), ſo many enemies; every one looks upon it as an affront done to himſelf, becauſe it detracts from the dignity, and leſſens the fine notions he had conceived of mankind, the moſt worſhipful company he belongs to. When I ſay that ſocieties cannot be raiſed to wealth and power, and the top of earthly glory, without vices, I do not think that, by ſo ſaying, I bid men be vicious, any more than I bid them be quarrelſome or covetous, when I affirm that the profeſſion of the law could not be maintained in ſuch numbers and ſplendor, if there was not abundance of too ſelfiſh and litigious people.

But as nothing would more clearly demonſtrate the falſity of my notions, than that the generality of the people ſhould fall in with them, ſo I do not expect the aprobation of the multitude. I write not to many, nor ſeek for any well-wiſhers, but among the few that can think abſtractly, and have their minds elevated above the vulgar. If I have ſhown

the way to worldly greatneſs, I have always, without heſitation, preferred the road that leads to virtue.

Would you baniſh fraud and luxury, prevent profaneneſs and irreligion, and make the generality of the people charitable, good, and virtuous; break down the printing-preſſes, melt the founds, and burn all the books in the iſland, except thoſe at the univerſities, where they remain unmoleſted, and ſuffer no volume in private hands but a Bible: knock down foreign trade, prohibit all commerce with ſtrangers, and permit no ſhips to go to ſea, that ever will return, beyond fiſher-boats. Reſtore to the clergy, the king and the barrons their ancient privileges, prerogatives, and profeſſions: build new churches, and convert all the coin you can come at into ſacred utenſils: erect monaſteries and alms-houſes in abundance, and let no pariſh be without a charity-ſchool. Enact ſumptuary laws, and let your youth be inured to hardſhip: inſpire them with all the nice and moſt refined notions of honour and ſhame, of friendſhip and of heroiſm, and introduce among them a great variety of imaginary rewards: then let the clergy preach abſtinence and ſelf-denial to others, and take what liberty they pleaſe for themſelves; let them bear the greateſt ſway in the management of ſtate-affairs, and no man be made lord-treaſurer but a biſhop.

But by ſuch pious endeavours, and wholſome regulations, the ſcene would be ſoon altered; the greateſt part of the covetous, the diſcontented, the reſtleſs and ambitious villains, would leave the land; vaſt ſwarms of cheating knaves would abandon the city, and be diſperſed throughout the country: artificers would learn to hold the plough, merchants turn farmers, and the ſinful overgrown Jeruſalem, without famine, war, peſtilence, or compulſion, be emptied in the moſt eaſy manner, and ever after ceaſe to be dreadful to her ſovereigns. The happy reformed kingdom would by thi means be crowded in no part of it, and every thing neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of man, be cheap and abound: on the contrary, the root of ſo many thouſand evils, money, would be very ſcarce, and as little wanted, where every man ſhould enjoy the fruits of his own labour, and our own dear manufacture unmixed, be promiſcuouſly wore by the lord and the peaſant. It is impoſſible, that ſuch a change of circumſtances ſhould not influence the manners of a nation, and render them temperate, honeſt, and ſincere; and from the next generation we might reaſonably expect a more healthy

and robuſt offspring than the preſent; an harmleſs, innocent, and well-meaning people, that would never diſpute the doctrine of paſſive obedience, nor any other orthodox principles, but be ſubmiſſive to ſuperiors, and unanimous in religious worſhip.

Here I fancy myſelf interrupted by an Epicure, who, not to want a reſtorative diet in caſe of neceſſity, is never without live ortelans; and I am told that goodneſs and probity are to be had at a cheaper rate than the ruin of a nation, and the deſtruction of all the comforts of life; that liberty and property may be maintained without wickedneſs or fraud, and men be good ſubjects without being ſlaves, and religious though they refuſed to be prieſt-rid; that to be frugal and ſaving is a duty incumbent only on thoſe, whoſe circumſtances require it, but that a man of a good eſtate does his country a ſervice by living up to the income of it; that as to himſelf, he is ſo much maſter of his appetites, that he can abſtain from any thing upon occaſion; that where true Hermitage was not to be had, he could content himſelf with plain Bourdeaux, if it had a good body; that many a morning, inſtead of St. Lawrence, he has made a ſhift with Frontenac, and after dinner given Cyprus wine, and even Madeira, when he has had a large company, and thought it extravagant to treat with Tockay; but that all voluntary mortifications are ſuperſtitious, only belonging to blind zealots and enthuſiaſts. He will quote my Lord Shaftsbury againſt me, and tell me that people may be virtuous and ſociable without ſelf-denial; that it is an affront to virtue to make it inacceſſible, that I make a bugbear of it to frighten men from it as a thing impracticable; but that for his part he can praiſe God, and at the ſame time enjoy his creatures with a good conſcience; neither will he forget any thing to his purpoſe of what I have ſaid, page 66. He will aſk me at laſt, whether the legiſlature, the wiſdom of the nation itſelf, while they endeavour as much as poſſible, to diſcourage profaneneſs and immorality, and promote the glory of God, do not openly profeſs, at the ſame time, to have nothing more at heart, than the eaſe and welfare of the ſubject, the wealth, ſtrength, honour, and what elſe is called the true intereſt of the country? and, moreover, whether the moſt devout and moſt learned of our prelates, in their greateſt concern for our converſion, when they beſeech the Deity to turn their own as well as our hearts, from the world and all

carnal desires, do not in the same prayer as loudly solicit him to pour all earthly blessings and temporal felicity, on the kingdom they belong to?

These are the apologies, the excuses, and common pleas, not only of those who are notoriously vicious, but the generality of mankind, when you touch the copy-hold of their inclinations; and trying the real value they have for spirituals, would actually strip them of what their minds are wholly bent upon. Ashamed of the many frailties they feel within, all men endeavour to hide themselves, their ugly nakedness, from each other, and wrapping up the true motives of their hearts, in the specious cloak of sociableness, and their concern for the public good, they are in hopes of concealing their filthy appetites, and the deformity of their desires; while they are conscious within of the fondness for their darling lusts, and their incapacity, bare-faced, to tread the arduous, rugged path of virtue.

As to the two last questions, I own they are very puzzling: to what the Epicure asks, I am obliged to answer in the affirmitive; and unless I would (which God forbid!) arraign the sincerity of kings, bishops, and the whole legislative power, the objection stands good against me: all I can say for myself is, that in the connection of the facts, there is a mystery past human understanding; and to convince the reader, that this is no evasion, I shall illustrate the incomprehensibility of it in the following parable.

In old heathen times, there was, they say, a whimsical country, where the people talked much of religion, and the greatest part, as to outward appearance, seemed really devout: the chief moral evil among them was thirst, and to quench it a damnable sin; yet they unanimously agreed that every one was born thirsty, more or less: small beer in moderation was allowed to all, and he was counted an hypocrite, a cynic, or a madman, who pretended that one could live altogether without it; yet those, who owned they loved it, and drank it to excess, were counted wicked. All this, while the beer itself was reckoned a blessing from Heaven, and there was no harm in the use of it; all the enormity lay in the abuse, the motive of the heart, that made them drink it. He that took the least drop of it to quench his thirst, committed a heinous crime, while others drank large quantities without any guilt, so they did it indifferently, and for no other reason than to mend their complexion.

They brewed for other countries as well as their own, and for the ſmall beer they ſent abroad, they received large returns of Weſtphalia-hams, neats tongues, hung-beef, and Bologna ſauſages, red-herrings, pickled ſturgeon, cavear, anchovies, and every thing that was proper to make their liquor go down with pleaſure. Thoſe who kept great ſtores of ſmall beer by them without making uſe of it, were generally envied, and at the ſame time very odious to the public, and nobody was eaſy that had not enough of it come to his own ſhare. The greateſt calamity they thought could befal them, was to keep their hops and barley upon their hands, and the more they yearly conſumed of them, the more they reckoned the country to flouriſh.

The government had many very wiſe regulations concerning the returns that were made for their exports, encouraged very much the importation of ſalt and pepper, and laid heavy duties on every thing that was not well ſeaſoned, and might any ways obſtruct the ſale of their own hops and barley. Thoſe at helm, when they acted in public, ſhowed themſelves on all accounts exempt and wholly diveſted from thirſt, made ſeveral laws to prevent the growth of it, and puniſh the wicked who openly dared to quench it. If you examined them in their private perſons, and pryed narrowly into their lives and converſations, they ſeemed to be more fond, or at leaſt drank larger draughts of ſmall beer than others, but always under pretence that the mending of complexions required greater quantities of liquor in them, than it did in thoſe they ruled over; and that, what they had chiefly at heart, without any regard to themſelves, was to procure great plenty of ſmall beer, among the ſubjects in general, and a great demand for their hops and barley.

As nobody was debarred from ſmall beer, the clergy made uſe of it as well as the laity, and ſome of them very plentifully; yet all of them deſired to be thought leſs thirſty by their function than others, and never would own that they drank any but to mend their complexions. In their religious aſſemblies they were more ſincere; for as ſoon as they came there, they all openly confeſſed, the clergy as well as the laity, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that they were thirſty, that mending their complexions was what they minded the leaſt, and that all their hearts were ſet upon ſmall beer and quenching their thirſt, whatever they might pretend to the contrary. What was remarkable, is, that to have laid hold of thoſe

truths to any ones prejudice, and made use of those confessions afterwards out of their temples, would be counted very impertinent, and every body thought it an heinous affront to be called thirsty, though you had seen him drink small beer by whole gallons. The chief topics of their preachers, was the great evil of thirst, and the folly there was in quenching it. They exhorted their hearers to resist the temptations of it, inveighed against small beer, and often told them it was poison, if they drank it with pleasure, or any other design than to mend their complexions.

In their acknowledgements to the gods, they thanked them for the plenty of comfortable small beer they had received from them, notwithstanding they had so little deserved it, and continually quenched their thirst with it; whereas, they were so thoroughly satisfied, that it was given them for a better use. Having begged pardon for those offences, they desired the gods to lessen their thirst, and give them strength to resist the importunities of it; yet, in the midst of their forest repentance, and most humble supplications, they never forgot small beer, and prayed that they might continue to have it in great plenty, with a solemn promise, that how neglectful soever they might hitherto have been in this point, they would for the future not drink a drop of it, with any other design than to mend their complexions.

These were standing petitions put together to last; and having continued to be made use of without any alterations, for several hundred years together; it was thought by some, that the gods, who understood futurity, and knew that the same promise they heard in June, would be made to them the January following, did not rely much more on those vows, than we do on those waggish inscriptions by which men offer us their goods; to-day for money, and to-morrow for nothing. They often began their prayers very mystically, and spoke many things in a spiritual sense; yet, they never were so abstract from the world in them, as to end one without beseeching the gods to bless and prosper the brewing trade in all its branches, and for the good of the whole, more and more to increase the consumption of hops and barley.

LINE 388. Content, the bane of induſtry.

I HAVE been told by many, that the bane of induſtry is lazineſs, and not content; therefore to prove my aſſertion, which ſeems a paradox to ſome, I ſhall treat of lazineſs and content ſeparately, and afterwards ſpeak of induſtry, that the reader may judge which it is of the two former, that is oppoſite to the latter.

Lazineſs is an averſion to buſineſs, generally attended with an unreaſonable deſire of remaining unactive; and every body is lazy, who, without being hindered by any other warrantable employment, refuſes or puts off any buſineſs which he ought to do for himſelf or others. We ſeldom call any body lazy, but ſuch as we reckon inferior to us, and of whom we expect ſome ſervice. Children do not think their parents lazy, nor ſervants their maſters; and if a gentleman indulges his eaſe and ſloth ſo abominably, that he will not put on his own ſhoes, though he is young and ſlender, nobody ſhall call him lazy for it, if he can keep but a footman, or ſome body elſe to do it for him.

Mr. Dryden has given us a very good idea of ſuperlative ſlothfulneſs, in the perſon of a luxurious king of Egypt. His majeſty having beſtowed ſome conſiderable gifts on ſeveral of his favourites, is attended by ſome of his chief miniſters with a parchment, which he was to ſign to confirm thoſe grants. Firſt, he walks a few turns to and fro, with a heavy uneaſineſs in his looks, then ſets himſelf down like a man that is tired, and, at laſt, with abundance of reluctancy to what he was going about, he takes up the pen, and falls a complaining very ſeriouſly of the length of the word Ptolemy, and expreſſes a great deal of concern, that he had not ſome ſhort monoſyllable for his name, which he thought would ſave him a world of trouble.

We often reproach others with lazineſs, becauſe we are guilty of it ourſelves. Some days ago, as two young women ſat knotting together, ſays one to the other, there comes a wicked cold through that door; you are the neareſt to it, ſiſter, pray ſhut it. The other, who was the youngeſt, vouchſafed, indeed, to caſt an eye towards the door, but ſat ſtill, and ſaid nothing; the eldeſt ſpoke again two or three times, and at laſt the other making her no anſwer, nor offering to ſtir, ſhe got up in a pet, and ſhut the door herſelf; coming

back to ſit down again, ſhe gave the younger a very hard look; and ſaid, Lord, ſiſter Betty, I would not be ſo lazy as you are for all the world; which ſhe ſpoke ſo earneſtly, that it brought a colour in her face. The youngeſt ſhould have riſen, I own; but if the eldeſt had not overvalued her labour, ſhe would have ſhut the door herſelf, as ſoon as the cold was offenſive to her, without making any words of it. She was not above a ſtep farther from the door than her ſiſter, and as to age, there was not eleven months difference between them, and they were both under twenty. I thought it a hard matter to determine which was the lazieſt of the two.

There are a thouſand wretches that are always working the marrow out of their bones for next to nothing, becauſe they are unthinking and ignorant of what the pains they take are worth: while others who are cunning, and underſtand the true value of their work, refuſe to be employed at under rates, not becauſe they are of an unactive temper, but becauſe they will not beat down the price of their labour. A country gentleman ſees at the back ſide of the Exchange a porter walking to and fro with his hands in his pockets. Pray, ſays he, friend, will you ſtep for me with this letter as far as Bow-church, and I will give you a penny? I will go with all my heart, ſays the other, but I muſt have twopence, maſter; which the gentleman refuſing to give, the fellow turned his back, and told him, he would rather play for nothing than work for nothing. The gentleman thought it an unaccountable piece of lazineſs in a porter, rather to ſaunter up and down for nothing, than to be earning a penny with as little trouble. Some hours after he happened to be with ſome friends at a tavern in Threadneedle-ſtreet, where one of them calling to mind that he had forgot to ſend for a bill of exchange that was to go away with the poſt that night, was in great perplexity, and immediately wanted ſome body to go for him to Hackney with all the ſpeed imaginable. It was after ten, in the middle of winter, a very rainy night, and all the porters thereabouts were gone to bed. The gentleman grew very uneaſy, and ſaid, whatever it coſt him, that ſomebody he muſt ſend; at laſt one of the drawers ſeeing him ſo very preſſing, told him that he knew a porter, who would riſe, if it was a job worth his while. Worth his while, ſaid the gentleman very eagerly, do not doubt of that, good lad, if you know of any body, let him make what haſte he can, and I will give him a crown if he

be back by twelve o'clock. Upon this the drawer took the errand, left the room, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour, came back with the welcome news that the meſſage would be diſpatched with all expedition, The, company in the mean time, diverted themſelves as they had done before; but when it began to be towards twelve, the watches were pulled out, and the porter's return was all the diſcourſe. Some were of opinion he might yet come before the clock had ſtruck; others thought it impoſſible, and now it wanted but three minutes of twelve, when in comes the nimble meſſenger ſmoking hot, with his clothes as wet as dung with the rain, and his head all over in a bath of ſweat. He had nothing dry about him but the inſide of his pocket-book, out of which he took the bill he had been for, and by the drawer's direction, preſented it to the gentleman it belonged to; who, being very well pleaſed with the diſpatch he had made, gave him the crown he had promiſed, while another filled him a bumper, and the whole company commended his diligence. As the fellow came nearer the light, to take up the wine, the country gentleman I mentioned at firſt, to his great admiration, knew him to be the ſame porter that had refuſed to earn his penny, and whom he thought the lazieſt mortal alive.

The ſtory teaches us, that we ought not to confound thoſe who remain unemployed for want of an opportunity of exerting themſelves to the beſt advantage, with ſuch as for want of ſpirit, hug themſelves in their ſloth, and will rather ſtarve than ſtir. Without this caution, we muſt pronounce all the world more or leſs lazy, according to their eſtimation of the reward they are to purchaſe with their labour, and then the moſt induſtrious may be called lazy.

Content, I call that calm ſerenity of the mind, which men enjoy while they think themſelves happy, and reſt ſatisfied with the ſtation they are in: It implies a favourable conſtruction of our preſent circumſtances, and a peaceful tranquillity, which men are ſtrangers to as long as they are ſolicitous about mending their condition. This is a virtue of which the applauſe is very precarious and uncertain: for, according as mens circumſtances vary, they will either be blamed or commended for being poſſeſſed of it.

A ſingle man that works hard at a laborious trade, has a hundred a year left him by a relation: this change of fortune makes him ſoon weary of working, and not having in-

duſtry enough to put himſelf forward in the world, he reſolves to do nothing at all, and live upon his income. As long as he lives within compaſs, pays for what he has, and offends nobody, he ſhall be called an honeſt quiet man. The victualler, his landlady, the tailor, and others, divide what he has between them, and the ſociety is every year the better for his revenue; whereas, if he ſhould follow his own or any other trade, he muſt hinder others, and ſome body would have the leſs for what he ſhould get; and therefore, though he ſhould be the idleſt fellow in the world, lie a-bed fifteen hours in four and twenty, and do nothing but ſauntering up and down all the reſt of the time, nobody would diſcommend him, and his unactive ſpirit is honoured with the name of content.

But if the ſame man marries, gets three or four children, and ſtill contines of the ſame eaſy temper, reſts ſatisfied with what he has, and without endeavouring to get a penny, indulges his former ſloth: firſt, his relations, afterwards, all his acquaintance, will be alarmed at his negligence: they foreſee that his income will not be ſufficient to bring up ſo many children handſomely, and are afraid, ſome of them may, if not a burden, become a diſgrace to them. When theſe fears have been, for ſome time, whiſpered about from one to another, his uncle Gripe takes him to taſk, and accoſts him in the following cant: "What, nephew, no "buſineſs yet! fie upon it! I cannot imagine how you do "to ſpend your time; if you will not work at your own "trade, there are fifty ways that a man may pick up a pen"ny by: you have a hundred a-year, it is true, but your "charges increaſe every year, and what muſt you do when "your children are grown up? I have a better eſtate than "you myſelf, and yet you do not ſee me leave off my buſineſs; "nay, I declare it, might I have the world I could not "lead the life you do. It is no buſineſs of mine, I own, "but every body cries, it is a ſhame for a young man, as "you are, that has his limbs and his health, ſhould not turn "his hands to ſomething or other." If theſe admonitions do not reform him in a little time, and he continues half-a-year longer without employment, he will become a diſcourſe to the whole neighbourhood, and for the ſame qualifications that once got him the name of a quiet contented man, he ſhall be called the worſt of huſbands, and the lazieſt fellow upon earth: from whence it is manifeſt, that when we pro-

nounce actions good or evil, we only regard the hurt or benefit the ſociety receives from them, and not the perſon who commits them. (See page 17.)

Diligence and induſtry are often uſed promiſcuouſly, to ſignify the ſame thing, but there is a great difference between them. A poor wretch may want neither diligence nor ingenuity, be a ſaving pains-taking man, and yet without ſtriving to mend his circumſtances, remain contented with the ſtation he lives in; but induſtry implies, beſides the other qualities, a thirſt after gain, and an indefatigable deſire of meliorating our condition. When men think either the cuſtomary profits of their calling, or elſe the ſhare of buſineſs they have too ſmall, they have two ways to deſerve the name of induſtrious; and they muſt be either ingenious enough to find out uncommon, and yet warrantable methods to increaſe their buſineſs or their profit, or elſe ſupply that defect by a multiplicity of occupations. If a tradeſman takes care to provide his ſhop, and gives due attendance to thoſe that come to it, he is a dilligent man in his buſineſs; but if, beſides that, he takes particular pains to ſell, to the ſame advantage, a better commodity than the reſt of his neighbours, or if, by his obſequiouſneſs, or ſome other good quality, getting into a large acquaintance, he uſes all poſſible endeavours of drawing cuſtomers to his houſe, he then may be called induſtrious. A cobler, though he is not employed half of his time, if he neglects no buſineſs, and makes diſpatch when he has any, is a diligent man; but if he runs of errands when he has no work, or makes but ſhoe-pins, and ſerves as a watchman a-nights, he deſerves the name of induſtrious.

If what has been ſaid in this remark be duly weighed, we ſhall find either, that lazineſs and content are very near a-kin, or, if there be a great difference between them, that the latter is more contrary to induſtry than the former.

LINE 410. To make a great an honeſt hive.

THIS perhaps might be done where people are contented to be poor and hardy; but if they would likewiſe enjoy their eaſe and the comforts of the world, and be at once an opulent, potent, and flouriſhing, as well as a warlike nation, it is utterly impoſſible. I have heard people ſpeak of the

mighty figure the Spartans made above all the commonwealths of Greece, notwithſtanding their uncommon frugality and other exemplary virtues. But certainly there never was a nation whoſe greatneſs was more empty than theirs: The ſplendor they lived in was inferior to that of a theatre, and the only thing they could be proud of, was, that they enjoyed nothing. They were, indeed, both feared and eſteemed abroad: they were ſo famed for valour and ſkill in martial affairs, that their neighbours did not only court their friendſhip and aſſiſtance in their wars, but were ſatisfied, and thought themſelves ſure of the victory, if they could but get a Spartan general to command their armies. But then their diſcipline was ſo rigid, and their manner of living ſo auſtere and void of all comfort, that the moſt temperate man among us would refuſe to ſubmit to the harſhneſs of ſuch uncouth laws. There was a perfect equality among them: gold and ſilver coin were cried down; their current money was made of iron, to render it of a great bulk, and little worth: To lay up twenty or thirty pounds, required a pretty large chamber, and to remove it, nothing leſs than a yoke of oxen. Another remedy they had againſt luxury, was, that they were obliged to eat in common of the ſame meat, and they ſo little allowed any body to dine, or ſup by himſelf at home, that Agis, one of their kings, having vanquiſhed the Athenians, and ſending for his commons at his return home (becauſe he deſired privately to eat with his queen) was refuſed by the Polemarchi.

In training up their youth, their chief care, ſays Plutarch, was to make them good ſubjects, to fit them to endure the fatigues of long and tedious marches, and never to return without victory from the field. When they were twelve years old, they lodged in little bands, upon beds made of the ruſhes, which grew by the banks of the river Eurotas; and becauſe their points were ſharp, they were to break them off with their hands without a knife: If it were a hard winter, they mingled ſome thiſtle-down with their ruſhes to kept them warm (ſee Plutarch in the life of Lycurgus.) From all theſe circumſtances it is plain, that no nation on earth was leſs effeminate; but being debarred from all the comforts of life, they could have nothing for their pains, but the glory of being a warlike people, inured to toils and hardſhips, which was a happineſs that few people would have cared for upon the ſame terms: and, though they had

been maſters of the world, as long as they enjoyed no more of it, Engliſhmen would hardly have envied them their greatneſs. What men want now-a-days has ſufficiently been ſhewn in Remark on line 200, where I have treated of real pleaſures.

LINE 411. T' enjoy the world's conveniencies.

THAT the words, decency and conveniency, were very ambiguous, and not to be underſtood, unleſs we were acquainted with the quality and circumſtances of the perſons that made uſe of them, has been hinted already in Remark on line 177. The goldſmith, mercer, or any other of the moſt creditable ſhopkeepers, that has three or four thouſand pounds to ſet up with, muſt have two diſhes of meat every day, and ſomething extraordinary for Sundays. His wife muſt have a damaſk bed againſt her lying-in, and two or three rooms very well furniſhed: the following ſummer ſhe muſt have a houſe, or at leaſt very good lodgings in the country. A man that has a being out of town, muſt have a horſe; his footman muſt have another. If he has a tolerable trade, he expects in eight or ten years time to keep his coach, which, notwithſtanding, he hopes, that after he has ſlaved (as he calls it) for two or three and twenty years, he ſhall be worth at leaſt a thouſand a-year for his eldeſt ſon to inherit, and two or three thouſand pounds for each of his other children to begin the world with; and when men of ſuch circumſtances pray for their daily bread, and mean nothing more extravagant by it, they are counted pretty modeſt people. Call this pride, luxury, ſuperfluity, or what you pleaſe, it is nothing but what ought to be in the capital of a flouriſhing nation: thoſe of inferior condition muſt content themſelves with leſs coſtly conveniencies, as others of higher rank will be ſure to make theirs more expenſive. Some people call it but decency to be ſerved in plate, and reckon a coach and ſix among the neceſſary comforts of life; and if a peer has not above three or four thouſand a-year, his lordſhip is counted poor.

SINCE the first edition of this book, several have attacked me with demonstrations of the certain ruin, which excessive luxury must bring upon all nations, who yet were soon answered, when I showed them the limits within which I had confined it; and therefore, that no reader for the future may misconstrue me on this head, I shall point at the cautions I have given, and the privisos I have made in the former, as well as this present impression, and which, if not overlooked, must prevent all rational censure, and obviate several objections that otherwise might be made against me. I have laid down as maxims never to be departed from, that the * poor should be kept strictly to work, and that it was prudence to relieve their wants, but folly to cure them; that agriculture † and fishery should be promoted in all their branches, in order to render provisions, and consequently labour cheap. I have named ‡ ignorance as a necessary ingredient in the mixture of society: from all which it is manifest that I could never have imagined, that luxury was to be made general through every part of a kingdom. I have likewise required § that property should be well secured, justice impartially administred, and in every thing the interest of the nation taken care of: but what I have insisted on the most, and repeated more than once, is the great regard that is to be had to the balance of trade, and the care the legislature ought to take, that the yearly ‖ imports never exceed the exports; and where this is observed, and the other things I spoke of are not neglected, I still continue to assert that no foreign luxury can undo a country: the height of it is never seen but in nations that are vastly populous, and there only in the upper part of it, and the greater, that is, the larger still in proportion must be the lowest, the basis that supports all, the multitude of working poor.

Those who would too nearly imitate others of superior fortune, must thank themselves if they are ruined. This is nothing against luxury; for whoever can subsist, and lives above his income is a fool. Some persons of quality may keep three or four coaches and six, and at the same time lay up money for their children: while a young shopkeeper is un-

* P. 212, 213. First Edit. 175, 176.
† P. 215. First Edit. 178.
‡ P. 106. First Edit. 77.
§ P. 116. First Edit. 87.
‖ P. 115, 116. First Edit. 86, 87.

done for keeping one ſorry horſe. It is impoſſible there ſhould be a rich nation without prodigals, yet I never knew a city ſo full of ſpendthrifts, but there were covetous people enough to anſwer their number. As an old merchant breaks for having been extravagant or careleſs a great while, ſo a young beginner falling into the ſame buſineſs, gets an eſtate by being ſaving or more induſtrious before he is forty years old: beſides, that the frailties of men often work by contraries: ſome narrow ſouls can never thrive becauſe they are too ſtingy, while longer heads amaſs great wealth by ſpending their money freely, and ſeeming to deſpiſe it. But the viciſſitudes of fortune are neceſſary, and the moſt lamentable are no more detrimental to ſociety, than the death of the individual members of it. Chriſtenings are a proper balance to burials. Thoſe who immediately loſe by the misfortunes of others, are very ſorry, complain, and make a noiſe; but the others who get by them, as there always are ſuch, hold their tongues, becauſe it is odious to be thought the better for the loſſes and calamities of our neighbour. The various ups and downs compoſe a wheel, that always turning round, gives motion to the whole machine. Philoſophers, that dare extend their thoughts beyond the narrow compaſs of what is immediately before them, look on the alternate changes in the civil ſociety, no otherwiſe than they do on the riſings and fallings of the lungs; the latter of which are much a part of reſpiration in the moſt perfect animals as the firſt; ſo that the fickle breath of never-ſtable fortune is to the body politic, the ſame as floating air is to a living creature.

Avarice then, and prodigality, are equally neceſſary to the ſociety. That in ſome countries, men are moſt generally laviſh than in others, proceeds from the difference in circumſtances that diſpoſe to either vice, and ariſe from the condition of the ſocial body, as well as the temperament of the natural. I beg pardon of the attentive reader, if here, in behalf of ſhort memories, I repeat ſome things, the ſubſtance of which they have already ſeen in Remark, line 307. More money than land, heavy taxes and ſcarcity of proviſions, induſtry, laborioufneſs, an active and ſtirring ſpirit, ill-nature, and ſaturnine temper; old age, wiſdom, trade, riches, acquired by our own labour, and liberty and property well ſecured, are all things that diſpoſe to avarice. On the contrary, indolence, content, good-nature, a jovial temper, youth, folly, arbitrary power, money eaſily got, plenty of proviſions

and the uncertainty of poſſeſſions, are circumſtances that render men prone to prodigality: where there is the moſt of the firſt, the prevailing vice will be avarice, and prodigality where the other turns the ſcale; but a national frugality there never was nor never will be without a national neceſſity.

Sumptuary laws, may be of uſe to an indigent country, after great calamities of war, peſtilence, or famine, when work has ſtood ſtill, and the labour of the poor been interrupted; but to introduce them into an opulent kingdom, is the wrong way to conſult the intereſt of it. I ſhall end my remarks on the Grumbling-Hive, with aſſuring the champions of national frugality, that it would be impoſſible for the Perſians and other eaſtern people, to purchaſe the vaſt quantities of fine Engliſh cloth they conſume, ſhould we load our women with leſs cargoes of Aſiatic ſilks.

AN

ESSAY ON CHARITY,

AND

CHARITY-SCHOOLS.

CHARITY, is that virtue by which part of that ſincere love we have for ourſelves, is transferred pure and unmixed to others, not tied to us by the bonds of friendſhip or conſanguinity, and even mere ſtrangers, whom we have no obligation to, nor hope or expect any thing from. If we leſſen any ways the rigour of this definition, part of the virtue muſt be loſt. What we do for our friends and kindred, we do partly for ourſelves: when a man acts in behalf of nephews or neices, and ſays they are my brother's children, I do it out of charity; he deceives you: for if he is capable, it is expected from him, and he does it partly for his own ſake: if he values the eſteem of the world, and is nice as to honour and reputation, he is obliged to have a greater regard to them than for ſtrangers, or elſe he muſt ſuffer in his character.

The exerciſe of this virtue, relates either to opinion, or to action, and is manifeſted in what we think of others, or what we do for them. To be charitable, then, in the firſt place, we ought to put the beſt conſtruction on all that others do or ſay, that things are capable of. If a man builds a fine houſe, though he has not one ſymptom of humility, furniſhes it richly, and lays out a good eſtate in plate and pictures, we ought not to think that he does it out of vanity, but to encourage artiſts, employ hands, and ſet the poor to work for the good of his country: and if a man ſleeps at church, ſo he does not ſnore, we ought to think he ſhuts his eyes to increaſe his attention. The reaſon is, becauſe in our turn we deſire that our utmoſt avarice ſhould paſs for frugality; and that for religion, which we know to be hypocriſy. Secondly, that virtue is conſpicuous in us, when we beſtow our time and labour for nothing, or employ our credit with others, in behalf of thoſe who ſtand in need of it, and yet could not expect ſuch an aſſiſtance from our friendſhip or nearneſs of blood. The laſt branch of charity conſiſts in giving away (while we are alive) what we value ourſelves,

to such as I have already named; being contented rather to have and enjoy less, than not relieve those who want, and shall be the objects of our choice.

This virtue is often counterfeited by a passion of ours, called Pity or Compassion, which consists in a fellow-feeling and condolence for the misfortunes and calamities of others: all mankind are more or less affected with it; but the weakest minds generally the most. It is raised in us, when the sufferings and misery of other creatures make so forcible an impression upon us, as to make us uneasy. It comes in either at the eye, or ear, or both; and the nearer and more violently the object of compassion strikes those senses, the greater disturbance it causes in us, often to such a degree, as to occasion great pain and anxiety.

Should any of us be locked up in a ground-room, where in a yard joining to it, there was a thriving good humoured child at play, of two or three years old, so near us that through the grates of the window we could almost touch it with our hand; and if while we took delight in the harmless diversion, and imperfect prittle-prattle of the innocent babe, a nasty overgrown sow should come in upon the child, set it a screaming, and frighten it out of its wits; it is natural to think, that this would make us uneasy, and that with crying out, and making all the menacing noise we could, we should endeavour to drive the sow away. But if this should happen to be an half-starved creature, that, mad with hunger, went roaming about in quest of food, and we should behold the ravenous brute, in spite of our cries, and all the threatening gestures we could think of, actually lay hold of the helpless infant, destroy and devour it; to see her widely open her destructive jaws, and the poor lamb beat down with greedy haste; to look on the defenceless posture of tender limbs first trampled on, then tore asunder; to see the filthy snout digging in the yet living entrails, suck up the smoking blood, and now and then to hear the crackling of the bones, and the cruel animal with savage pleasure grunt over the horrid banquet; to hear and see all this, what tortures would it give the soul beyond expression! let me see the most shining virtue the moralists have to boast of, so manifest either to the person possessed of it, or those who behold his actions: let me see courage, or the love of ones country so apparent without any mixture, cleared and distinct, the first from pride and anger, the other from the love of glory, and every shadow of self-interest, as this pity would be cleared and distinct from

all other paſſions. There would be no need of virtue or ſelf-denial to be moved at ſuch a ſcene; and not only a man of humanity, of good morals and commiſeration, but likewiſe an highwayman, an houſe-breaker, or a murderer could feel anxieties on ſuch an occaſion; how calamitious ſoever a man's circumſtances might be, he would forget his misfortunes for the time, and the moſt troubleſome paſſion would give way to pity, and not one of the ſpecies has a heart ſo obdurate or engaged, that it would not ache at ſuch a ſight, as no language has an epithet to fit it.

Many will wonder at what I have ſaid of pity, that it comes in at the eye or ear, but the truth of this will be known when we conſider that the nearer the object is, the more we ſuffer, and the more remote it is, the leſs we are troubled with it. To ſee people executed for crimes, if it is a great way off, moves us but little, in compariſon to what it does when we are near enough to ſee the motion of the ſoul in their eyes, obſerve their fears and agonies, and are able to read the pangs in every feature of the face. When the object is quite removed from our ſenſes, the relation of the calamities or the reading of them, can never raiſe in us the paſſion called pity. We may be concerned at bad news, the loſs and misfortunes of friends and thoſe whoſe cauſe we eſpouſe, but this is not pity, but grief or ſorrow; the ſame as we feel for the death of thoſe we love, or the deſtruction of what we value.

When we hear that three or four thouſand men, all ſtrangers to us, are killed with the ſword, or forced into ſome river where they are drowned, we ſay, and perhaps believe, that we pity them. It is humanity bids us have compaſſion with the ſufferings of others; and reaſon tells us, that whether a thing be far off or done in our ſight, our ſentiments concerning it ought to be the ſame, and we ſhould be aſhamed to own, that we felt no commiſeration in us when any thing requires it. He is a cruel man, he has no bowels of compaſſion; all theſe things are the effects of reaſon and humanity, but nature makes no compliments; when the object does not ſtrike, the body does not feel it; and when men talk of pitying people out of ſight, they are to be believed in the ſame manner as when they ſay, that they are our humble ſervants. In paying the uſual civilities at firſt meeting, thoſe who do not ſee one another every day, are often very glad and very ſorry alternately, for five or ſix times together, in

leſs than two minutes, and yet at parting carry away not a jot more of grief or joy than they met with. The ſame it is with pity, and it is a choice no more than fear or anger. Thoſe who have a ſtrong and lively imagination, and can make repreſentations of things in their minds, as they would be if they were actually before them, may work themſelves up into ſomething that reſembles compaſſion; but this is done by art, and often the help of a little enthuſiaſm, and is only an imitation of pity; the heart feels little of it, and it is as faint as what we ſuffer at the acting of a tragedy; where our judgment leaves part of the mind uninformed, and to indulge a lazy wantonneſs, ſuffers it to be led into an error, which is neceſſary to have a paſſion raiſed, the ſlight ſtrokes of which are not unpleaſant to us, when the ſoul is in an idle unactive humour.

As pity is often by ourſelves and in our own caſes miſtaken for charity, ſo it aſſumes the ſhape, and borrows the very name of it; a beggar aſks you to exert that virtue for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, but all the while his great deſign is to raiſe your pity. He repreſents to your view the firſt ſide of his ailments and bodily infirmities; in choſen words he gives you an epitome of his calamities, real or fictitious; and while he ſeems to pray God that he will open your heart, he is actually at work upon your ears; the greateſt profligate of them flies to religion for aid, and aſſiſts his cant with a doleful tone, and a ſtudied diſmality of geſtures: but he truſts not to one paſſion only, he flatters your pride with titles and names of honour and diſtinction; your avarice he ſooths with often repeating to you the ſmallneſs of the gift he ſues for, and conditional promiſes of future returns, with an intereſt extravagant beyond the ſtatute of uſury, though out of the reach of it. People not uſed to great cities, being thus attacked on all ſides, are commonly forced to yield, and cannot help giving ſomething though they can hardly ſpare it themſelves. How oddly are we managed by ſelf-love! It is ever watching in our defence, and yet, to ſooth a predominant paſſion, obliges us to act againſt our intereſt: for when pity ſeizes us, if we can but imagine, that we contribute to the relief of him we have compaſſion with, and are inſtrumental to the leſſening of his ſorrows, it eaſes us, and therefore pitiful people often give an alms, when they really feel that they would rather not.

When ſores are very bare, or ſeem otherwiſe afflicting in an extraordinary manner, and the beggar can bear to have them expoſed to the cold air, it is very ſhocking to ſome people; it is a ſhame, they cry, ſuch ſights ſhould be ſuffered; the main reaſon is, it touches their pity feelingly, and at the ſame time they are reſolved, either becauſe they are covetous, or count it an idle expence, to give nothing, which makes them more uneaſy. They turn their eyes, and where the cries are diſmal, ſome would willingly ſtop their ears if they were not aſhamed, What they can do is to mend their pace, and be very angry in their hearts that beggars ſhould be about the ſtreets. But it is with pity as it is with fear, the more we are converſant with objects that excite either paſſion, the leſs we are diſturbed by them, and thoſe to whom all theſe ſcenes and tones are by cuſtom made familiar, they make little impreſſion upon. The only thing the induſtrious beggar has left to conquer thoſe fortified hearts, if he can walk either with or without crutches, is to follow cloſe, and with uninterrupted noiſe teaze and importune them, to try if he can make them buy their peace. Thus thouſands give money to beggars from the ſame motive as they pay their corn-cutter, to walk eaſy. And many a halfpenny is given to impudent and deſignedly perſecuting raſcals, whom, if it could be done handſomely, a man would cane with much greater ſatisfaction. Yet all this, by the courteſy of the country, is called charity.

The reverſe of pity is malice: I have ſpoke of it where I treat of envy. Thoſe who know what it is to examine themſelves, will ſoon own that it is very difficult to trace the root and origin of this paſſion. It is one of thoſe we are moſt aſhamed of, and therefore the hurtful part of it is eaſily ſubdued and corrected by a judicious education. When any body near us ſtumbles, it is natural even before reflection, to ſtretch out our hands to hinder, or at leaſt break the fall, which ſhows that while we are calm we are rather bent to pity. But though malice by itſelf is little to be feared, yet aſſiſted with pride it is often miſchievous, and becomes moſt terrible when egged on and heightened by anger. There is nothing that more readily or more effectually extinguiſhes pity than this mixture, which is called cruelty: from whence we may learn, that to perform a meritorious action, it is not ſufficient barely to conquer a paſſion, unleſs it likewiſe be done from a laudable principle, and conſequently how neceſſary that clauſe

was in the definition of virtue, that our endeavours were to proceed from a rational ambition of being good.

Pity, as I have ſaid ſomewhere elſe, is the moſt amiable of all our paſſions, and there are not many occaſions, on which we ought to conquer or curb it. A ſurgeon may be as compaſſionate as he pleaſes, ſo it does not make him omit or forbear to perform what he ought to do. Judges likewiſe, and juries, may be influenced with pity, if they take care that plain laws and juſtice itſelf are not infringed, and do not ſuffer by it. No pity does more miſchief in the world, than what is excited by the tenderneſs of parents, and hinders them from managing their children, as their rational love to them would require, and themſelves could wiſh it. The ſway likewiſe which this paſſion bears in the affections of women, is more conſiderable than is commonly imagined, and they daily commit faults that are altogether aſcribed to luſt, and yet are in a great meaſure owing to pity.

What I named laſt is not the only paſſion that mocks and reſembles charity; pride and vanity have built more hoſpitals than all the virtues together. Men are ſo tenacious of their poſſeſſions, and ſelfiſhneſs is ſo riveted in our nature, that whoever can but any ways conquer it ſhall have the applauſe of the public, and all the encouragement imaginable to conceal his frailty, and ſooth any other appetite he ſhall have a mind to indulge. The man that ſupplies, with his private fortune, what the whole muſt otherwiſe have provided for, obliges every member of the ſociety, and, therefore, all the world are ready to pay him their acknowledgement, and think themſelves in duty bound to pronounce all ſuch actions virtuous, without examining, or ſo much as looking into the motives from which they were performed. Nothing is more deſtructive to virtue or religion itſelf, than to make men believe, that giving money to the poor, though they ſhould not part with it till after death, will make a full atonement in the next world, for the ſins they have committed in this. A villain, who has been guilty of a barbarous murder, may, by the help of falſe witneſſes, eſcape the puniſhment he deſerved: he proſpers, we will ſay, heaps up great wealth, and, by the advice of his father confeſſor, leaves all his eſtate to a monaſtery, and his children beggars. What fine amends has this good Chriſtian made for his crime, and what an honeſt man was the prieſt who directed his conſcience? He who parts with all he has in his life-time, whatever principle he

acts from, only gives away what was his own; but the rich miser who refuses to assist his nearest relations while he is alive, though they never designedly disobliged him, and disposes of his money, for what we call charitable uses, after his death, may imagine of his goodness what he pleases, but he robs his posterity. I am now thinking of a late instance of charity, a prodigious gift, that has made a great noise in the world: I have a mind to set it in the light I think it deserves, and beg leave, for once, to please pedants, to treat it somewhat rhetorically.

That a man, with small skill in physic, and hardly any learning, should, by vile arts, get into practice, and lay up great wealth, is no mighty wonder; but, that he should so deeply work himself into the good opinion of the world as to gain the general esteem of a nation, and establish a reputation beyond all his contemporaries, with no other qualities but a perfect knowledge of mankind, and a capacity of making the most of it, is something extraordinary. If a man arrived to such a height of glory should be almost distracted with pride, sometime give his attendance on a servant or any mean person for nothing, and, at the same time, neglect a nobleman that gives exorbitant fees, at other times refuse to leave his bottle for his business, without any regard to the quality of the persons that sent for him, or the danger they are in: if he should be surly and morose, affect to be an humourist, treat his patients like dogs, though people of distinction, and value no man but what would deify him, and never call in question the certainty of his oracles: if he should insult all the world, affront the first nobility, and extend his insolence even to the royal family: if, to maintain as well as to increase the fame of his sufficiency, he should scorn to consult with his betters on what emergency soever, look down with contempt on the most deserving of his profession, and never confer with any other physician but what will pay homage to his superior genius, creep to his humour, and never approach him but with all the slavish obsequiousness a court-flatterer can treat a prince with: If a man, in his lifetime, should discover, on the one hand, such manifest symptoms of superlative pride, and an insatiable greediness after wealth at the same time, and, on the other, no regard to religion or affection to his kindred, no compassion to the poor, and hardly any humanity to his fellow-creatures, if he gave no proofs that he loved his

country, had a public ſpirit, or was a lover of arts, of books, or of literature, what muſt we judge of his motive, the principle he acted from, when, after his death, we find that he has left a trifle among his relations who ſtood in need of it, and an immenſe treaſure to an univerſity that did not want it.

Let a man be as charitable as it is poſſible for him to be without forfeiting his reaſon or good ſenſe: can he think otherwiſe, but that this famous phyſician did, in the making of his will, as in every thing elſe, indulge his darling paſſion, entertaining his vanity with the happineſs of the contrivance? when he thought on the monuments and inſcriptions, with all the ſacrifices of praiſe that would be made to him, and, above all, the yearly tribute of thanks, of reverence, and veneration that would be paid to his memory, with ſo much pomp and ſolemnity; when he conſidered, how in all theſe performances, wit and invention would be racked, art and eloquence ranſacked to find out encomiums ſuitable to the public ſpirit, the munificence and the dignity of the benefactor, and the artful gratitude of the receivers; when he thought on, I ſay, and conſidered theſe things, it muſt have thrown his ambitious ſoul into vaſt ecſtaſies of pleaſure, eſpecially when he ruminated on the duration of his glory, and the perpetuity he would by this means procure to his name. Charitable opinions are often ſtupidly falſe; when men are dead and gone, we ought to judge of their actions, as we do of books, and neither wrong their underſtanding nor our own. The Britiſh Æſculapius was undeniably a man of ſenſe, and if he had been influenced by charity, a public ſpirit, or the love of learning, and had aimed at the good of mankind in general, or that of his own profeſſion in particular, and acted from any of theſe principles, he could never have made ſuch a will; becauſe ſo much wealth might have been better managed, and a man of much leſs capacity would have found out ſeveral better ways of laying out the money. But if we conſider, that he was as undeniably a man of vaſt pride, as he was a man of ſenſe, and give ourſelves leave only to ſurmiſe, that this extraordinary gift might have proceeded from ſuch a motive, we ſhall preſently diſcover the excelllency of his parts, and his conſummate knowledge of the world: for, if a man would render himſelf immortal, be ever praiſed and deified after his death, and have all the acknowledgement, the honours, and com-

pliments paid to his memory, that vain glory herſelf could wiſh for, I do not think it in human ſkill to invent a more effectual method. Had he followed arms, behaved himſelf in five-and-twenty ſieges, and as many battles, with the bravery of an Alexander, and expoſed his life and limbs to all the fatigues and dangers of war for fifty campaigns together; or devoting himſelf to the muſes, ſacrificed his pleaſure, his reſt, and his health to literature, and ſpent all his days in a laborious ſtudy, and the toils of learning; or elſe, abandoning all worldly intereſt, excelled in probity, temperance, and auſterity of life, and ever trod in the ſtricteſt path of virtue, he would not ſo effectully have provided for the eternity of his name, as after a voluptuous life, and the luxurious gratification of his paſſions, he has now done without any trouble or ſelf denial, only by the choice in the diſpoſal of his money, when he was forced to leave it.

A rich miſer, who is thoroughly ſelfiſh, and would receive the intereſt of his money, even after his death, has nothing elſe to do than to defraud his relations, and leave his eſtate to ſome famous univerſity; they are the beſt markets to buy immortality at with little merit: in them knowledge, wit, and penetration are the growth, I had almoſt ſaid the manufacture of the place: there men are profoundly ſkilled in human nature, and know what it is their benefactors want; and their extraordinary bounties ſhall always meet with an extraordinary recompence, and the meaſure of the gift is ever the ſtandard of their praiſes, whether the donor be a phyſician or a tinker, when once the living witneſſes that might laugh at them are extinct. I can never think on the anniverſary of the thankſgiving-day decreed to a great man, but it puts me in mind of the miraculous cures, and other ſurpriſing things that will be ſaid of him a hundred years hence; and I dare prognoſticate, that before the end of the preſent century, he will have ſtories forged in his favour (for rhetoricians are never upon oath) that ſhall be as fabulous, at leaſt, as any legends of the ſaints.

Of all this our ſubtle benefactor was not ignorant; he underſtood univerſities, their genius, and their politics, and from thence foreſaw and knew, that the incenſe to be offered to him would not ceaſe with the preſent or few ſucceeding generations, and that it would not only for the trifling ſpace of three or four hundred years, but that it would continue to be paid to him through all changes and revolutions of

government and religion, as long as the nation ſubſiſts, and the iſland itſelf remains.

It is deplorable that the proud ſhould have ſuch temptations to wrong their lawful heirs: For when a man in eaſe and affluence, brim-full of vain glory, and humoured in his pride by the greateſt of a polite nation, has ſuch an infallible ſecurity in petto for an everlaſting homage and adoration to his manes to be paid in ſuch an extraordinary manner, he is like a hero in battle, who, in feaſting of his own imagination, taſtes all the felicity of enthuſiaſm. It buys him up in ſickneſs, relieves him in pain, and either guards him againſt, or keeps from his view all the terrors of death, and the moſt diſmal apprehenſions of futurity.

Should it be ſaid, that to be thus cenſorious, and look into matters, and mens conſciences with that nicety, will diſcourage people from laying out their money this way; and that, let the money and the motive of the donor be what they will, he that receives the benefit is the gainer, I would not diſown the charge, but am of opinion, that this is no injury to the public, ſhould one prevent men from crowding too much treaſure into the dead ſtock of the kingdom. There ought to be a vaſt diſproportion between the active and unactive part of the ſociety to make it happy, and where this is not regarded, the multitude of gifts and endowments may ſoon be exceſſive and detrimental to a nation. Charity, where it is too extenſive, ſeldom fails of promoting ſloth and idleneſs, and is good for little in the commonwealth but to breed drones, and deſtroy induſtry. The more colleges and almhouſes you build, the more you may. The firſt founders and benefactors may have juſt and good intentions, and would perhaps, for their own reputations, ſeem to labour for the moſt laudable purpoſes, but the executors of thoſe wills, the governors that come after him, have quite other views, and we ſeldom ſee charities long applied as it was firſt intended they ſhould be. I have no deſign that is cruel, nor the leaſt aim that favours of inhumanity. To have ſufficient hoſpitals for ſick and wounded, I look upon as an indiſpenſible duty both in peace and war: Young children without parents, old age without ſupport, and all that are diſabled from working, ought to be taken care of with tenderneſs and alacrity. But as, on the one hand, I would have none neglected that are helpleſs, and really neceſſitous without being wanting to themſelves, ſo, on the

other, I would not encourage beggary or lazineſs in the poor: All ſhould be ſet to work that are anywiſe able, and ſcrutinies ſhould be made even among the infirm: Employments might be found out for moſt of our lame, and many that are unfit for hard labour, as well as the blind, as long as their health and ſtrength would allow of it. What I have now under conſideration leads me naturally to that kind of diſtraction the nation has laboured under for ſome time, the enthuſiaſtic paſſion for Charity-Schools.

The generality are ſo bewitched with the uſefulneſs and excellency of them, that whoever dares openly oppoſe them is in danger of being ſtoned by the rabble. Children that are taught the principles of religion, and can read the word of God, have a greater opportunity to improve in virtue and good morality, and muſt certainly be more civilized than others, that are ſuffered to run at random, and have nobody to look after them. How perverſe muſt be the judgment of thoſe, who would not rather ſee children decently dreſſed, with clean linen at leaſt once a-week, that, in an orderly manner, follow their maſter to church, than in every open place, meet with a company of blackguards without ſhirts or any thing whole about them, that, inſenſible of their miſery, are continually increaſing it with oaths and imprecations! Can any one doubt but theſe are the great nurſery of thieves and pickpockets? What numbers of felons, and other criminals, have we tried and convicted every ſeſſions! This will be prevented by charity-ſchools; and when the childern of the poor receive a better education, the ſociety will, in a few years, reap the benefit of it, and the nation be cleared of ſo many miſcreants, as now this great city, and all the country about it, are filled with.

This is the general cry, and he that ſpeaks the leaſt word againſt it, an uncharitable, hard-hearted and inhuman, if not a wicked, profane, and atheiſtical wretch. As to the comelineſs of the ſight, nobody diſputes it; but I would not have a nation pay too dear for ſo tranſient a pleaſure; and if we might ſet aſide the finery of the ſhow, every thing that is material in this popular oration might ſoon be anſwered.

As to religion, the moſt knowing and polite part of a nation have every where the leaſt of it; craft has a greater hand in making rogues than ſtupidity, and vice, in general, is nowhere more predominant than where arts and ſciences flouriſh. Ignorance is, to a proverb, counted to be the mo-

ther of devotion; and it is certain, that we ſhall find innocence and honeſty nowhere more general than among the moſt illiterate, the poor ſilly country people. The next to be conſidered, are the manners and civility that by charity-ſchools are to be grafted into the poor of the nation. I confeſs that, in my opinion, to be in any degree poſſeſſed of what I named, is a frivolous, if not a hurtful quality, at leaſt nothing is leſs requiſite in the laborious poor. It is not compliments we want of them, but their work and aſſiduity. But I give up this article with all my heart; good manners we will ſay are neceſſary to all people, but which way will they be furniſhed with them in a charity-ſchool? Boys there may be taught to pull off their caps promiſcuouſly to all they meet, unleſs it be a beggar: But that they ſhould acquire in it any civility beyond that I cannot conceive.

The maſter is not greatly qualified, as may be gueſſed by his ſalary, and if he could teach them manners he has not time for it: while they are at ſchool they are either learning or ſaying their leſſon to him, or employed in writing or arithmetic; and as ſoon as ſchool is done, they are as much at liberty as other poor people's children. It is precept, and the example of parents, and thoſe they eat, drink and converſe with, that have an influence upon the minds of children: reprobate parents that take ill courſes, and are regardleſs to their children, will not have a mannerly civilized offspring though they went to a charity-ſchool till they were married. The honeſt pains-taking people, be they never ſo poor, if they have any notion of goodneſs and decency themſelves, will keep their children in awe, and never ſuffer them to rake about the ſtreets, and lie out a-nights. Thoſe who will work themſelves, and have any command over their children, will make them do ſomething or other that turns to profit as ſoon as they are able, be it never ſo little; and ſuch are ſo ungovernable, that neither words nor blows can work upon them, no charity-ſchool will mend; nay, experience teaches us, that among the charity-boys there are abundance of bad ones that ſwear and curſe about, and, bar the clothes, are as much blackguard as ever Tower-hill or St. James's produced.

I am now come to the enormous crimes, and vaſt multitude of malefactors, that are all laid upon the want of this notable education. That abundance of thefts and robberies are daily committed in and about the city, and great numbers yearly ſuffer death for thoſe crimes is undeniable: but

becauſe this is ever hooked in, when the uſefulneſs of charity-ſchools is called in queſtion, as if there was no diſpute, but they would in a great meaſure remedy, and in time prevent thoſe diſorders; I intend to examine into the real cauſes of thoſe miſchiefs ſo juſtly complained of, and doubt not but to make it appear that charity-ſchools, and every thing elſe that promotes idleneſs, and keeps the poor from working, are more acceſſary to the growth of villany, than the want of reading and writing, or even the groſſeſt ignorance and ſtupidity.

Here I muſt interrupt myſelf to obviate the clamours of ſome impatient people, who, upon reading of what I ſaid laſt, will cry out, that far from encouraging idleneſs, they bring up their charity-children to handicrafts, as well as trades, and all manner of honeſt labour. I promiſe them that I ſhall take notice of that hereafter, and anſwer it without ſtifling the leaſt thing that can be ſaid in their behalf.

In a populous city, it is not difficult for a young raſcal, that has puſhed himſelf into a crowd, with a ſmall hand and nimble fingers, to whip away a handkerchief or ſnuff-box, from a man who is thinking on buſineſs, and regardleſs of his pocket. Succeſs in ſmall crimes ſeldom fails of uſhering in greater; and he that picks pockets with impunity at twelve, is likely to be a houſe-breaker at ſixteen, and a thorough-paced villain long before he is twenty. Thoſe who are cautious as well as bold, and no drunkards, may do a world of miſchief before they are diſcovered: and this is one of the greateſt inconveniencies of ſuch vaſt overgrown cities, as London or Paris; that they harbour rogues and villains as granaries do vermin; they afford a perpetual ſhelter to the worſt of people, and are places of ſafety to thouſands of criminals, who daily commit thefts and burglaries, and yet, by often changing their places of abode, may conceal themſelves for many years, and will perhaps for ever eſcape the hands of juſtice, unleſs by chance they are apprehended in a fact. And when they are taken, the evidences perhaps wants clearneſs, or are otherwiſe inſufficient; the depoſitions are not ſtrong enough; juries and often judges are touched with compaſſion; proſecutors though vigorous at firſt, often relent before the time of trial comes on: few men prefer the public ſafety to their own eaſe; a man of good-nature is not eaſily reconciled with taking away of another man's life, though he has deſerved the gallows. To be the cauſe of any

ones death, though juſtice requires it, is what moſt people is ſtartled at, eſpecially men of conſcience and probity, when they want judgment or reſolution: as this is the reaſon that thouſands eſcape that deſerve to be capitally puniſhed, ſo it is likewiſe the cauſe that there are ſo many offenders, who boldly venture, in hopes that if they are taken they ſhall have the ſame good fortune of getting off.

But if men did imagine, and were fully perſuaded, that as ſurely as they committed a fact that deſerved hanging, ſo ſurely they would be hanged; executions would be very rare, and the moſt deſperate felon would almoſt as ſoon hang himſelf as he would break open a houſe. To be ſtupid and ignorant is ſeldom the character of a thief. Robberies on the highway, and other bold crimes, are generally perpetrated by rogues of ſpirit, and a genius; and villains of any fame are commonly ſubtle cunning fellows, that are well verſed in the method of trials, and acquainted with every quirk in the law that can be of uſe to them; that overlook not the ſmalleſt flaw in an indictment, and know how to make an advantage of the leaſt ſlip of an evidence, and every thing elſe, that can ſerve their turn to bring them off.

It is a mighty ſaying, that it is better that five hundred guilty people ſhould eſcape, than that one innocent perſon ſhould ſuffer: this maxim is only true as to futurity, and in relation to another world; but it is very falſe in regard to the temporal welfare of ſociety. It is a terrible thing a man ſhould be put to death for a crime he is not guilty of; yet ſo oddly circumſtances may meet in the infinite variety of accidents, that it is poſſible it ſhould come to paſs, all the wiſdom that judges, and conſciouſneſs that juries may be poſſeſſed of, notwithſtanding. But where men endeavour to avoid this, with all the care and precaution human prudence is able to take, ſhould ſuch a misfortune happen perhaps once or twice in half a ſcore years, on condition that all that time juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred with all the ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, and not one guilty perſon ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, it would be a vaſt advantage to a nation, not only as to the ſecuring of every ones property, and the peace of the ſociety in general, but would likewiſe ſave the lives of hundreds, if not thouſands, of neceſſitous wretches, that are daily hanged for trifles, and who would never have attempted any thing againſt the law, or at leaſt have ventured on capital crimes,

if the hopes of getting off, ſhould they be taken, had not been one of the motives that animated their reſolution. Therefore where the laws are plain and ſevere, all the remiſſneſs in the execution of them, lenity of juries, and frequency of pardons, are in the main a much greater cruelty to a populous ſtate or kingdom, than the uſe of racks and the moſt exquiſite torments.

Another great cauſe of thoſe evils, is to be looked for in the want of precaution in thoſe that are robbed, and the many temptations that are given. Abundance of families are very remiſs in looking after the ſafety of their houſes; ſome are robbed by the careleſſneſs of ſervants, others for having grudged the price of bars and ſhutters. Braſs and pewter are ready money, they are every where about the houſe; plate perhaps and money are better ſecured; but an ordinary lock is ſoon opened, when once a rogue is got in.

It is manifeſt, then, that many different cauſes concur, and ſeveral ſcarce avoidable evils contribute to the misfortune of being peſtered with pilferers, thieves, and robbers, which all countries ever were, and ever will be, more or leſs, in and near conſiderable towns, more eſpecially vaſt and overgrown cities. It is opportunity makes the thief; careleſſneſs and neglect in faſtening doors and windows, the exceſſive tenderneſs of juries and proſecutors, the ſmall difficulty of getting a reprieve and frequency of pardons; but above all, the many examples of thoſe who are known to be guilty, are deſtitute both of friends and money, and yet by impoſing on the jury, baffling the witneſſes, or other tricks and ſtratagems, find out means to eſcape the gallows. Theſe are all ſtrong temptations that conſpire to draw in the neceſſitous, who want principle and education.

To theſe you may add as auxiliaries to miſchief, an habit of ſloth and idleneſs, and ſtrong averſion to labour and aſſiduity, which all young people will contract that are not brought up to downright working, or at leaſt kept employed moſt days in the week, and the greateſt part of the day. All children that are idle, even the beſt of either ſex, are bad company to one another whenever they meet.

It is not, then, the want of reading and writing, but the concurrence and complication of more ſubſtantial evils, that are the perpetual nurſery of abandoned profligates in great and opulent nations; and whoever would accuſe ignorance, ſtupidity, and daſtardneſs, as the firſt, and what the phyſicians

call the procataric cauſe, let him examine into the lives, and narrowly inſpect the converſations and actions of ordinary rogues and our common felons, and he will find the reverſe to be true, and that the blame ought rather to be laid on the exceſſive cunning and ſubtlety, and too much knowledge in general, which the worſt of miſcreants and the ſcum of the nation are poſſeſſed of.

Human nature is every where the ſame: genius, wit, and natural parts, are always ſharpened by application, and may be as much improved in the practice of the meaneſt villany, as they can in the exerciſe of induſtry, or the moſt heroic virtue. There is no ſtation of life, where pride, emulation, and the love of glory may not be diſplayed. A young pick-pocket, that makes a jeſt of his angry proſecutor, and dextrouſly wheedles the old juſtice into an opinion of his innocence, is envied by his equals, and admired by all the fraternity. Rogues have the ſame paſſions to gratify as other men, and value themſelves on their honour and faithfulneſs to one another, their courage, intrepidity, and other manly virtues, as well as people of better profeſſions; and in daring enterpriſes, the reſolution of a robber may be as much ſupported by his pride, as that of an honeſt ſoldier, who fights for his country.

The evils then we complain of, are owing to quite other cauſes than what we aſſign for them. Men muſt be very wavering in their ſentiments, if not inconſiſtent with themſelves, that at one time will uphold knowledge and learning to be the moſt proper means to promote religion, and defend at another, that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

But if the reaſons alleged for this general education are not the true ones, whence comes it, that the whole kingdom, both great and ſmall, are ſo unanimouſly fond of it? There is no miraculous converſion to be perceived among us, no univerſal bent to goodneſs and morality that has on a ſudden overſpread the iſland; there is as much wickedneſs as ever, charity is as cold, and real virtue as ſcarce: the year ſeventeen hundred and twenty, has been as prolific in deep villany, and remarkable for ſelfiſh crimes and premeditated miſchief, as can be picked out of any century whatever; not committed by poor ignorant rogues, that could neither read nor write, but the better ſort of people as to wealth and education, that moſt of them were great maſters in arithmetic, and lived in reputation and ſplendor. To ſay, that when a

thing is once in vogue, the multitude follows the common cry, that charity ſchools are in faſhion in the ſame manner as hooped petticoats, by caprice, and that no more reaſon can be given for the one than the other, I am afraid will not be ſatisfactory to the curious, and at the ſame time I doubt much, whether it will be thought of great weight by many of my readers, what I can advance beſides.

The real ſource of this preſent folly, is certainly very abſtruſe and remote from ſight; but he that affords the leaſt light in matters of great obſcurity, does a kind office to the inquirers. I am willing to allow, that in the beginning, the firſt deſign of thoſe ſchools, was good and charitable; but to know what increaſes them ſo extravagantly, and who are the chief promoters of them now, we muſt make our ſearch another way, and addreſs ourſelves to the rigid party-men, that are zealous for their cauſe, either epiſcopacy or preſbytery; but as the latter are but the poor mimicks of the firſt, though equally pernicious, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the national church, and take a turn through a pariſh that is not bleſſed yet with a charity ſchool.—But here I think myſelf obliged in conſcience to aſk pardon of my reader, for the tireſome dance I am going to lead him, if he intends to follow me, and therefore I deſire, that he would either throw away the book and leave me, or elſe arm himſelf with the patience of Job, to endure all the impertinences of low life; the cant and tittle-tattle he is like to meet with before he can go half a ſtreet's length.

Firſt we muſt look out among the young ſhop-keepers, that have not half the buſineſs they could wiſh for, and conſequently time to ſpare. If ſuch a new-beginner has but a little pride more than ordinary, and loves to be meddling, he is ſoon mortified in the veſtry, where men of ſubſtance and long ſtanding, or elſe your pert litigious or opinionated bawlers, that have obtained the title of notable men, commonly bear the ſway. His ſtock and perhaps credit are but inconſiderable, and yet he finds within himſelf a ſtrong inclination to govern. A man thus qualified, thinks it a thouſand pities there is no charity-ſchool in the pariſh: he communicates his thoughts to two or three of his acquaintance firſt; they do the ſame to others, and in a month's time there is nothing elſe talked of in the pariſh. Every body invents diſcourſes and arguments to the purpoſe, according to his abilities.—It is an arrant ſhame, ſays one, to ſee ſo many poor that are not

able to educate their children, and no proviſion made for them, where we have ſo many rich people. What do you talk of rich, anſwers another, they are the worſt: they muſt have ſo many ſervants, coaches and horſes: they can lay out hundreds, and ſome of them thouſands of pounds for jewels and furniture, but not ſpare a ſhilling to a poor creature that wants it: when modes and faſhions are diſcourſed of, they can hearken with great attention, but are wilfully deaf to the cries of the poor. Indeed, neighbour, replies the firſt, you are very right, I do not believe there is a worſe pariſh in England for charity than ours: It is ſuch as you and I that would do good if it was in our power, but of thoſe that are able there is very few that are willing.

Others more violent, fall upon particular perſons, and faſten ſlander on every man of ſubſtance they diſlike, and a thouſand idle ſtories in behalf of charity, are raiſed and handed about to defame their betters. While this is doing throughout the neighbourhood, he that firſt broached the pious thought, rejoices to hear ſo many come into it, and places no ſmall merit in being the firſt cauſe of ſo much talk and buſtle: but neither himſelf nor his intimates, being conſiderable enough to ſet ſuch a thing on foot, ſome body muſt be found out who has greater intereſt: he is to be addreſſed to, and ſhowed the neceſſity, the goodneſs, the uſefulneſs, and Chriſtianity of ſuch a deſign: next he is to be flattered.—Indeed, Sir, if you would eſpouſe it, nobody has a greater influence over the beſt of the pariſh than yourſelf: one word of you I am ſure would engage ſuch a one: if you once would take it to heart, Sir, I would look upon the thing as done, Sir.—If by this kind of rhetoric they can draw in ſome old fool, or conceited buſy-body that is rich, or at leaſt reputed to be ſuch, the thing begins to be feaſible, and is diſcourſed of among the better ſort. The parſon or his curate, and the lecturer, are every where extolling the pious project. The firſt promoters meanwhile are indefatigable: if they were guilty of any open vice, they either ſacrifice it to the love of reputation, or at leaſt grow more cautious and learn to play the hypocrite, well knowing that to be flagitious or noted for enormities, is inconſiſtent with the zeal which they pretend to, for works of ſupererogation and exceſſive piety.

The number of theſe diminutive patriots increaſing, they form themſelves into a ſociety, and appoint ſtated meetings, where every one concealing his vices, has liberty to diſplay

his talents. Religion is the theme, or elſe the miſery of the times occaſioned by atheiſm and profaneneſs. Men of worth, who live in ſplendour, and thriving people that have a great deal of buſineſs of their own, are ſeldom ſeen among them. Men of ſenſe and education likewiſe, if they have nothing to do, generally look out for better diverſion. All thoſe who have a higher aim, ſhall have their attendance eaſily excuſed, but contribute they muſt, or elſe lead a weary life in the pariſh Two ſorts of people come in voluntarily, ſtanch churchmen, who have good reaſons for it in petto, and your ſly ſinners that look upon it as meritorious, and hope that it will expiate their guilt, and Satan be nonſuited by it at a ſmall expence. Some come into it to ſave their credit, others to retrieve it, according as they have either loſt or are afraid of loſing it: others again do it prudentially, to increaſe their trade and get acquaintance, and many would own to you, if they dared to be ſincere and ſpeak the truth, that they would never have been concerned in it, but to be better known in the pariſh. Men of ſenſe that ſee the folly of it, and have nobody to fear, are perſuaded into it not to be thought ſingular, or to run counter to all the world; even thoſe who are reſolute at firſt in denying it, it is ten to one but at laſt they are teazed and importuned into a compliance. The charge being calculated for moſt of the inhabitants, the inſignificancy of it is another argument that prevails much, and many are drawn in to be contributors, who, without that, would have ſtood out and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the whole ſcheme.

The governors are made of the middling people, and many inferior to that claſs are made uſe of, if the forwardneſs of their zeal can but over-balance the meanneſs of their condition. If you ſhould aſk theſe worthy rulers, why they take upon them ſo much trouble, to the detriment of their own affairs and loſs of time, either ſingly or the whole body of them, they would all unanimouſly anſwer, that it is the regard they have for religion and the church, and the pleaſure they take in contributing to the good, and eternal welfare of ſo many poor innocents, that in all probability would run into perdition, in theſe wicked times of ſcoffers and free-thinkers. They have no thought of intereſt; even thoſe who deal in and provide theſe children with what they want, have not the leaſt deſign of getting by what they ſell for their uſe; and though in every thing elſe, their avarice and greedineſs after lucre be glaringly conſpicuous, in this affair they

are wholly diveſted from ſelfiſhneſs, and have no worldly ends. One motive above all, which is none of the leaſt with the moſt of them, is to be carefully concealed, I mean the ſatisfaction there is in ordering and directing: there is a melodious ſound in the word governor, that is charming to mean people: every body admires ſway and ſuperiority; even *imperium in belluas* has its delights: there is a pleaſure in ruling over any thing; and it is this chiefly that ſupports human nature in the tedious ſlavery of ſchool-maſters. But if there be the leaſt ſatisfaction in governing the children, it muſt be raviſhing to govern the ſchool-maſter himſelf. What fine things are ſaid and perhaps wrote to a governor, when a ſchool-maſter is to be choſen! How the praiſes tickle, and how pleaſant it is not to find out the fulſomeneſs of the flattery, the ſtiffneſs of the expreſſions, or the pedantry of the ſtile!

Thoſe who can examine nature, will always find, that what theſe people moſt pretend to is the leaſt, and what they utterly deny their greateſt motive. No habit or quality is more eaſily acquired than hypocriſy, nor any thing ſooner learned than to deny the ſentiments of our hearts, and the principle we act from: but the ſeeds of every paſſion are innate to us, and nobody comes into the world without them. If we will mind the paſtimes and recreations of young children, we ſhall obſerve nothing more general in them, than that all who are ſuffered to do it, take delight in playing with kittens and little puppy dogs. What makes them always lugging and pulling the poor creatures about the houſe, proceeds from nothing elſe but that they can do with them what they pleaſe, and put them into what poſture and ſhape they liſt; and the pleaſure they receive from this, is originally owing to the love of dominion, and that uſurping temper all mankind are born with.

When this great work is brought to bear, and actually accompliſhed, joy and ſerenity ſeem to overſpread the face of every inhabitant, which likewiſe to account for, I muſt make a ſhort digreſſion. There are every where ſlovenly ſorry fellows, that are uſed to be ſeen always ragged and dirty: theſe people we look upon as miſerable creatures in general, and unleſs they are very remarkable, we take little notice of them, and yet among theſe there are handſome and well-ſhaped men, as well as among their betters. But if one of theſe turns ſoldier, what a vaſt alteration is there obſerved in

him for the better, as ſoon as he is put in his red coat, and we ſee him look ſmart with his grenadier's cap and a great ammunition ſword! All who knew him before are ſtruck with other ideas of his qualities, and the judgment which both men and women form of him in their minds, is very different from what it was. There is ſomething analogous to this in the ſight of charity children; there is a natural beauty in uniformity, which moſt people delight in. It is diverting to the eye to ſee children well matched, either boys or girls, march two and two in good order; and to have them all whole and tight in the ſame clothes and trimming, muſt add to the comelineſs of the ſight; and what makes it ſtill more generally entertaining, is the imaginary ſhare which even ſervants, and the meaneſt in the pariſh, have in it, to whom it coſts nothing: our pariſh church, our charity children. In all this there is a ſhadow of property that tickles every body, that has a right to make uſe of the words, but more eſpecially thoſe who actually contribute, and had a great hand in advancing the pious work.

It is hardly conceivable, that men ſhould ſo little know their own hearts, and be ſo ignorant of their inward condition, as to miſtake frailty, paſſion, and enthuſiaſm, for goodneſs, virtue and charity; yet nothing is more true than that the ſatisfaction, the joy and tranſports they feel on the accounts I named, paſs with theſe miſerable judges for principles of piety and religion. Whoever will conſider of what I have ſaid for two or three pages, and ſuffer his imagination to rove a little further on what he has heard and ſeen concerning this ſubject, will be furniſhed with ſufficient reaſons, abſtract from the love of God and true Chriſtianity, why charity-ſchools are in ſuch uncommon vogue, and ſo unanimouſly approved of and admired among all ſorts and conditions of people. It is a theme which every body can talk of, and underſtands thoroughly; there is not a more inexhauſtible fund for tittle-tattle, and a variety of low converſation in hoy-boats and ſtage-coaches. If a governor that in behalf of the ſchool or the ſermon, exerted himſelf more than ordinary, happens to be in company, how he is commended by the women, and his zeal and charitable diſpoſition extolled to the ſkies! Upon my word, ſir, ſays an old lady, we are all very much obliged to you; I do not think any of the other governors could have made intereſt enough to procure us a biſhop; it was on your account, I am told, that his lordſhip

came, though he was not very well: to which the other replies very gravely, that it is his duty, but that he values no trouble nor fatigue, so he can be but serviceable to the children, poor lambs: indeed, says he, I was resolved to get a pair of lawn sleeves, though I rid all night for it, and I am very glad I was not disappointed.

Sometimes the school itself is discoursed of, and of whom in all the parish it is most expected he should build one: The old room where it is now kept is ready to drop down; such a one had a vast estate left him by his uncle, and a great deal of money besides; a thousand pounds would be nothing in his pocket.

At others, the great crowds are talked of that are seen at some churches, and the considerable sums that are gathered; from whence, by an easy transition, they go over to the abilities, the different talents and orthodoxy of clergymen. Dr. —— is a man of great parts and learning, and I believe he is very hearty for the church, but I do not like him for a charity sermon. There is no better man in the world than ——; he forces the money out of their pockets. When he preached last for our children, I am sure there was abundance of people that gave more than they intended when they came to church. I could see it in their faces, and rejoiced at it heartily.

Another charm that renders charity-schools so bewitching to the multitude, is the general opinion established among them, that they are not only actually beneficial to society as to temporal happiness, but likewise that Christianity enjoys and requires of us, we should erect them for our future welfare. They are earnestly and fervently recommended by the whole body of the clergy, and have more labour and eloquence laid out upon them than any other Christian duty; not by young persons, or poor scholars of little credit, but the most learned of our prelates, and the most eminent for orthodoxy, even those who do not often fatigue themselves on any other occasion. As to religion, there is no doubt but they know what is chiefly required of us, and consequently the most necessary to salvation: and as to the world, who should understand the interest of the kingdom better than the wisdom of the nation, of which the lords spiritual are so considerable a branch? The consequence of this sanction is, first, that those, who, with their purses or power, are instrumental to the increase or maintenance of these schools, are tempted to

place a greater merit in what they do, than otherwiſe they could ſuppoſe it deſerved. Secondly, that all the reſt, who either cannot, or will not anywiſe contribute towards them, have ſtill a very good reaſon why they ſhould ſpeak well of them; for though it be difficult, in things that interfere with our paſſions, to act well, it is always in our power to wiſh well, becauſe it is performed with little coſt. There is hardly a perſon ſo wicked among the ſuperſtitious vulgar, but in the liking he has for charity ſchools, he imagines to ſee a glimmering hope that it will make an atonement for his ſins, from the ſame principle as the moſt vicious comfort themſelves with the love and veneration they bear to the church; and the greateſt profligates find an opportunity in it to ſhow the rectitude of their inclinations at no expence.

But if all theſe were not inducements ſufficient to make men ſtand up in defence of the idol I ſpeak of, there is another that will infallibly bribe moſt people to be advocates for it. We all naturally love triumph, and whoever engages in this courſe is ſure of conqueſt, at leaſt in nine companies out of ten. Let him diſpute with whom he will, conſidering the ſpecioufneſs of the pretence, and the majority he has on his ſide, it is a caſtle, an impregnable fortreſs he can never be beat out of; and was the moſt ſober, virtuous man alive to produce all the arguments to prove the detriment charity-ſchools, at leaſt the multiplicity of them, do to ſociety, which I ſhall give hereafter, and ſuch as are yet ſtronger, againſt the greateſt ſcoundrel in the world, who ſhould only make uſe of the common cant of charity and religion, the vogue would be againſt the firſt, and himſelf loſe his cauſe in the opinion of the vulgar.

The riſe, then, and original of all the buſtle and clamour that is made throughout the kingdom in behalf of charity ſchools, is chiefly built on frailty and human paſſion, at leaſt it is more than poſſible that a nation ſhould have the ſame fondneſs, and feel the ſame zeal for them as are ſhown in ours, and yet not be prompted to it by any principle of virtue or religion. Encouraged by this conſideration, I ſhall, with the greater liberty, attack this vulgar error, and endeavour to make it evident, that far from being beneficial, this forced education is pernicious to the public, the welfare whereof, as it demands of us a regard ſuperior to all other laws and conſiderations, ſo it ſhall be the only apology I intend to make for differing from the preſent ſentiments of the

learned and reverend body of our divines, and venturing plainly to deny, what I have juſt now owned to be openly aſſerted by moſt of our biſhops, as well as inferior clergy. As our church pretends to no infallability even in ſpirituals, her proper province, ſo it cannot be an affront to her to imagine that ſhe may err in temporals, which are not ſo much under her immediate care. But to my taſk.

The whole earth being curſed, and no bread to be had but what we eat in the ſweat of our brows, vaſt toil muſt be undergone before man can provide himſelf with neceſſaries for his ſuſtenance, and the bare ſupport of his corrupt and defective nature, as he is a ſingle creature; but infinitely more to make life comfortable in a civil ſociety, where men are become taught animals, and great numbers of them have, by mutual compact, framed themſelves into a body politic; and the more man's knowledge increaſes in this ſtate, the greater will be the variety of labour required to make him eaſy. It is impoſſible that a ſociety can long ſubſiſt, and ſuffer many of its members to live in idleneſs, and enjoy all the eaſe and pleaſure they can invent, without having, at the ſame time, great multitudes of people that to make good this defect will condeſcend to be quite the reverſe, and by uſe and patience inure their bodies to work for others and themſelves beſides.

The plenty and cheapneſs of proviſions depends, in a great meaſure, on the price and value that is ſet upon thi labour, and conſequently the welfare of all ſocieties, even before they are tainted with foreign luxury, requires that it ſhould be performed by ſuch of their members as, in the firſt place, are ſturdy and robuſt, and never uſed to eaſe or idleneſs; and, in the ſecond, ſoon contented as to the neceſſaries of life; ſuch as are glad to take up with the coarſeſt manufacture in every thing they wear, and in their diet have no other aim than to feed their bodies when their ſtomachs prompt them to eat, and, with little regard to taſte or reliſh, refuſe no wholeſome nouriſhment that can be ſwallowed when men are hungry, or aſk any thing for their thirſt but to quench it.

As the greateſt part of the drudgery is to be done by daylight, ſo it is by this only that they actually meaſure the time of their labour without any thought of the hours they are employed, or the wearineſs they feel; and the hireling in the country muſt get up in the morning, not becauſe he has

reſted enough, but becauſe the ſun is going to riſe. This laſt article alone would be an intolerable hardſhip to grown people under thirty, who, during nonage, had been uſed to lie a-bed as long as they could ſleep: but all three together make up ſuch a condition of life, as a man more mildly educated would hardly chooſe, though it ſhould deliver him from a goal or a ſhrew.

If ſuch people there muſt be, as no great nation can be happy without vaſt numbers of them, would not a wiſe legiſlature cultivate the breed of them with all imaginable care, and provide againſt their ſcarcity as he would prevent the ſcarcity of proviſion itſelf? No man would be poor, and fatigue himſelf for a livelihood, if he could help it: The abſolute neceſſity all ſtand in for victuals and drink, and in cold climates for clothes and lodging, makes them ſubmit to any thing that can be bore with. If nobody did want, nobody would work; but the greateſt hardſhips are looked upon as ſolid pleaſures, when they keep a man from ſtarving.

From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that in a free nation, where ſlaves are not allowed of, the ſureſt wealth conſiſts in a multitude of laborious poor; for beſides that they are the never-failing nurſery of fleets and armies, without them there could be no enjoyment, and no product of any country could be valuable. To make the ſociety happy, and people eaſy under the meaneſt circumſtances, it is requiſite that great numbers of them ſhould be ignorant, as well as poor. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our deſires, and the fewer things a man wiſhes for, the more eaſily his neceſſities may be ſupplied.

The welfare and felicity, therefore, of every ſtate and kingdom, require that the knowledge of the working poor ſhould be confined within the verge of their occupations, and never extended (as to things viſible), beyond what relates to their calling. The more a ſhepherd, a ploughman, or any other peaſant, knows of the world, and the things that are foreign to his labour or employment, the leſs fit he will be to go through the fatigues and hardſhips of it with cheerfulneſs and content.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic, are very neceſſary to thoſe whoſe buſineſs require ſuch qualifications; but where people's livelihood has no dependence on theſe arts, they are very pernicious to the poor, who are forced to get their daily bread by their daily labour. Few children make any

progreſs at ſchool, but, at the ſame time, they are capable of being employed in ſome buſineſs or other, ſo that every hour thoſe of poor people ſpend at their book is ſo much time loſt to the ſociety. Going to ſchool, in compariſon to working, is idleneſs, and the longer boys continue in this eaſy ſort of life, the more unfit they will be when grown up for downright labour, both as to ſtrength and inclination. Men who are to remain and end their days in a laborious, tireſome, and painful ſtation of life, the ſooner they are put upon it at firſt, the more patiently they will ſubmit to it for ever after. Hard labour, and the coarſeſt diet, are a proper puniſhment to ſeveral kinds of malefactors, but to impoſe either on thoſe that have not been uſed and brought up to both, is the greateſt cruelty, when there is no crime you can charge them with.

Reading and writing are not attained to without ſome labour of the brain and aſſiduity, and before people are tolerably verſed in either, they eſteem themſelves infinitely above thoſe who are wholly ignorant of them, often with ſo little juſtice and moderation, as if they were of another ſpecies. As all mortals have naturally an averſion to trouble and pains-taking, ſo we are all fond of, and apt to overvalue thoſe qualifications we have purchaſed at the expence of our eaſe and quiet for years together. Thoſe who ſpent a great part of their youth in learning to read, write, and cypher, expect, and not unjuſtly, to be employed where thoſe qualifications may be of uſe to them; the generality of them will look upon downright labour with the utmoſt contempt, I mean labour performed in the ſervice of others in the loweſt ſtation of life, and for the meaneſt conſideration. A man, who has had ſome education, may follow huſbandry by choice, and be diligent at the dirtieſt and moſt laborious work; but then the concern muſt be his own, and avarice, the care of a family, or ſome other preſſing motive, muſt put him upon it; but he will not make a good hireling, and ſerve a farmer for a pitiful reward; at leaſt he is not ſo fit for it as a day labourer that has always been employed about the plough and dung cart, and remembers not that ever he has lived otherwiſe.

When obſequiouſneſs and mean ſervices are required, we ſhall always obſerve that they are never ſo cheerfully nor ſo heartily performed, as from inferiors to ſuperiors; I mean inferiors not only in riches and quality, but likewiſe in

knowledge and underſtanding. A ſervant can have no unfeigned reſpect for his maſter, as ſoon as he has ſenſe enough to find out that he ſerves a fool. When we are to learn or to obey, we ſhall experience in ourſelves, that the greater opinion we have of the wiſdom and capacity of thoſe that are either to teach or command us, the greater deference we pay to their laws and inſtructions. No creatures ſubmit contentedly to their equals; and ſhould a horſe know as much as a man, I ſhould not deſire to be his rider.

Here I am obliged again to make a digreſſion, though I declare I never had a leſs mind to it than I have at this minute; but I ſee a thouſand rods in piſs, and the whole poſſe of diminutive pedants againſt me, for aſſaulting the Chriſt-croſs-row, and oppoſing the very elements of literature.

This is no panic fear, and the reader will not imagine my apprehenſions ill grounded, if he conſiders what an army of petty tyrants I have to cope with, that all either actually perſecute with birch, or elſe are ſoliciting for ſuch a preferment. For if I had no other adverſaries than the ſtarving wretches of both ſexes, throughout the kingdom of Great Britain, that from a natural antipathy to working, have a great diſlike to their preſent employment, and perceiving within a much ſtronger inclination to command than ever they felt to obey others, think themſelves qualified, and wiſh from their hearts to be maſters and miſtreſſes of charity ſchools, the number of my enemies would, by the moſt modeſt computation, amount to one hundred thouſand at leaſt.

Methinks I hear them cry out, that a more dangerous doctrine never was broached, and Popery is a fool to it, and aſk what brute of a Saracen it is that draws his ugly weapon for the deſtruction of learning. It is ten to one but they will indict me for endeavouring, by inſtigation of the prince of darkneſs, to introduce into theſe realms greater ignorance and barbarity, than ever nation was plunged into by Goths and Vandals ſince the light of the goſpel firſt appeared in the world. Whoever labours under the public odium, has always crimes laid to his charge he never was guilty of, and it will be ſuſpected that I have had a hand in obliterating the Holy Scriptures, and perhaps affirmed, that it was at my requeſt that the ſmall Bibles, publiſhed by patent in the year 1721, and chiefly made uſe of in charity ſchools, were, through badneſs of print and paper, rendered illegible; which yet I proteſt I am as innocent of as the child unborn. But I am in a thou-

ſand fears; the more I conſider my caſe, the worſe I like it, and the greateſt comfort I have is in my ſincere belief, that hardly any body will mind a word of what I ſay; or elſe, if ever the people ſuſpected that what I write would be of any weight to any conſiderable part of the ſociety, I ſhould not have the courage barely to think on all the trades I ſhould diſoblige; and I cannot but ſmile, when I reflect on the variety of uncouth ſufferings that would be prepared for me, if the puniſhment they would differently inflict upon me was emblematically to point at my crime. For if I was not ſuddenly ſtuck full of uſeleſs pen knives up to the hilts, the company of ſtationers would certainly take me in hand, and either have me buried alive in their hall, under a great heap of primers and ſpelling-books, they would not be able to ſell; or elſe ſend me up againſt tide to be bruiſed to death in a paper mill, that would be obliged to ſtand ſtill a week upon my account. The ink-makers, at the ſame time, would, for the public good, offer to choke me with aſtringents, or drown me in the black liquor that would be left upon their hands; which, if they joined ſtock, might eaſily be performed in leſs than a month; and if I ſhould eſcape the cruelty of theſe united bodies, the reſentment of a private monopoliſt would be as fatal to me, and I ſhould ſoon find myſelf pelted and knocked on the head with little ſquat Bibles claſped in braſs, and ready armed for miſchief, that, charitable learning ceaſing, would be fit for nothing but unopened to fight with, and exerciſes truly polemic.

The digreſſion I ſpoke of juſt now, is not the fooliſh trifle that ended with the laſt paragraph, and which the grave critic, to whom all mirth is unſeaſonable, will think very impertinent; but a ſerious apologetical one I am going to make out of hand, to clear myſelf from having any deſign againſt arts and ſciences, as ſome heads of colleges and other careful preſervers of human learning might have apprehended, upon ſeeing ignorance recommended as a neceſſary ingredient in the mixture of civil ſociety.

In the firſt place, I would have near double the number of profeſſors in every univerſity of what there is now. Theology with us is generally well provided but the two other faculties have very little to boaſt of, eſpecially phyſic. Every branch of that art ought to have two or three profeſſors, that would take pains to communicate their ſkill and knowledge to others. In public lectures, a vain man has great op-

portunities to ſet off his parts, but private inſtructions are more uſeful to ſtudents. Pharmacy, and the knowledge of the ſimples, are as neceſſary as anatomy or the hiſtory of diſeaſes: it is a ſhame, that when men have taken their degree, and are by authority intruſted with the lives of the ſubject, they ſhould be forced to come to London to be acquainted with the Materia Medica, and the compoſition of medicines, and receive inſtructions from others that never had univerſity education themſelves; it is certain, that in the city I named, there is ten times more opportunity for a man to improve himſelf in anatomy, botany, pharmacy, and the practice of phyſic, than at both univerſities together. What has an oil ſhop to do with ſilks; or who would look for hams and pickles at a mercers? Where things are well managed, hoſpitals are made as ſubſervient to the advancement of ſtudents in the art of phyſic, as they are to the recovery of health in the poor.

Good ſenſe ought to govern men in learning as well as in trade: no man ever bound his ſon apprentice to a goldſmith to make him a linen draper; then why ſhould he have a divine for his tutor to become a lawyer or a phyſician? It is true, that the languages, logic and philoſophy, ſhould be the firſt ſtudies in all the learned profeſſions; but there is ſo little help for phyſic in our univerſities that are ſo rich, and where ſo many idle people are well paid for eating and drinking, and being magnificently, as well as commodiouſly lodged, that bar books, and what is common to all the three faculties, a man may as well qualify himſelf at Oxford or Cambridge to be a Turkey merchant, as he can to be a phyſician; which is, in my humble opinion, a great ſign that ſome part of the great wealth they are poſſeſſed of is not ſo well applied as it might be.

Profeſſors ſhould, beſides their ſtipends allowed them by the public, have gratifications from every ſtudent they teach, that ſelf-intereſt, as well as emulation and the love of glory, might ſpur them on to labour and aſſiduity. When a man excels in any one ſtudy or part of learning, and is qualified to teach others, he ought to be procured, if money will purchaſe him, without regarding what party, or indeed what country or nation he is of, whether black or white. Univerſities ſhould be public marts for all manner of literature, as your annual fairs, that are kept at Leipſic, Frankfort, and other places in Germany, are for different wares

and merchandiſes, where no difference is made between natives and foreigners, and which men reſort to from all parts of the world with equal freedom and equal privilege.

From paying the gratifications I ſpoke of, I would excuſe all ſtudents deſigned for the miniſtry of the goſpel. There is no faculty ſo immediately neceſſary to the goverment of a nation as that of theolgy, and as we ought to have great numbers of divines for the ſervice of this iſland, I would not have the meaner people diſcouraged from bringing up their children to that function. For though wealthy men, if they have many ſons, ſometimes make one of them a clergyman, as we ſee even perſons of quality take up holy orders, and there are likewiſe people of good ſenſe, eſpecially divines, that from a principle of prudence bring up their children to that profeſſion, when they are morally aſſured that they have friends or intereſt enough, and ſhall be able, either by a good fellowſhip at the univerſity, advowſons, or other means to procure them a livelihood: but theſe produce not the large number of divines that are yearly ordained, and for the bulk of the clergy, we are indebted to another original.

Among the middling people of all trades there are bigots who have a ſuperſtitious awe for a gown and caſſoc: of theſe there are multitudes that feel an ardent deſire of having a ſon promoted to the miniſtry of the goſpel, without conſidering what is to become of them afterwards; and many a kind mother in this kingdom, without conſulting her own circumſtances or her child's capacity, tranſported with this laudable wiſh, is daily feaſting on this pleaſing thought, and often before her ſon is twelve years old, mixing maternal love with devotion, throws herſelf into ecſtaſies and tears of ſatisfaction, by reflecting on the future enjoyment ſhe is to receive from ſeeing him ſtand in a pulpit, and, with her own ears, hearing him preach the word of God. It is to this religious zeal, or at leaſt the human frailties that paſs for and repreſent it, that we owe the great plenty of poor ſcholars the nation enjoys. For, conſidering the inequality of livings, and the ſmallneſs of benefices up and down the kingdom, without this happy diſpoſition in parents of ſmall fortune, we could not poſſibly be furniſhed from any other quarter with proper perſons for the miniſtry, to attend all the cures of ſouls, ſo pitifully provided for, that no mortal could live upon them that had been educated in any tolerable plenty, unleſs he was poſſeſſed of real virtue, which

it is fooliſh and indeed injurious, we ſhould more expect from the clergy than we generally find it in the laity.

The great care I would take to promote that part of learning which is more immediately uſeful to ſociety, ſhould not make me neglect the more curious and polite, but all the liberal arts, and every branch of literature ſhould be encouraged throughout the kingdom, more than they are, if my wiſhing could do it. In every county, there ſhould be one or more large ſchools, erected at the public charge, for Latin and Greek, that ſhould be divided into ſix or more claſſes, with particular maſters in each of them. The whole ſhould be under the care and inſpection of ſome men of letters in authority, who would not only be titular governors, but actually take pains at leaſt twice a-year, in hearing every claſs thoroughly examined by the maſter of it, and not content themſelves with judging of the progreſs the ſcholars had made for the themes and other exerciſes that had been made out of their ſight.

At the ſame time, I would diſcharge and hinder the multiplicity of thoſe petty ſchools, that never would have had any exiſtence had the maſters of them not been extremely indigent. It is a vulgar error, that nobody can ſpell or write Engliſh well without a little ſmatch of Latin. This is upheld by pedants for their own intereſt, and by none more ſtrenuouſly maintained than ſuch of them as are poor ſcholars in more than one ſenſe; in the mean time it is an abominable falſehood. I have known, and I am ſtill acquainted with ſeveral, and ſome of the fair ſex, that never learned any Latin, and yet kept to ſtrict orthogragphy, and write admirable good ſenſe; where, on the other hand, every body may meet with the ſcriblings of pretended ſcholars, at leaſt ſuch as went to a grammer ſchool for ſeveral years, that have grammar faults and are ill ſpelled. The underſtanding of Latin thoroughly, is highly neceſſary to all that are deſigned for any of the learned profeſſions, and I would have no gentleman without literature; even thoſe who are to be brought up attorneys, ſurgeons, and apothecaries, ſhould be much better verſed in that language than generally they are; but to youth, who afterwards are to get a livelihood in trades and callings in which Latin is not daily wanted, it is of no uſe, and the learning of it an evident loſs of juſt ſo much time and money as are beſtowed upon it. When men come into buſineſs, what was taught them of it, in thoſe

petty ſchools is either ſoon forgot, or only fit to make them impertinent, and often very troubleſome in company. Few men can forbear valuing themſelves on any knowledge they had once acquired, even after they have loſt it; and, unleſs they are very modeſt and diſcreet, the undigeſted ſcraps which ſuch people commonly remember of Latin, ſeldom fail of rendering them, at one time or other, ridiculous to thoſe who underſtand it.

Reading and writing I would treat as we do muſic and dancing, I would not hinder them nor force them upon the ſociety: as long as there was any thing to be got by them, there would be maſters enough to teach them; but nothing ſhould be taught for nothing but at church: and here I would exclude even thoſe who might be deſigned for the miniſtry of the goſpel; for, if parents are ſo miſerably poor that they cannot afford their children theſe firſt elements of learning, it is impudence in them to aſpire any further.

It would encourage, likewiſe, the lower ſort of people to give their children this part of education, if they could ſee them preferred to thoſe of idle ſots or ſorry rake-hells, that never knew what it was to provide a rag for their brats but by begging. But now, when a boy or a girl are wanted for any ſmall ſervice, we reckon it a duty to employ our charity children before any other. The education of them looks like a reward for being vicious and unactive, a benefit commonly beſtowed on parents, who deſerve to be puniſhed for ſhamefully neglecting their families. In one place you may hear a raſcal half drunk, damning himſelf, call for the other pot, and as a good reaſon for it, add, that his boy is provided for in clothes, and has his ſchooling for nothing: In another you ſhall ſee a poor woman in great neceſſity, whoſe child is to be taken care of, becauſe herſelf is a lazy ſlut, and never did any thing to remedy her wants in good earneſt, but bewailing them at a gin-ſhop.

If every body's children are well taught, who, by their own induſtry, can educate them at our univerſities, there will be men of learning enough to ſupply this nation and ſuch another; and reading, writing, or arithmetic, would never be wanting in the buſineſs that requires them, though none were to learn them but ſuch whoſe parents could be at the charge of it. It is not with letters as it is with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, that they may not be purchaſed with money; and bought wit, if we believe the proverb, is none of the worſt.

I thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much of learning, to obviate the clamours of the enemies to truth and fair dealing, who, had I not ſo amply explained myſelf on this head, would have repreſented me as a mortal foe to all literature and uſeful knowledge, and a wicked advocate for univerſal ignorance and ſtupidity. I ſhall now make good my promiſe, of anſwering what I know the well-wiſhers to charity ſchools would object againſt me, by ſaying that they brought up the children under their care, to warrantable and laborious trades, and not to idleneſs as I did inſinuate.

I have ſufficiently ſhowed already, why going to ſchool was idleneſs if compared to working, and exploded this ſort of education in the children of the poor, becauſe it incapacitates them ever after for downright labour, which is their proper province, and, in every civil ſociety, a portion they ought not to repine or grumble at, if exacted from them with diſcretion and humanity. What remains, is, that I ſhould ſpeak as to their putting them out to trades, which I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate to be deſtructive to the harmony of a nation, and an impertinent intermeddling with what few of theſe governors know any thing of.

In order to this, let us examine into the nature of ſocieties, and what the compound ought to conſiſt of, if we would raiſe it to as high a degree of ſtrength, beauty, and perfection, as the ground we are to do it upon will let us. The variety of ſervices that are required to ſupply the luxurious and wanton deſires, as well as real neceſſities of man, with all their ſubordinate callings, is in ſuch a nation as ours prodigious; yet it is certain that though the number of thoſe ſeveral occupations be exceſſively great, it is far from being infinite; if you add one more than is required, it muſt be ſuperfluous. If a man had a good ſtock, and the beſt ſhop in Cheapſide to ſell turbants in, he would be ruined; and if Demetrius, or any other ſilverſmith, made nothing but Diana's ſhrines, he would not get his bread, now the worſhip of that goddeſs is out of faſhion. As it is folly to ſet up trades that are not wanted, ſo what is next to it is to increaſe in any one trade, the numbers beyond what are required. As things are managed with us, it would be prepoſterous to have as many brewers as there are bakers, or as many woollen-drapers as there are ſhoemakers. This proportion as to numbers, in every trade, finds itſelf, and is never better kept than when nobody meddles or interferes with it.

People that have children to educate that muſt get their livelihood, are always conſulting and deliberating what trade or calling they are to bring them up to, until they are fixed; and thouſands think on this, that hardly think at all on any thing elſe. Firſt, they confine themſelves to their circumſtances, and he that can give but ten pounds with his ſon muſt not look out for a trade, where they aſk an hundred with an apprentice; but the next they think on, is always which will be the moſt advantageous; if there be a calling where at that time people are more generally employed than they are in any other in the ſame reach, there are preſently half a ſcore fathers ready to ſupply it with their ſons. Therefore the greateſt care moſt companies have, is about the regulation of the number of apprentices. Now, when all trades complain, and perhaps juſtly, that they are overſtocked, you manifeſtly injure that trade, to which you add one member more than would flow from the nature of ſociety. Beſides that, the governors of charity ſchools do not deliberate ſo much what trade is the beſt, but what tradeſmen they can get that will take the boys, with ſuch a ſum; and few men of ſubſtance and experience will have any thing to do with theſe children; they are afraid of a hundred inconveniencies from the neceſſitous parents of them: ſo that they are bound, at leaſt moſt commonly, either to ſots and neglectful maſters, or elſe ſuch as are very needy and do not care what becomes of their apprentices, after they have received the money; by which it ſeems as if we ſtudied nothing more than to have a perpetual nurſery for charity ſchools.

When all trades and handicrafts are overſtocked, it is a certain ſign there is a fault in the management of the whole; for it is impoſſible there ſhould be too many people if the country is able to feed them. Are proviſions dear? Whoſe fault is that, as long as you have ground untilled and hands unemployed? But I ſhall be anſwered, that to increaſe plenty, muſt at long-run undo the farmer, or leſſen the rents all over England. To which I reply, that what the huſbandman complains of moſt, is what I would redreſs: the greateſt grievance of farmers, gardners, and others, where hard labour is required, and dirty work to be done, is, that they cannot get ſervants for the ſame wages they uſed to have them at. The day-labourer grumbles at ſixteen pence to do no other drudgery, than what thirty years ago his grandfather did cheerfully for half the money. As to the rents, it is impoſ-

ſible they ſhould fall while you increaſe your numbers; but the price of proviſions, and all labour in general, muſt fall with them, if not before; and a man of a hundred and fifty pounds a-year, has no reaſon to complain that his income is reduced to one hundred. if he can buy as much for that one hundred as before he could have done for two.

There is no intrinſic worth in money, but what is alterable with the times; and whether a guinea goes for twenty pounds or for a ſhilling, it is (as I have already hinted before) the labour of the poor, and not the high and low value that is ſet on gold or ſilver, which all the comforts of life muſt ariſe from. It is in our power to have a much greater plenty than we enjoy, if agriculture and fiſhery were taken care of, as they might be; but we are ſo little capable of increaſing our labour, that we have hardly poor enough to do what is neceſſary to make us ſubſiſt. The proportion of the ſociety is ſpoiled, and the bulk of the nation, which ſhould every where conſiſt of labouring poor, that are unacquainted with every thing but their work, is too little for the other parts. In all buſineſs where downright labour is ſhunned or over-paid, there is plenty of people. To one merchant you have ten book keepers, or at leaſt pretenders; and every where in the country the farmer wants hands. Aſk for a footman that for ſome time has been in gentlemen's families, and you will get a dozen that are all butlers. You may have chamber-maids by the ſcore, but you cannot get a cook under extravagant wages.

Nobody will do the dirty ſlaviſh work, that can help it. I do not diſcommend them; but all theſe things ſhow, that the people of the meaneſt rank, know too much to be ſerviceable to us. Servants require more than maſters and miſtreſſes can afford; and what madneſs is it to encourage them in this, by induſtriouſly increaſing at our coſt, that knowledge, which they will be ſure to make us pay for over again! And it is not only that thoſe who are educated at our own expence, encroach upon us, but the raw ignorant country wenches and boobily fellows that can do, and are good for nothing, impoſe upon us likewiſe. The ſcarcity of ſervants occaſioned by the education of the firſt, gives a handle to the latter of advancing their price, and demanding what ought only to be given to ſervants that underſtand their buſineſs, and have moſt of the good qualities that can be required in them. There is no place in the world where there are more clever

fellows to look at, or to do an errand, than ſome of our foot-men; but what are they good for in the main? The greateſt part of them are rogues, and not to be truſted; and if they are honeſt, half of them are ſots, and will get drunk three or four times a week. The ſurly ones are generally quarrelſome, and valuing their manhood beyond all other conſiderations, care not what clothes they ſpoil, or what diſappointments they may occaſion, when their proweſs is in queſtion. Thoſe who are good-natured, are generally ſad whore-maſters, that are ever running after the wenches, and ſpoil all the maid-ſervants they come near. Many of them are guilty of all theſe vices, whoring, drinking, quarreling, and yet ſhall have all their faults overlooked and bore with, becauſe they are men of good mien and humble addreſs, that know how to wait on gentlemen; which is an unpardonable folly in maſters, and generally ends in the ruin of ſervants.

Some few there are, that are not addicted to any of theſe failings, and underſtand their duty beſides; but as theſe are rarities, ſo there is not one in fifty but what over-rates himſelf; his wages muſt be extravagant, and you can never have done giving him; every thing in the houſe is his perquiſite, and he will not ſtay with you unleſs his vails are ſufficient to maintain a middling family; and though you had taken him from the dunghill, out of an hoſpital, or a priſon, you ſhall never keep him longer than he can make of his place, what in his high eſtimation of himſelf he ſhall think he deſerves; nay, the beſt and moſt civilized, that never were ſaucy and impertinent, will leave the moſt indulgent maſter, and, to get handſomely away, frame fifty excuſes, and tell downright lies, as ſoon as they can mend themſelves. A man, who keeps an half-crown or twelve-penny ordinary, looks not more for money from his cuſtomers, than a foot-man does from every gueſt that dines or ſups with his maſter; and I queſtion whether the one does not often think a ſhilling or half-a-crown, according to the quality of the perſon, his due as much as the other.

A houſekeeper, who cannot afford to make many entertainments, and does not often invite people to his table, can have no creditable man-ſervant, and is forced to take up with ſome country booby, or other awkward fellow, who will likewiſe give him the ſlip, as ſoon as he imagines himſelf fit for any other ſervice, and is made wiſer by his raſcally companions. All noted eating-houſes, and places that many

gentlemen reſort to for diverſion or buſineſs, more eſpecially the precincts of Weſtminſter-hall, are the great ſchools for ſervants, where the dulleſt fellows may have their underſtandings improved; and get rid at once of their ſtupidity and their innocence. They are the academies for footmen, where public lectures are daily read, on all ſciences of low debauchery, by the experienced profeſſors of them; and ſtudents are inſtruſted in above ſeven hundred illiberal arts, how to cheat, impoſe upon, and find out the blind ſide of their maſters, with ſo much application, that in few years they become graduates in iniquity. Young gentlemen and others, that are not thoroughly verſed in the world, when they get ſuch knowing ſharpers in their ſervice, are commonly indulging above meaſure; and for fear of diſcovering their want of experience, hardly dare to contradict or deny them any thing, which is often the reaſon, that by allowing them unreaſonable privileges, they expoſe their ignorance when they are moſt endeavouring to conceal it.

Some perhaps will lay the things I complain of to the charge of luxury, of which I ſaid that it could do no hurt to a rich nation, if the imports never did exceed the exports; but I do not think this imputation juſt, and nothing ought to be ſcored on the account of luxury, that is downright the effect of folly. A man may be very extravagant in indulging his eaſe and his pleaſure, and render the enjoyment of the world as operoſe and expenſive as they can be made, if he can afford it, and, at the ſame time, ſhow his good ſenſe in every thing about him: This he cannot be ſaid to do, if he induſtriouſly renders his people incapable of doing him that ſervice he expects from them. It is too much money, exceſſive wages, and unreaſonable vails, that ſpoil ſervants in England. A man may have five and twenty horſes in his ſtables, without being guilty of folly, if it ſuits with the reſt of his circumſtances; but if he keeps but one, and overfeeds it to ſhow his wealth, he is a fool for his pains. Is it not madneſs to ſuffer, that ſervants ſhould take three, and others five per cent. of what they pay to tradeſmen for their maſters, as is ſo well known to watchmakers, and others that ſell toys, ſuperfluous nicknacks, and other curioſities, if they deal with people of quality and faſhionable gentlemen, that are above telling their own money? If they ſhould accept of a preſent when offered, it might be connived at, but it is an unpardonable impudence that they ſhould claim it as

their due, and contend for it if refuſed. Thoſe who have all the neceſſaries of life provided for, can have no occaſion for money, but what does them hurt as ſervants, unleſs they were to hoard it up for age or ſickneſs, which, among our ſkip-kennels, is not very common, and even then it makes them ſaucy and inſupportable.

I am credibly informed, that a parcel of footmen are arrived to that height of inſolence, as to have entered into a ſociety together, and made laws, by which they oblige themſelves not to ſerve for leſs than ſuch a ſum, nor carry burdens, or any bundle or parcel above a certain weight, not exceeding two or three pounds, with other regulations directly oppoſite to the intereſt of thoſe they ſerve, and altogether deſtructive to the uſe they were deſigned for. If any of them be turned away for ſtrictly adhering to the orders of this honourable corporation, he is taken care of till another ſervice is provided for him; and there is no money wanting at any time to commence and maintain a law-ſuit againſt any maſter that ſhall pretend to ſtrike, or offer any other injury to his gentleman footman, contrary to the ſtatutes of their ſociety. If this be true, as I have reaſon to believe it is, and they are ſuffered to go on in conſulting and providing for their own eaſe and conveniency any further, we may expect quickly to ſee the French comedy, *Le Maître le Valet* acted in good earneſt in moſt families, which, if not redreſſed in a little time, and thoſe footmen increaſe their company to the number it is poſſible they may, as well as aſſemble when they pleaſe with impunity, it will be in their power to make a tragedy of it whenever they have a mind to it.

But ſuppoſe thoſe apprehenſions frivolous and groundleſs, it is undeniable that ſervants, in general, are daily encroaching upon maſters and miſtreſſes, and endeavouring to be more upon the level with them. They not only ſeem ſolicitous to aboliſh the low dignity of their condition, but have already conſiderably raiſed it in the common eſtimation from the original meanneſs which the public welfare requires it ſhould always remain in. I do not ſay that theſe things are altogether owing to charity ſchools, there are other evils they may be partly aſcribed to. London is too big for the country, and, in ſeveral reſpects, we are wanting to ourſelves. But if a thouſand faults were to concur before the inconveniences could be produced we labour under, can any man doubt, who will conſider what I have ſaid, that charity

ſchools are acceſſary, or, at leaſt, that they are more likely to create and increaſe than to leſſen or redreſs thoſe complaints?

The only thing of weight, then, that can be ſaid in their behalf is, that ſo many thouſand children are educated by them in the Chriſtian faith, and the principles of the church of England. To demonſtrate that this is not a ſufficient plea for them, I muſt deſire the reader, as I hate repetitions, to look back on what I have ſaid before, to which I ſhall add, that whatever is neceſſary to ſalvation, and requiſite for poor labouring people to know concerning religion, that children learn at ſchool, may fully as well either by preaching or catechizing be taught at church, from which, or ſome other place of worſhip, I would not have the meaneſt of a pariſh that is able to walk to it be abſent on Sundays. It is the Sabbath, the moſt uſeful day in ſeven, that is ſet apart for divine ſervice and religious exerciſe, as well as reſting from bodily labour; and it is a duty incumbent on all magiſtrates, to take particular care of that day. The poor more eſpecially and their children, ſhould be made to go to church on it, both in the fore and afternoon, becauſe they have no time on any other. By precept and example they ought to be encouraged and uſed to it from their very infancy; the wilful neglect of it ought to be counted ſcandalous, and if downright compulſion to what I urge might ſeem too harſh, and perhaps impracticable, all diverſions at leaſt ought ſtrictly to be prohibited, and the poor hindered from every amuſement abroad that might allure or draw them from it.

Where this care is taken by the magiſtrates, as far as it lies in their power, miniſters of the goſpel may inſtil into the ſmalleſt capacities, more piety and devotion, and better principles of virtue and religion, than charity ſchools ever did or ever will produce; and thoſe who complain, when they have ſuch opportunities, that they cannot imbue their pariſhioners with ſufficient knowledge, of what they ſtand in need of as Chriſtians, without the aſſiſtance of reading and writing, are either very lazy or very ignorant and undeſerving themſelves.

That the moſt knowing are not the moſt religious, will be evident if we make a trial between people of different abilities, even in this juncture, where going to church is not made ſuch an obligation on the poor and illiterate, as it might be. Let us pitch upon a hundred poor men, the firſt we can light on, that are above forty, and were brought up to hard la-

bour from their infancy, such as never went to school at all, and always lived remote from knowledge and great towns: Let us compare to these an equal number of very good scholars, that shall all have had university education, and be, if you will, half of them divines, well versed in philology and polemic learning; then let us impartially examine into the lives and conversations of both, and I dare engage that among the first, who can neither read nor write, we shall meet with more union and neighbourly love, less wickedness and attachment to the world, more content of mind, more innocence, sincerity, and other good qualities that conduce to the public peace and real felicity, than we shall find among the latter, where, on the contrary, we may be assured of the height of pride and insolence, eternal quarrels and dissensions, irreconcileable hatreds, strife, envy, calumny, and other vices, destructive to mutual concord, which the illiterate labouring poor are hardly ever tainted with, to any considerable degree.

I am very well persuaded, that what I have said in the last paragraph, will be no news to most of my readers; but if it be truth, why should it be stifled, and why must our concern for religion be eternally made a cloak to hide our real drifts and worldly intentions? Would both parties agree to pull off the mask, we should soon discover that whatever they pretend to, they aim at nothing so much in charity schools, as to strengthen their party; and that the great sticklers for the church, by educating children in the principles of religion, mean inspiring them with a superlative veneration for the clergy of the church of England, and a strong aversion and immortal animosity against all that dissent from it. To be assured of this, we are but to mind on the one hand, what divines are most admired for their charity sermons, and most fond to preach them; and on the other, whether of late years we have had any riots or party scuffles among the mob, in which the youth of a famous hospital in this city, were not always the most forward ringleaders.

The grand asserters of liberty, who are ever guarding themselves, and skirmishing against arbitrary power, often when they are in no danger of it, are generally speaking, not very superstitious, nor seem to lay great stress on any modern apostleship: yet some of these likewise speak up loudly for charity schools; but what they expect from them has no relation to religion or morality: they only look upon them

as the proper means to deſtroy, and diſappoint the power of the prieſts over the laity. Reading and writing increaſe knowledge; and the more men know, the better they can judge for themſelves, and they imagine that, if knowledge could be rendered univerſal, people could not be prieſt-rid, which is the thing they fear the moſt.

The firſt, I confeſs, it is very poſſible will get their aim. But ſure wiſe men that are not red-hot for a party, or bigots to the prieſts, will not think it worth while to ſuffer ſo many inconveniencies, as charity ſchools may be the occaſion of, only to promote the ambition and power of the clergy. To the other I would anſwer, that if all thoſe who are educated at the charge of their parents or relations, will but think for themſelves, and refuſe to have their reaſon impoſed upon by the prieſts, we need not be concerned for what the clergy will work upon the ignorant that have no education at all. Let them make the moſt of them: conſidering the ſchools we have for thoſe who can and do pay for learning, it is ridiculous to imagine that the aboliſhing of charity ſchools would be a ſtep towards any ignorance that could be prejudicial to the nation.

I would not be thought cruel, and am well aſſured if I know any thing of myſelf, that I abhor inhumanity; but to be compaſſionate to exceſs, where reaſon forbids it, and the general intereſt of the ſociety requires ſteadineſs of thought and reſolution, is an unpardonable weakneſs. I know it will be ever urged againſt me, that it is barbarous the children of the poor ſhould have no opportunity of exerting themſelves, as long as God has not debarred them from natural parts and genius, more than the rich. But I cannot think this is harder, than it is that they ſhould not have money, as long as they have the ſame inclinations to ſpend as others. That great and uſeful men have ſprung from hoſpitals, I do not deny; but it is likewiſe very probable, that when they were firſt employed, many as capable as themſelves not brought up in hoſpitals were neglected, that with the ſame good fortune would have done as well as they, if they had been made uſe of inſtead of them.

There are many examples of women that have excelled in learning, and even in war, but this is no reaſon we ſhould bring them all up to Latin and Greek, or elſe military diſcipline, inſtead of needle-work and houſewifery. But there is no ſcarcity of ſprightlineſs or natural parts among us, and

no ſoil and climate has human creatures to boaſt of better formed, either inſide or outſide, than this iſland generally produces. But it is not wit, genius, or docility we want, but diligence, application, and aſſiduity.

Abundance of hard and dirty labour is to be done, and coarſe living is to be complied with: where ſhall we find a better nurſery for theſe neceſſities than the children of the poor? none, certainly, are nearer to it or fitter for it: Beſides that the things I called hardſhips, neither ſeem nor are ſuch to thoſe who have been brought up to them, and know no better. There is not a more contented people among us, than thoſe who work the hardeſt, and are the leaſt acquainted with the pomp and delicacies of the world.

Theſe are truths that are undeniable; yet I know few people will be pleaſed to have them divulged; what makes them odious, is an unreaſonable vein of petty reverence for the poor, that runs through moſt multitudes, and more particularly in this nation, and ariſes from a mixture of pity, folly, and ſuperſtition. It is from a lively ſenſe of this compound, that men cannot endure to hear or ſee any thing ſaid or acted againſt the poor; without conſidering how juſt the one, or inſolent the other. So a beggar muſt not be beat, though he ſtrikes you firſt. Journeymen tailors go to law with their maſters, and are obſtinate in a wrong cauſe, yet they muſt be pitied; and murmuring weavers muſt be relieved, and have fifty ſilly things done to humour them, though in the midſt of their poverty they inſult their betters, and, on all occaſions, appear to be more prone to make holidays and riots than they are to working or ſobriety.

This puts me in mind of our wool, which, conſidering the poſture of our affairs, and the behaviour of the poor, I ſincerely believe, ought not, upon any account, to be carried abroad: but if we look into the reaſon, why ſuffering it to be fetched away is ſo pernicious, our heavy complaint and lamentations that it is exported can be no great credit to us. Conſidering the mighty and manifold hazards that muſt be run before it can be got off the coaſt, and ſafely landed beyond ſea, it is manifeſt that the foreigners, before they can work our wool, muſt pay more for it very conſiderably, than what we can have it for at home. Yet, notwithſtanding this great difference in the prime coſt, they can afford to ſell the manufactures made of it cheaper at foreign markets than ourſelves. This is the diſaſter we groan under, the intolerable miſchief, without which the exportation of that com-

modity could be no greater prejudice to us than that of tin or lead, as long as our hands were fully employed, and we had ſtill wool to ſpare.

There is no people yet come to higher perfection in the woollen manufacture, either as to diſpatch or goodneſs of work, at leaſt in the moſt conſiderable branches, than ourſelves; and therefore what we complain of can only depend on the difference in the management of the poor, between other nations and ours. If the labouring people in one country will work twelve hours in a day, and ſix days in a week, and in another they are employed but eight hours in a day, and not above four days in a week the one is obliged to have nine hands for what the other does with four. But if, moreover, the living, the food, and raiment, and what is conſumed by the workmen of the induſtrious, coſts but half the money of what is expended among an equal number of the other, the conſequence muſt be, that the firſt will have the work of eighteen men for the ſame price as the other gives for the work of four. I would not inſinuate, neither do I think, that the difference, either in diligence or neceſſaries of life between us and any neighbouring nation, is near ſo great as what I ſpeak of, yet I would have it conſidered, that half of that difference, and much leſs, is ſufficient to over-balance the diſadvantage they labour under as to the price of wool.

Nothing to me is more evident, than that no nation in any manufacture whatever can underſell their neighbours with whom they are at beſt but equals as to ſkill and diſpatch, and the conveniency for working, more eſpecially when the prime coſt of the thing to be manufactured is not in their favour, unleſs they have proviſions, and whatever is relating to their ſuſtenance, cheaper, or elſe workmen that are either more aſſiduous, and will remain longer at their work, or be content with a meaner and coarſer way of living than thoſe of their neighbours. This is certain, that where numbers are equal, the more laborious people are, and the fewer hands the ſame quantity of work is performed by, the greater plenty there is in a country of the neceſſaries for life, the more conſiderable and the cheaper that country may render its exports.

It being granted, then, that abundance of work is to be done, the next thing which I think to be likewiſe undeniable, is, that the more cheerfully it is done the better, as well for

thoſe that perform it, as for the reſt of the ſociety. To be happy is to be pleaſed, and the leſs notion a man has of a better way of living, the more content he will be with his own; and, on the other hand, the greater a man's knowledge and experience is in the world, the more exquiſite the delicacy of his taſte, and the more conſummate judge he is of things in general, certainly the more difficult it will be to pleaſe him. I would not advance any thing that is barbarous or inhuman: but when a man enjoys himſelf, laughs and ſings, and in his geſture and behaviour ſhows me all the tokens of content and ſatisfaction, I pronounce him happy, and have nothing to do with his wit or capacity. I never enter into the reaſonableneſs of his mirth, at leaſt I ought not to judge of it by my own ſtandard, and argue from the effect which the thing that makes him merry would have upon me. At that rate, a man that hates cheeſe muſt call me fool for loving blue mold. *De guſtibus non eſt diſputandum* is as true in a metaphorical, as it is in the literal ſenſe; and the greater the diſtance is between people as to their condition, their circumſtances and manner of living, the leſs capable they are of judging of one anothers troubles or pleaſures.

Had the meaneſt and moſt uncivilized peaſant leave *incognito* to obſerve the greateſt king for a fortnight; though he might pick out ſeveral things he would like for himſelf, yet he would find a great many more, which, if the monarch and he were to change conditions, he would wiſh for his part to have immediately altered or redreſſed, and which with amazement he ſees the king ſubmit to. And again, if the ſovereign was to examine the peaſant in the ſame manner, his labour would be unſufferable; the dirt and ſqualor, his diet and amours, his paſtimes and recreations would be all abominable; but then what charms would he find in the other's peace of mind, the calmneſs and tranquillity of his ſoul? No neceſſity for diſſimulation with any of his family, or feigned affection to his mortal enemies; no wife in a foreign intereſt, no danger to apprehend from his children; no plots to unravel, no poiſon to fear; no popular ſtateſman at home, or cunning courts abroad to manage; no ſeeming patriots to bribe; no unſatiable favourite to gratify; no ſelfiſh miniſtry to obey; no divided nation to pleaſe, or fickle mob to humour, that would direct and interfere with his pleaſures.

Was impartial reaſon to be judge between real good and real evil, and a catalogue made accordingly, of the ſeveral delights and vexations differently to be met with in both ſta-

tions; I queſtion whether the condition of kings would be at all preferable to that of peaſants, even as ignorant and laborious as I ſeem to require the latter to be. The reaſon why the generality of people would rather be kings than peaſants, is firſt owing to pride and ambition, that is deeply riveted in human nature, and which to gratify, we daily ſee men undergo and deſpiſe the greateſt hazards and difficulties. Secondly, to the difference there is in the force with which our affection is wrought upon, as the objects are either material or ſpiritual. Things that immediately ſtrike our outward ſenſes, act more violently upon our paſſions than what is the reſult of thought, and the dictates of the moſt demonſtrative reaſon; and there is a much ſtronger bias to gain our liking or averſion in the firſt, than there is in the latter.

Having thus demonſtrated that what I urge could be no injury, or the leaſt diminution of happineſs to the poor, I leave it to the judicious reader, whether it is not more probable we ſhould increaſe our exports by the methods I hint at, than by ſitting ſtill and damning and ſinking our neighbours, for beating us at our own weapons; ſome of them out-ſelling us in manufactures made of our own product, which they dearly purchaſed, others growing rich in ſpite of diſtance and trouble, by the ſame fiſh which we neglect, though it is ready to jump into our mouths.

As by diſcouraging idleneſs with art and ſteadineſs, you may compel the poor to labour without force; ſo, by bringing them up in ignorance, you may inure them to real hardſhips, without being ever ſenſible themſelves that they are ſuch. By bringing them up in ignorance, I mean no more, as I have hinted long ago, than that, as to worldly affairs, their knowledge ſhould be confined within the verge of their own occupations, at leaſt that we ſhould not take pains to extend it beyond thoſe limits. When by theſe two engines we ſhall have made proviſions, and conſequently labour cheap, we muſt infallibly outſell our neighbours; and at the ſame time increaſe our numbers. This is the noble and manly way of encountering the rivals of our trade, and by dint of merit outdoing them at foreign markets.

To allure the poor, we make uſe of policy in ſome caſes with ſucceſs. Why ſhould we be neglectful of it in the moſt important point, when they make their boaſt that they will not live as the poor of other nations? If we cannot alter their reſolution, why ſhould we applaud the juſtneſs of their ſen-

timents againſt the common intereſt? I have often wondered formerly how an Engliſhman that pretended to have the honour and glory, as well as the welfare of his country at heart, could take delight in the evening to hear an idle tenant that owed him above a year's rent, ridicule the French for wearing wooden ſhoes, when in the morning he had had the mortification of hearing the great King William, that ambitious monarch, as well as able ſtateſman, openly own to the world, and with grief and anger in his looks, complain of the exorbitant power of France. Yet I do not recommend wooden ſhoes, nor do the maxims I would introduce require arbitrary power in one perſon. Liberty and property I hope may remain ſecured, and yet the poor be better employed than they are, though their children ſhould wear out their clothes by uſeful labour, and blacken them with country dirt for ſomething, inſtead of tearing them off their backs at play, and daubing them with ink for nothing.

There is above three or four hundred years work, for a hundred thouſand poor more than we have in this iſland. To make every part of it uſeful, and the whole thoroughly inhabited, many rivers are to be made navigable; canals to be cut in hundreds of places. Some lands are to be drained and ſecured from inundations for the future: abundance of barren ſoil is to be made fertile, and thouſands of acres rendered more beneficial, by being made more acceſſible. *Dii laboribus omnia vendunt.* There is no difficulty of this nature, that labour and patience cannot ſurmount. The higheſt mountains may be thrown into their valleys that ſtand ready to receive them; and bridges might be laid where now we would not dare to think of it. Let us look back on the ſtupendous works of the Romans, more eſpecially their highways and aqueducts. Let us conſider in one view the vaſt extent of ſeveral of their roads, how ſubſtantial they made them, and what duration they have been of; and in another a poor traveller that at every ten miles end is ſtopped by a turnpike, and dunned for a penny for mending the roads in the ſummer, with what every body knows will be dirt before the winter that ſucceeds is expired.

The conveniency of the public ought ever to be the public care, and no private intereſt of a town, or a whole country, ſhould ever hinder the execution of a project or contrivance that would manifeſtly tend to the improvement of the whole; and every member of the legiſlature, who knows his duty,

and would chooſe rather to act like a wiſe man, than curry favour with his neighbours, will prefer the leaſt benefit accruing to the whole kingdom, to the moſt viſible advantage of the place he ſerves for.

We have materials of our own, and want neither ſtone nor timber to do any thing; and was the money that people give uncompelled to beggars, who do not deſerve it, and what every houſekeeper is obliged to pay to the poor of his pariſh, that is otherwiſe employed or ill-applied, to be put together every year, it would make a ſufficient fund to keep a great many thouſands at work. I do not ſay this becauſe I think it practicable, but only to ſhow that we have money enough to ſpare, to employ vaſt multitudes of labourers; neither ſhould we want ſo much for it as we perhaps might imagine. When it is taken for granted, that a ſoldier, whoſe ſtrength and vigour is to be kept up at leaſt as much as any body's, can live upon ſixpence a-day, I cannot conceive the neceſſity of giving the greateſt part of the year, ſixteen and eighteen pence to a day-labourer.

The fearful and cautious people, that are ever jealous of their liberty, I know will cry out, that where the multitudes I ſpeak of ſhould be kept in conſtant pay, property and privileges would be precarious. But they might be anſwered, that ſure means might be found out, and ſuch regulations made, as to the hands in which to truſt the management and direction of theſe labourers, that it would be impoſſible for the prince, or any body elſe, to make an ill uſe of their numbers.

What I have ſaid in the four or five laſt paragraphs, I foreſee, will, with abundance of ſcorn, be laughed at by many of my readers, and at beſt be called building caſtles in the air; but whether that is my fault or theirs is a queſtion. When the public ſpirit has left a nation, they not only loſe their patience with it, and all thoughts of perſeverance, but become likewiſe ſo narrow-ſouled, that it is a pain for them even to think of things that are of uncommon extent, or require great length of time; and whatever is noble or ſublime in ſuch conjectures, is counted chimerical. Where deep ignorance is entirely routed and expelled, and low learning promiſcuouſly ſcattered on all the people, ſelf-love turns knowledge into cunning; and the more this laſt qualification prevails in any country, the more the people will fix all their cares, concern, and application, on the time preſent, without

regard of what is to come after them, or hardly ever thinking beyond the next generation.

But as cunning, according to my Lord Verulam, is but left-handed wiſdom; ſo a prudent legiſlator ought to provide againſt this diſorder of the ſociety, as ſoon as the ſymptoms of it appear, among which the following are the moſt obvious. Imaginary rewards are generally deſpiſed; every body is for turning the penny, and ſhort bargains; he that is diffident of every thing and believes nothing but what he ſees with his own eyes, is counted the moſt prudent; and in all their dealings, men ſeem to act from no other principle than that of the devil take the hindmoſt. Inſtead of planting oaks, that will require a hundred and fifty years before they are fit to be cut down, they build houſes with a deſign that they ſhall not ſtand above twelve or fourteen years. All heads run upon the uncertainty of things, and the viciſſitudes of human affairs. The mathematics become the only valuable ſtudy, and are made uſe of in every thing, even where it is ridiculous, and men ſeem to repoſe no greater truſt in Providence than they would in a broken merchant.

It is the buſineſs of the public to ſupply the defects of the ſociety, and take that in hand firſt which is moſt neglected by private perſons. Contraries are beſt cured by contraries, and therefore, as example is of greater efficacy than precept, in the amendment of national failings, the legiſlature ought to reſolve upon ſome great undertakings, that muſt be the work of ages as well as vaſt labour, and convince the world that they did nothing without an anxious regard to their lateſt poſterity. This will fix, or at leaſt help to ſettle, the volatile genius and fickle ſpirit of the kingdom; put us in mind that we are not born for ourſelves only, and be a means of rendering men leſs diſtruſtful, and inſpiring them with a true love for their country, and a tender affection for the ground itſelf, than which nothing is more neceſſary to aggrandize a nation. Forms of government may alter; religions and even languages may change, but Great Britain, or at leaſt (if that likewiſe might loſe its name) the iſland itſelf will remain, and in all human probability, laſt as long as any part of the globe. All ages have ever paid their kind acknowledgments to their anceſtors, for the benefits derived from them; and a Chriſtian who enjoys the multitude of fountains, and vaſt plenty of water to be met with in the city of St. Peter, is an ungrateful wretch if he never caſts a thank-

ful remembrance on old Pagan Rome, that took ſuch prodigious pains to procure it.

When this iſland ſhall be cultivated, and every inch of it made habitable and uſeful, and the whole the moſt convenient and agreeable ſpot upon earth, all the coſt and labour laid out upon it, will be gloriouſly repaid by the incenſe of them that ſhall come after us; and thoſe who burn with the noble zeal and deſire after immortality, and took ſuch care to improve their country, may reſt ſatisfied, that a thouſand and two thouſand years hence, they ſhall live in the memory and everlaſting praiſes of the future ages that ſhall then enjoy it.

Here I ſhould have concluded this rhapſody of thoughts; but ſomething comes in my head concerning the main ſcope and deſign of this eſſay, which is to prove the neceſſity there is for a certain portion of ignorance, in a well-ordered ſociety, that I muſt not omit, becauſe, by mentioning it, I ſhall make an argument on my ſide, of what, if I had not ſpoke of it, might eaſily have appeared as a ſtrong objection againſt me. It is the opinion of moſt people, and mine among the reſt, that the moſt commendable quality of the preſent Czar of Muſcovy, is his unwearied application, in raiſing his ſubjects from their native ſtupidity, and civilizing his nation: but then we muſt conſider it is what they ſtood in need of, and that not long ago the greateſt part of them were next to brute beaſts. In proportion to the extent of his dominions, and the multitudes he commands, he had not that number or variety of tradeſmen and artificers, which the true improvement of the country required, and therefore was in the right, in leaving no ſtone unturned to procure them. But what is that to us who labour under a contrary diſeaſe? Sound politics are to the ſocial body, what the art of medicine is to the natural, and no phyſician would treat a man in a lethargy as if he was ſick for want of reſt, or preſcribe in a dropſy what ſhould be adminiſtred in a diabetes. In ſhort, Ruſſia has too few knowing men, and Great Britain too many.

A

SEARCH

INTO THE

NATURE OF SOCIETY.

THE generality of moraliſts and philoſophers have hitherto agreed that there could be no virtue without ſelf-denial; but a late author, who is now much read by men of ſenſe, is of a contrary opinion, and imagines that men, without any trouble, or violence upon themſelves, may be naturally virtuous. He ſeems to require and expect goodneſs in his ſpecies, as we do a ſweet taſte in grapes and China oranges, of which, if any of them are ſour, we boldly pronounce that they are not come to that perfection their nature is capable of. This noble writer (for it is the Lord Shafteſbury I mean in his Characteriſtics) fancies, that as a man is made for ſociety, ſo he ought to be born with a kind affection to the whole, of which he is a part, and a propenſity to ſeek the welfare of it. In purſuance of this ſuppoſition, he calls every action performed with regard to the public good, Virtuous; and all ſelfiſhneſs, wholly excluding ſuch a regard, Vice. In reſpect to our ſpecies, he looks upon virtue and vice as permanent realities, that muſt ever be the ſame in all countries and all ages, and imagines that a man of ſound underſtanding, by following the rules of good ſenſe, may not only find out that *pulchrum et honeſtum* both in morality and the works of art and nature, but likewiſe govern himſelf, by his reaſon, with as much eaſe and readineſs as a good rider manages a well-taught horſe by the bridle.

The attentive reader, who peruſed the foregoing part of this book, will ſoon perceive that two ſyſtems cannot be more oppoſite than his Lordſhip's and mine. His notions I confeſs, are generous and refined: they are a high compliment to human-kind, and capable, by a little enthuſiaſm, of inſpiring us with the moſt noble ſentiments concerning the dignity of our exalted nature. What pity it is that they are not true. I would not advance thus much if I had not already demonſtrated, in almoſt ever page of this treatiſe, that the ſolidity of them is inconſiſtent with our daily experience.

But, to leave not the leaſt ſhadow of an objection that might be made unanſwered, I deſign to expatiate on ſome things which hitherto I have but ſlightly touched upon, in order to convince the reader, not only that the good and amiable qualities of men are not thoſe that make him beyond other animals a ſociable creature; but, moreover, that it would be utterly impoſſible, either to raiſe any multitudes into a populous, rich, and flouriſhing nation, or, when ſo raiſed, to keep and maintain them in that condition, without the aſſiſtance of what we call Evil, both natural and moral.

The better to perform what I have undertaken, I ſhall previouſly examine into the reality of the *pulchrum et honeſtum*, the τὸ καλὸν that the ancients have talked of ſo much: the meaning of this is to diſcuſs, whether there be a real worth and excellency in things, a pre-eminence of one above another; which every body will always agree to that well underſtands them; or, that there are few things, if any, that have the ſame eſteem paid them, and which the ſame judgment is paſſed upon in all countries and all ages. When we firſt ſet out in queſt of this intrinſic worth, and find one thing better than another, and a third better than that, and ſo on, we begin to entertain great hopes of ſucceſs; but when we meet with ſeveral things that are all very good or all very bad, we are puzzled, and agree not always with ourſelves, much leſs with others. There are different faults as well as beauties, that as modes and faſhions alter and men vary in their taſtes and humours, will be differently admired or diſapproved of.

Judges of painting will never diſagree in opinion, when a fine picture is compared to the daubing of a novice; but how ſtrangely have they differed as to the works of eminent maſters! There are parties among connoiſſeurs; and few of them agree in their eſteem as to ages and countries; and the beſt pictures bear not always the beſt prices: a noted original will be ever worth more than any copy that can be made of it by an unknown hand, though it ſhould be better. The value that is ſet on paintings depends not only on the name of the maſter, and the time of his age he drew them in, but likewiſe in a great meaſure on the ſcarcity of his works; but, what is ſtill more unreaſonable, the quality of the perſons in whoſe poſſeſſion they are, as well as the length of time they have been in great families; and if the Cartons, now at Hampton-Court, were done by a leſs famous hand than

that of Raphael, and had a private perſon for their owner, who would be forced to ſell them, they would never yield the tenth part of the money which, with all their groſs faults, they are now eſteemed to be worth.

Notwithſtanding all this, I will readily own, that the judgment to be made of painting might become of univerſal certainty, or at leaſt leſs alterable and precarious than almoſt any thing elſe. The reaſon is plain; there is a ſtandard to go by that always remains the ſame. Painting is an imitation of nature, a copying of things which men have every where before them. My good humoured reader I hope will forgive me, if, thinking on this glorious invention, I make a reflection a little out of ſeaſon, though very much conducive to my main deſign; which is, that valuable as the art is I ſpeak of, we are beholden to an imperfection in the chief of our ſenſes for all the pleaſures and raviſhing delight we receive from this happy deceit. I ſhall explain myſelf. Air and ſpace are no objects of ſight, but as ſoon as we can ſee with the leaſt attention, we obſerve that the bulk of the things we ſee is leſſened by degrees, as they are further remote from us, and nothing but experience, gained from theſe obſervations, can teach us to make any tolerable gueſſes at the diſtance of things. If one born blind ſhould remain ſo till twenty, and then be ſuddenly bleſſed with ſight, he would be ſtrangely puzzled as to the difference of diſtances, and hardly able, immediately, by his eyes alone, to determine which was neareſt to him, a poſt almoſt within the reach of his ſtick, or a ſteeple that ſhould be half a mile off. Let us look as narrowly as we can upon a hole in a wall that has nothing but the open air behind it, and we ſhall not be able to ſee otherwiſe, but that the ſky fills up the vacuity, and is as near us as the back part of the ſtones that circumſcribe the ſpace where they are wanting. This circumſtance, not to call it a defect, in our ſenſe of ſeeing, makes us liable to be impoſed upon, and every thing, but motion, may, by art, be repreſented to us on a flat, in the ſame manner as we ſee them in life and nature. If a man had never ſeen this art put into practice, a looking-glaſs might ſoon convince him that ſuch a thing was poſſible, and I cannot help thinking, but that the reflections from very ſmooth and well-poliſhed bodies made upon our eyes, muſt have given the firſt handle to the inventions of drawings and painting.

In the works of nature, worth, and excellency, are as uncertain: and even in human creatures, what is beautiful in one country, is not ſo in another. How whimſical is the floriſt in his choice! Sometimes the tulip, ſometimes the auricula, and at other times the carnation ſhall engroſs his eſteem, and every year a new flower, in his judgment, beats all the old ones, though it is much inferior to them both in colour and ſhape. Three hundred years ago men were ſhaved as cloſely as they are now: Since that they have wore beards, and cut them in vaſt variety of forms, that were all as becoming, when faſhionable, as now they would be ridiculous. How mean and comically a man looks, that is otherwiſe well dreſſed, in a narrow brimed hat, when every body wears broad ones; and again, how monſtrous is a very great hat, when the other extreme has been in faſhion for a conſiderable time? experience has taught us, that theſe modes ſeldom laſt above ten or twelve years, and a man of threeſcore muſt have obſerved five or ſix revolutions of them at leaſt! yet the beginnings of theſe changes, though we have ſeen ſeveral, ſeem always uncouth, and are offenſive afreſh whenever they return. What mortal can decide which is the handſomeſt, abſtract from the mode in being, to wear great buttons or ſmall ones? the many ways of laying out a garden judiciouſly are almoſt innumerable; and what is called beautiful in them, varies according to the different taſtes of nations and ages. In graſs plats, knots and parterres, a great diverſity of forms is generally agreeable; but a round may be as pleaſing to the eye as a ſquare: an oval cannot be more ſuitable to one place, than it is poſſible for a triangle to be to another; and the pre-eminence an octogon has over an hexagon is no greater in figures, than at hazard eight has above ſix among the chances.

Churches, ever ſince Chriſtians have been able to build them, reſemble the form of a croſs, with the upper end pointing toward the eaſt; and an architect, where there is room, and it can be conveniently done, who ſhould neglect it, would be thought to have committed an unpardonable fault; but it would be fooliſh to expect this of a Turkiſh moſque or a Pagan temple. Among the many beneficial laws that have been made theſe hundred years, it is not eaſy to name one of greater utility, and, at the ſame time, more exempt from all inconveniences, than that which has regulated the dreſſes of the dead. Thoſe who were old enough to take notice of

things when that act was made, and are yet alive, muſt remember the general clamour that was made againſt it. At firſt, nothing could be more ſhocking to thouſands of people than that they were to be buried in woollen, and the only thing that made that law ſupportable was, that there was room left for people of ſome faſhion to indulge their weakneſs without extravagancy; conſidering the other expences of funerals where mourning is given to ſeveral, and rings to a great many. The benefit that accrues to the nation from it is ſo viſible, that nothing ever could be ſaid in reaſon to condemn it, which, in few years, made the horror conceived againſt it leſſen every day. I obſerved then that young people, who had ſeen but few in their coffins, did the ſooneſt ſtrike in with the innovation; but that thoſe who, when the act was made, had buried many friends and relations, remained averſe to it the longeſt, and I remember many that never could be reconciled to it to their dying day. By this time, burying in linen being almoſt forgot, it is the general opinion that nothing could be more decent than woollen, and the preſent manner of dreſſing a corps; which ſhows that our liking or diſliking of things chiefly depends on mode and cuſtom, and the precept and example of our betters, and ſuch whom one way or other we think to be ſuperior to us.

In morals there is no greater certainty. Plurality of wives is odious among Chriſtians, and all the wit and learning of a great genius in defence of it, has been rejected with contempt: But polygamy is not ſhocking to a Mahometan. What men have learned from their infancy enſlaves them, and the force of cuſtom warps nature, and, at the ſame time, imitates her in ſuch a manner, that it is often difficult to know which of the two we are influenced by. In the eaſt, formerly ſiſters married brothers, and it was meritorious for a man to marry his mother. Such alliances are abominable; but it is certain that, whatever horror we conceive at the thoughts of them, there is nothing in nature repugnant againſt them, but what is built upon mode and cuſtom. A religious Mahometan that has never taſted any ſpirituous liquor, and has often ſeen people drunk, may receive as great an averſion againſt wine, as another with us of the leaſt morality and education may have againſt lying with his ſiſter, and both imagine that their antipathy proceeds from nature. Which is the beſt religion? is a queſtion that has cauſed more miſchief

than all other queſtions together. Aſk it at Pekin, at Conſtantinople, and at Rome, and you will receive three diſtinct anſwers extremely different from one another, yet all of them equally poſitive and peremptory. Chriſtians are well aſſured of the falſity of the Pagan and Mahometan ſuperſtitions: as to this point, there is a perfect union and concord among them; but inquire of the ſeveral ſects they are divided into, Which is the true church of Chriſt? and all of them will tell you it is theirs, and to convince you, go together by the ears.

It is manifeſt, then, that the hunting after this *pulchrum & honeſtum*, is not much better than a wild-gooſe-chaſe that is but little to be depended on: But this is not the greateſt fault I find with it. The imaginary notions that men may be virtuous without ſelf-denial, are a vaſt inlet to hypocriſy; which being once made habitual, we muſt not only deceive others, but likewiſe become altogether unknown to ourſelves: and in an inſtance I am going to give, it will appear, how, for want of duly examining himſelf, this might happen to a perſon of quality, of parts, and erudition, one every way reſembling the author of the Characteriſtics himſelf.

A man that has been brought up in eaſe and affluence, if he is of a quiet indolent nature, learns to ſhun every thing that is troubleſome, and chooſes to curb his paſſions, more becauſe of the inconveniences that ariſe from the eager purſuit after pleaſure, and the yielding to all the demands of our inclinations, than any diſlike he has to ſenſual enjoyments; and it is poſſible, that a perſon educated under a great philoſopher, who was a mild and good-natured, as well as able tutor, may, in ſuch happy circumſtances, have a better opinion of his inward ſtate than it really deſerves, and believe himſelf virtuous, becauſe his paſſions lie dormant. He may form fine notions of the ſocial virtues, and the contempt of death, write well of them in his cloſet, and talk eloquently of them in company, but you ſhall never catch him fighting for his country, or labouring to retrieve any national loſſes. A man that deals in metaphyſics may eaſily throw himſelf into an enthuſiaſm, and really believe that he does not fear death while it remains out of ſight. But ſhould he be aſked, why, having this intrepidity either from nature, or acquired by philoſophy, he did not follow arms when his country was involved in war; or when he ſaw the nation daily robbed by thoſe at the helm, and the affairs of the ex-

chequer perplexed, why he did not go to court, and make uſe of all his friends and intereſt to be a lord treaſurer, that by his integrity and wiſe management, he might reſtore the public credit: It is probable he would anſwer that he loved retirement, had no other ambition than to be a good man, and never aſpired to have any ſhare in the government; or that he hated all flattery and ſlaviſh attendance, the inſincerity of courts and buſtle of the world. I am willing to believe him: but may not a man of an indolent temper and unactive ſpirit, ſay, and be ſincere in all this, and, at the ſame time, indulge his appetites without being able to ſubdue them, though his duty ſummons him to it. Virtue conſiſts in action, and whoever is poſſeſſed of this ſocial love and kind affection to his ſpecies, and by his birth or quality can claim any poſt in the public management, ought not to ſit ſtill when he can be ſerviceable, but exert himſelf to the utmoſt for the good of his fellow ſubjects. Had this noble perſon been of a warlike genius, or a boiſterous temper, he would have choſe another part in the drama of life, and preached a quite contrary doctrine: For we are ever puſhing our reaſon which way ſoever we feel paſſion to draw it, and ſelf-love pleads to all human creatures for their different views, ſtill furniſhing every individual with arguments to juſtify their inclinations.

That boaſted middle way, and the calm virtues recommended in the Characteriſtics, are good for nothing but to breed drones, and might qualify a man for the ſtupid enjoyments of a monaſtic life, or at beſt a country juſtice of peace, but they would never fit him for labour and aſſiduity, or ſtir him up to great atchievements and perilous undertakings. Man's natural love of eaſe and idleneſs, and proneneſs to indulge his ſenſual pleaſures, are not to be cured by precept: His ſtrong habits and inclinations can only be ſubdued by paſſions of greater violence. Preach and demonſtrate to a coward the unreaſonableneſs of his fears, and you will not make him valiant, more than you can make him taller, by bidding him to be ten foot high, whereas the ſecret to raiſe courage, as I have made it public in Remark on l. 321, is almoſt infallibe.

The fear of death is the ſtrongeſt when we are in our greateſt vigour, and our appetite is keen; when we are ſharp-ſighted, quick of hearing, and every part performs its office. The reaſon is plain, becauſe then life is moſt delicious, and

ourſelves moſt capable of enjoying it. How comes it, then, that a man of honour ſhould ſo eaſily accept of a challenge, though at thirty and in perfect health? It is his pride that conquers his fear: For, when his pride is not concerned, this fear will appear moſt glaringly. If he is not uſed to the ſea, let him but be in a ſtorm, or, if he never was ill before, have but a ſore throat, or a ſlight fever, and he will ſhow a thouſand anxieties, and in them the ineſtimable value he ſets on life. Had man been naturally humble and proof againſt flattery, the politician could never have had his ends, or known what to have made of him. Without vices, the excellency of the ſpecies would have ever remained undiſcovered, and every worthy that has made himſelf famous in the world, is a ſtrong evidence againſt this amiable ſyſtem.

If the courage of the great Macedonian came up to diſtraction, when he fought alone againſt a whole garriſon, his madneſs was not leſs when he fancied himſelf to be a god, or at leaſt doubted whether he was or not; and as ſoon as we make this reflection, we diſcover both the paſſion and the extravagancy of it, that buoyed up his ſpirits in the moſt imminent dangers, and carried him through all the difficulties and fatigues he underwent.

There never was in the world a brighter example of an able and complete magiſtrate than Cicero: When I think on his care and vigilance, the real hazards he ſlighted, and the pains he took for the ſafety of Rome; his wiſdom and ſagacity in detecting and diſappointing the ſtratagems of the boldeſt and moſt ſubtle conſpirators, and, at the ſame time, on his love to literature, arts, and ſciences, his capacity in metaphyſics, the juſtneſs of his reaſonings, the force of his eloquence, the politeneſs of his ſtyle, and the genteel ſpirit that runs through his writings; when I think, I ſay, on all theſe things together, I am ſtruck with amazement, and the leaſt I can ſay of him is, that he was a prodigious man. But when I have ſet the many good qualities he had in the beſt light, it is as evident to me on the other ſide, that had his vanity been inferior to his greateſt excellency, the good ſenſe and knowledge of the world he was ſo eminently poſſeſſed of, could never have let him be ſuch a fulſome as well as noiſy trumpeter as he was of his own praiſes, or ſuffered him rather than not proclaim his own merit, to make a verſe

that a ſchool boy would have been laughed at for. *O! Fortunatam*, &c.

How ſtrict and ſevere was the morality of rigid Cato, how ſteady and unaffected the virtue of that grand aſſerter of Roman liberty! but though the equivalent this ſtoick enjoyed, for all the ſelf-denial and auſterity he practiſed, remained long concealed, and his peculiar modeſty hid from the world, and perhaps himſelf a vaſt while, the frailty of his heart, that forced him into heroiſm, yet it was brought to light in the laſt ſcene of his life, and by his ſuicide it plainly appeared that he was governed by a tyrannical power, ſuperior to the love of his country, and that the implacable hatred and ſuperlative envy he bore to the glory, the real greatneſs and perſonal merit of Cæſar, had for a long time ſwayed all his actions under the moſt noble pretences. Had not this violent motive over-ruled his conſummate prudence, he might not only have ſaved himſelf, but likewiſe moſt of his friends that were ruined by the loſs of him, and would in all probability, if he could have ſtooped to it, been the ſecond man in Rome. But he knew the boundleſs mind and unlimited generoſity of the victor: it was his clemency he feared, and therefore choſe death becauſe it was leſs terrible to his pride, than the thoughts of giving his mortal foe ſo tempting an opportunity of ſhowing the magnanimity of his ſoul, as Cæſar would have found in forgiving ſuch an inveterate enemy as Cato, and offering him his friendſhip; and which, it is thought by the judicious, that penetrating as well as ambitious conqueror would not have ſlipped, if the other had dared to live.

Another argument to prove the kind diſpoſition, and real affection we naturally have for our ſpecies, is our love of company, and the averſion men that are in their ſenſes generally have to ſolitude, beyond other creatures. This bears a fine gloſs in the Characteriſtics, and is ſet off in very good language to the beſt advantage: the next day after I read it firſt, I heard abundance of people cry freſh herrings, which, with the reflexion on the vaſt ſhoals of that and other fiſh that are caught together, made me very merry, though I was alone; but as I was entertaining myſelf with this contemplation, came an impertinent idle fellow, whom I had the misfortune to be known by, and aſked me how I did, though I was, and dare ſay, looked as healthy and as well as ever I was or did in my life. What I anſwered him I forgot, but

remember that I could not get rid of him in a good while, and felt all the uneaſineſs my friend Horace complains of, from a perſecution of the like nature.

I would have no ſagacious critic pronounce me a man-hater from this ſhort ſtory; whoever does is very much miſtaken. I am a great lover of company, and if the reader is not quite tired with mine, before I ſhow the weakneſs and ridicule of that piece of flattery made to our ſpecies, and which I was juſt now ſpeaking of, I will give him a deſcription of the man I would chooſe for converſation, with a promiſe that before he has finiſhed, what at firſt he might only take for a digreſſion foreign to my purpoſe, he ſhall find the uſe of it.

By early and artful inſtruction, he ſhould be thoroughly imbued with the notions of honour and ſhame, and have contracted an habitual averſion to every thing that has the leaſt tendency to impudence, rudeneſs, or inhumanity. He ſhould be well verſed in the Latin tongue, and not ignorant of the Greek, and moreover underſtand one or two of the modern languages beſides his own. He ſhould be acquainted with the faſhions and cuſtoms of the ancients, but thoroughly ſkilled in the hiſtory of his own country, and the manners of the age he lives in. He ſhould beſides literature, have ſtudied ſome uſeful ſcience or other, ſeen ſome foreign courts and univerſities, and made the true uſe of travelling. He ſhould at times take delight in dancing, fencing, riding the great horſe, and knowing ſomething of hunting and other country ſports, without being attached to any, and he ſhould treat them all as either exerciſes for health, or diverſions that ſhould never interfere with buſineſs, or the attaining to more valuable qualifications. He ſhould have a ſmatch of geometry and aſtronomy, as well as anatomy, and the economy of human bodies; to underſtand muſic ſo as to perform, is an accompliſhment: but there is abundance to be ſaid againſt it; and inſtead of it, I would have him know ſo much of drawing as is required to take a landſkip, or explain ones meaning of any form or model we would deſcribe, but never to touch a pencil. He ſhould be very early uſed to the company of modeſt women, and never be a fortnight without converſing with the ladies.

Groſs vices, as irreligion, whoring, gaming, drinking and quarrelling, I will not mention: even the meaneſt education guards us againſt them; I would always recommend to him

the practice of virtue, but I am for no voluntary ignorance, in a gentleman, of any thing that is done in court or city. It is impoſſible a man ſhould be perfect, and therefore there are faults I would connive at, if I could not prevent them; and if between the years of nineteen and three-and twenty, youthful heat ſhould ſometimes get the better of his chaſtity, ſo it was done with caution; ſhould he on ſome extraordinary occaſion, overcome by the preſſing ſolicitations of jovial friends, drink more than was conſiſtent with ſtrict ſobriety, ſo he did it very ſeldom. and found it not to interfere with his health or temper; or if by the height of his mettle, and great provocation in a juſt cauſe, he had been drawn into a quarrel, which true wiſdom and a leſs ſtrict adherence to the rules of honour, might have declined or prevented, ſo it never befel him above once: if I ſay he ſhould have happened to be guilty of theſe things, and he would never ſpeak, much leſs brag of them himſelf, they might be pardoned, or at leaſt overlooked at the age I named, if he left off then and continued diſcreet for ever after. The very diſaſters of youth, have ſometimes frightened gentlemen into a more ſteady prudence, than in all probability they would ever have been maſters of without them. To keep him from turpitude and things that are openly ſcandalous, there is nothing better than to procure him free acceſs in one or two noble families, where his frequent attendance is counted a duty: and while by that means you preſerve his pride, he is kept in a continual dread of ſhame.

A man of a tolerable fortune, pretty near accompliſhed as I have required him to be, that ſtill improves himſelf and ſees the world till he is thirty, cannot be diſagreeable to converſe with, at leaſt while he continues in health and proſperity, and has nothing to ſpoil his temper. When ſuch a one, either by chance or appointment, meets with three or four of our equals, and all agree to paſs away a few hours together, the whole is what I call good company. There is nothing ſaid in it that is not either inſtructive or diverting to a man of ſenſe. It is poſſible they may not always be of the ſame opinion, but there can be no conteſt between any, but who ſhall yield firſt to the other he differs from. One only ſpeaks at a time, and no louder than to be plainly underſtood by him who ſits the fartheſt off. The greateſt pleaſure aimed at by every one of them, is to have the ſatiſfaction of pleaſing others, which they all practically know

may as effectually be done, by hearkening with attention and an approving countenance, as we ſaid very good things ourſelves.

Moſt people of any taſte would like ſuch a converſation, and juſtly prefer it to being alone, when they knew not how to ſpend their time; but if they could employ themſelves in ſomething from which they expected, either a more ſolid or a more laſting ſatisfaction, they would deny themſelves this pleaſure, and follow what was of greater conſequence to them. But would not a man, though he had ſeen no mortal in a fortnight, remain alone as much longer, rather than get into company of noiſy fellows, that take delight in contradiction, and place a glory in picking a quarrel? Would not one that has books read for ever, or ſet himſelf to write upon ſome ſubject or other, rather than be every night with party-men who count the iſland to be good for nothing, while their adverſaries are ſuffered to live upon it? Would not a man be by himſelf a month, and go to bed before ſeven a clock, rather than mix with fox-hunters, who having all day long tried in vain to break their necks, join at night in a ſecond attempt upon their lives by drinking, and to expreſs their mirth, are louder in ſenſeleſs ſounds within doors, than their barking and leſs troubleſome companions are only without? I have no great value for a man who would not rather tire himſelf with walking; or if he was ſhut up ſcatter pins about the room in order to pick them up again, than keep company for ſix hours with half a ſcore common ſailors the day their ſhip was paid off.

I will grant, nevertheleſs, that the greateſt part of mankind, rather than be alone any conſiderable time, would ſubmit to the things I named: but I cannot ſee, why this love of company, this ſtrong deſire after ſociety, ſhould be conſtrued ſo much in our favour, and alleged as a mark of ſome intrinſic worth in man, not to be found in other animals. For to prove from it the goodneſs of our nature, and a generous love in man, extended beyond himſelf on the reſt of his ſpecies, by virtue of which he was a ſociable creature, this eagerneſs after company and averſion of being alone, ought to have been moſt conſpicuous, and moſt violent in the beſt of their kind; the men of the greateſt genius, parts and accompliſhments, and thoſe who are the leaſt ſubject to vice; the contrary of which is true. The weakeſt minds, who can the leaſt govern their paſſions, guilty conſciences that abhor

reflexion, and the worthleſs, who are incapable of producing any thing of their own that is uſeful, are the greateſt enemies to ſolitude, and will take up with any company rather than be without; whereas, the men of ſenſe and of knowledge, that can think and contemplate on things, and ſuch as are but little diſturbed by their paſſions, can bear to be by themſelves the longeſt without reluctancy; and, to avoid noiſe, folly, and impertinence, will run away from twenty companies; and, rather than meet with any thing diſagreeable to their good taſte, will prefer their cloſet or a garden, nay, a common or a deſert to the ſociety of ſome men.

But let us ſuppoſe the love of company ſo inſeparable from our ſpecies, that no man could endure to be alone one moment, what concluſions could be drawn from this? Does not man love company, as he does every thing elſe, for his own ſake? No friendſhips or civilities are laſting that are not reciprocal. In all your weekly and daily meetings for diverſion, as well as annual feaſts, and the moſt ſolemn carouſals, every member that aſſiſts at them has his own ends, and ſome frequent a club which they would never go to unleſs they were the top of it. I have known a man who was the oracle of the company, be very conſtant, and as uneaſy at any thing that hindered him from coming at the hour, leave his ſociety altogether, as ſoon as another was added that could match, and diſputed ſuperiority with him. There are people who are incapable of holding an argument, and yet malicious enough to take delight in hearing others wrangle; and though they never concern themſelves in the controverſy, would think a company inſipid where they could not have that diverſion. A good houſe, rich furniture, a fine garden, horſes, dogs, anceſtors, relations, beauty, ſtrength, excellency in any thing whatever; vices as well as virtue, may all be acceſſary to make men long for ſociety, in hopes that what they value themſelves upon will at one time or other become the theme of the diſcourſe, and give an inward ſatisfaction to them. Even the moſt polite people in the world, and ſuch as I ſpoke of at firſt, give no pleaſure to others that is not repaid to their ſelf-love, and does not at laſt centre in themſelves, let them wind it and turn it as they will. But the plaineſt demonſtration that in all clubs and ſocieties of converſable people, every body has the greateſt conſideration for himſelf, is, that the diſintereſted, who rather over-pays than wrangles; the good humoured, that is never

waſpiſh nor ſoon offended; the eaſy and indolent, that hates diſputes and never talks for triumph, is every where the darling of the company: whereas, the man of ſenſe and knowledge, that will not be impoſed upon or talked out of his reaſon; the man of genius and ſpirit, that can ſay ſharp and witty things, though he never laſhes but what deſerves it; the man of honour, who neither gives nor takes an affront, may be eſteemed, but is ſeldom ſo well beloved as a weaker man leſs accomplished.

As in theſe inſtances, the friendly qualities ariſe from our contriving perpetually our own ſatisfaction, ſo, on other occaſions, they proceed from the natural timidity of man, and the ſolicitous care he takes of himſelf. Two Londoners, whoſe buſineſs oblige them not to have any commerce together, may know, ſee, and paſs by one another every day upon the Exchange, with not much greater civility than bulls would: let them meet at Briſtol they will pull off their hats, and on the leaſt opportunity enter into converſation, and be glad of one another's company. When French, Engliſh, and Dutch, meet in China, or any other Pagan country, being all Europeans, they look upon one another as countrymen, and if no paſſion interferes, will feel a natural propenſity to love one another. Nay, two men that are at enmity, if they are forced to travel together, will often lay by their animoſities, be affable, and converſe in a friendly manner, eſpecially if the road be unſafe, and they are both ſtrangers in the place they are to go to. Theſe things by ſuperficial judges, are attributed to mans ſociableneſs, his natural propenſity to friendſhip and love of company; but whoever will duly examine things, and look into man more narrowly, will find, that on all theſe occaſions we only endeavour to ſtrengthen our intereſt, and are moved by the cauſes already alleged.

What I have endeavoured hitherto, has been to prove, that the *pulchrum et honeſtum*, excellency and real worth of things are moſt commonly precarious and alterable as modes and cuſtoms vary; that conſequently the inferences drawn from their certainty are inſignificant, and that the generous notions concerning the natural goodneſs of man are hurtful, as they tend to miſlead, and are merely chimerical: the truth of this latter I have illuſtrated by the moſt obvious examples in hiſtory. I have ſpoke of our love of company and averſion to ſolitude, examined thoroughly the various motives of them,

and made it appear that they all centre in self-love. I intend now to inveſtigate into the nature of ſociety, and diving into the very riſe of it, make it evident, that not the good and amiable, but the bad and hateful qualities of man, his imperfections and the want of excellencies, which other creatures are endued with, are the firſt cauſes that made man ſociable beyond other animals, the moment after he loſt Paradiſe; and that if he had remained in his primitive innocence, and continued to enjoy the bleſſings that attended it, there is no ſhadow of probability that he ever would have become that ſociable creature he is now.

How neceſſary our appetites and paſſions are for the welfare of all trades and handicrafts, has been ſufficiently proved throughout the book, and that they are our bad qualities, or at leaſt produce them, nobody denies. It remains then, that I ſhould ſet forth the variety of obſtacles that hinder and perplex man in the labour he is conſtantly employed in, the procuring of what he wants; and which in other words is called the buſineſs of ſelf-preſervation: while, at the ſame time, I demonſtrate that the ſociableneſs of man ariſes only from theſe two things, viz. the multiplicity of his deſires, and the continual oppoſition he meets with in his endeavours to gratify them.

The obſtacles I ſpeak of, relate either to our own frame, or the globe we inhabit, I mean the condition of it, ſince it has been curſed. I have often endeavoured to contemplate ſeparately on the two things I named laſt, but could never keep them aſunder; they always interfere and mix with one another; and at laſt make up together a frightful chaos of evil. All the elements are our enemies, water drowns and fire conſumes thoſe who unſkilfully approach them. The earth in a thouſand places produces plants, and other vegetables that are hurtful to man, while ſhe feeds and cherriſhes a variety of creatures that are noxious to him; and ſuffers a legion of poiſons to dwell within her: but the moſt unkind of all the elements is that which we cannot live one moment without: it is impoſſible to repeat all the injuries we receive from the wind and weather; and though the greateſt part of mankind, have ever been employed in defending their ſpecies from the inclemency of the air, yet no art or labour have hitherto been able to find a ſecurity againſt the wild rage of ſome meteors.

Hurricanes, it is true, happen but ſeldom, and few men are ſwallowed up by earthquakes, or devoured by lions; but while we eſcape thoſe gigantic miſchiefs, we are perſecuted by trifles. What a vaſt variety of inſects are tormenting to us; what multitudes of them inſult and make game of us with impunity! The moſt deſpicable ſcruple not to trample and graze upon us as cattle do upon a field: which yet is often born with, if moderately they uſe their fortune; but here again our clemency becomes a vice, and ſo encroaching are their cruelty and contempt of us on our pity, that they make lay-ſtalls of our hands, and devour our young ones if we are not daily vigilant in purſuing and deſtroying them.

There is nothing good in all the univerſe to the beſt-deſigning man, if either through miſtake or ignorance he commits the leaſt failing in the uſe of it; there is no innocence or integrity, that can protect a man from a thouſand miſchiefs that ſurround him: on the contrary, every thing is evil, which art and experience have not taught us to turn into a bleſſing. Therefore how diligent in harveſt time is the huſbandman, in getting in his crop and ſheltering it from rain, without which he could never have enjoyed it! As ſeaſons differ with the climates, experience has taught us differently to make uſe of them, and in one part of the globe we may ſee the farmer ſow while he is reaping in the other; from all which we may learn how vaſtly this earth muſt have been altered ſince the fall of our firſt parents. For ſhould we trace man from his beautiful, his divine original, not proud of wiſdom acquired by haughty precept or tedious experience, but endued with conſummate knowledge the moment he was formed; I mean the ſtate of innocence, in which no animal nor vegetable upon earth, nor mineral under ground was noxious to him, and himſelf ſecured from the injuries of the air as well as all other harms, was contented with the neceſſaries of life, which the globe he inhabited furniſhed him with, without his aſſiſtance. When yet not conſcious of guilt, he found himſelf in every place to be the well obeyed unrivalled lord of all, and unaffected with his greatneſs, was wholly wrapped up in ſublime meditations on the infinity of his Creator, who daily did vouchſafe intelligibly to ſpeak to him, and viſit without miſchief.

In ſuch a golden age, no reaſon or probability can be alleged, why mankind ever ſhould have raiſed themſelves into ſuch large ſocieties as there have been in the world, as long

as we can give any tolerable account of it. Where a man has every thing he desires, and nothing to vex or disturb him, there is nothing can be added to his happiness; and it is impossible to name a trade, art, science, dignity, or employment, that would not be superfluous in such a blessed state. If we pursue this thought, we shall easily perceive that no societies could have sprung from the amiable virtues and loving qualities of man; but, on the contrary, that all of them must have had the origin from his wants, his imperfections, and the variety of his appetites: we shall find likewise, that the more their pride and vanity are displayed, and all their desires enlarged, the more capable they must be of being raised into large and vastly numerous societies.

Was the air always as inoffensive to our naked bodies, and as pleasent as to our thinking it is to the generality of birds in fair weather, and man had not been affected with pride, luxury and hypocrisy, as well as lust, I cannot see what could have put us upon the invention of clothes and houses. I shall say nothing of jewels, of plate, painting, sculpture, fine furniture, and all that rigid moralists have called unnecessary and superfluons: but if we were not soon tired with walking a-foot, and were as nimble as some other animals; if men were naturally laborious, and none unreasonable in seeking and indulging their ease, and likewise free from other vices, and the ground was every where even, solid and clean, who would have thought of coaches or ventured on a horse's back? What occasion has the dolphin for a ship, or what carriage would an eagle ask to travel in?

I hope the reader knows, that by society I understand a body politic, in which man either subdued by superior force, or by persuasion drawn from his savage state, is become a disciplined creature, that can find his own ends in labouring for others, and where under one head or other form of government, each member is rendered subservient to the whole, and all of them by cunning management are made to act as one. For if by society we only mean a number of people, that without rule or government, should keep together, out of a natural affection to their species, or love of company, as a herd of cows or a flock of sheep, then there is not in the world a more unfit creature for society than man; an hundred of them that should be all equals, under no subjection, or fear of any superior upon earth, could never live together awake two hours without quarrelling, and the more know-

ledge, ſtrength, wit, courage and reſolution there was among them, the worſe it would be.

It is probable, that in the wild ſtate of nature, parents would keep a ſuperiority over their children, at leaſt while they were in ſtrength, and that even afterwards, the remembrance of what the others had experienced, might produce in them ſomething between love and fear, which we call reverence: it is probable, likewiſe, that the ſecond generation following the example of the firſt; a man with a little cunning would always be able, as long as he lived and had his ſenſes, to maintain a ſuperior ſway over all his own offspring and deſcendants, how numerous ſoever they might grow. But the old ſtock once dead, the ſons would quarrel, and there could be no peace long, before there had been war. Elderſhip in brothers is of no great force, and the pre-eminence that is given to it, only invented as a ſhift to live in peace. Man, as he is a fearful animal, naturally not rapacious, loves peace and quiet, and he would never fight, if nobody offended him, and he could have what he fights for without it. To this fearful diſpoſition, and the averſion he has to his being diſturbed, are owing all the various projects and forms of government. Monarchy, without doubt, was the firſt. Ariſtocracy and democracy were two different methods of mending the inconveniencies of the firſt, and a mixture of theſe three an improvement on all the reſt.

But be we ſavages or politicians, it is impoſſible that man, mere fallen man, ſhould act with any other view but to pleaſe himſelf while he has the uſe of his organs, and the greateſt extravagancy either of love or deſpair can have no other centre. There is no difference between will and pleaſure in one ſenſe, and every motion made in ſpite of them muſt be unnatural and convulſive. Since, then, action is ſo confined, and we are always forced to do what we pleaſe, and at the ſame time our thoughts are free and uncontrouled, it is impoſſible we could be ſociable creatures without hypocriſy. The proof of this is plain, ſince we cannot prevent the ideas that are continually ariſing within us, all civil commerce would be loſt, if, by art and prudent diſſimulation we had not learned to hide and ſtifle them; and if all we think was to be laid open to others, in the ſame manner as it is to ourſelves, it is impoſſible that, endued with ſpeech, we could be ſufferable to one another. I am perſuaded that every reader feels the truth of what I ſay; and I tell my an-

tagoniſt that his conſcience flies in his face, while his tongue is preparing to refute me. In all civil ſocieties men are taught inſenſibly to be hypocrites from their cradle; nobody dares to own that he gets by public calamities, or even by the loſs of private perſons. The ſexton would be ſtoned ſhould he wiſh openly for the death of the pariſhoners, though every body knew that he had nothing elſe to live upon.

To me it is a great pleaſure, when I look on the affairs of human life, to behold into what various, and often ſtrangely oppoſite forms, the hope of gain and thoughts of lucre ſhape men, according to the different employments they are of, and ſtations they are in. How gay and merry does every face appear at a well ordered ball, and what a ſolemn ſadneſs is obſerved at the maſquerade of a funeral! but the undertaker is as much pleaſed with his gains as the dancing-maſter: both are equally tired in their occupations, and the mirth of the one is as much forced as the gravity of the other is affected. Thoſe who have never minded the converſation of a ſpruce mercer, and a young lady his cuſtomer that comes to his ſhop, have neglected a ſcene of life that is very entertaining. I beg of my ſerious reader, that he would, for a while, abate a little of his gravity, and ſuffer me to examine theſe people ſeparately, as to their inſide, and the different motives they act from.

His buſineſs is to ſell as much ſilk as he can at a price by which he ſhall get what he propoſes to be reaſonable, according to the cuſtomary profits of the trade. As to the lady, what ſhe would be at is to pleaſe her fancy, and buy cheaper by a groat or ſixpence per yard than the things ſhe wants are commonly ſold at. From the impreſſion the gallantry of our ſex has made upon her, ſhe imagines (if ſhe be not very deformed) that ſhe has a fine mien and eaſy behaviour, and a peculiar ſweetneſs of voice; that ſhe is handſome, and if not beautiful, at leaſt more agreeable than moſt young women ſhe knows. As ſhe has no pretenſions to purchaſe the ſame things with leſs money than other people, but what are built on her good qualities, ſo ſhe ſets herſelf off to the beſt advantage her wit and diſcretion will let her. The thoughts of love are here out of the caſe; ſo on the one hand, ſhe has no room for playing the tyrant, and giving herſelf angry and peeviſh airs, and, on the other, more liberty of ſpeaking kindly, and being affable than ſhe can have al-

moſt on any other occaſion. She knows that abundance of well-bred people come to his ſhop, and endeavours to render herſelf as amiable as virtue and the rules of decency allow of. Coming with ſuch a reſolution of behaviour, ſhe cannot meet with any thing to ruffle her temper.

Before her coach is yet quite ſtopped, ſhe is approached by a gentleman-like man, that has every thing clean and faſhionable about him, who in low obeiſance pays her homage, and as ſoon as her pleaſure is known that ſhe has a mind to come in, hands her into the ſhop, where immediately he ſlips from her, and through a by-way that remains viſible only for half a moment, with great addreſs entrenches himſelf behind the counter: here facing her, with a profound reverence and modiſh phraſe, he begs the favour of knowing her commands. Let her ſay and diſlike what ſhe pleaſes, ſhe can never be directly contradicted: ſhe deals with a man in whom conſummate patience is one of the myſteries of his trade, and whatever trouble ſhe creates ſhe is ſure to hear nothing but the moſt obliging language, and has always before her a cheerful countenance, where joy and reſpect ſeem to be blended with good humour, and altogether make up an artificial ſerenity more engaging than untaught nature is able to produce.

When two perſons are ſo well met, the converſation muſt be very agreeable, as well as extremely mannerly, though they talk about trifles. While ſhe remains irreſolute what to take, he ſeems to be the ſame in adviſing her; and is very cautious how to direct her choice; but when once ſhe has made it and is fixed, he immediately becomes poſitive, that it is the beſt of the ſort, extols her fancy, and the more he looks upon it, the more he wonders he ſhould not before have diſcovered the pre-eminence of it over any thing he has in his ſhop. By precept, example, and great application, he has learned unobſerved to ſlide into the inmoſt receſſes of the ſoul, ſound the capacity of his cuſtomers, and find out their blind ſide unknown to them: by all which he is inſtructed in fifty other ſtratagems to make her over-value her own judgment as well as the commodity ſhe would purchaſe. The greateſt advantage he has over her, lies in the moſt material part of the commerce between them, the debate about the price, which he knows to a farthing, and ſhe is wholly ignorant of: therefore he no where more egregiouſly impoſes on her underſtanding; and though here he has

the liberty of telling what lies he pleaſes, as to the prime coſt, and the money he has refuſed, yet he truſts not to them only; but, attacking her vanity, makes her believe the moſt incredible things in the world, concerning his own weakneſs and her ſuperior abilities; he had taken a reſolution, he ſays, never to part with that piece under ſuch a price, but ſhe has the power of talking him out of his goods beyond any body he ever ſold to: he proteſts that he loſes by his ſilk, but ſeeing that ſhe has a fancy for it, and is reſolved to give no more, rather than diſoblige a lady he has ſuch an uncommon value for, he will let her have it, and only begs that another time ſhe will not ſtand ſo hard with him. In the mean time, the buyer, who knows that ſhe is no fool, and has a voluble tongue, is eaſily perſuaded that ſhe has a very winning way of talking, and thinking it ſufficient, for the ſake of good-breeding, to diſown her merit, and in ſome witty repartee retort the compliment, he makes her ſwallow very contentedly, the ſubſtance of every thing he tells her. The upſhot is, that, with the ſatisfaction of having ſaved ninepence per yard, ſhe has bought her ſilk exactly at the ſame price as any body elſe might have done, and often gives ſixpence more than, rather than not have ſold it, he would have taken.

It is poſſible that this lady, for want of being ſufficiently flattered, for a fault ſhe is pleaſed to find in his behaviour, or perhaps the tying of his neckcloth, or ſome other diſlike as ſubſtantial, may be loſt, and her cuſtom beſtowed on ſome other of the fraternity. But where many of them live in a cluſter, it is not always eaſily determined which ſhop to go to, and the reaſons ſome of the fair ſex have for their choice, are often very whimſical, and kept as great a ſecret. We never follow our inclinations with more freedom, than where they cannot be traced, and it is unreaſonable for others to ſuſpect them. A virtuous woman has preferred one houſe to all the reſt, becauſe ſhe had ſeen a handſome fellow in it, and another of no bad character for having received greater civility before it, than had been paid her any where elſe, when ſhe had no thoughts of buying, and was going to Paul's church: for among the faſhionable mercers, the fair dealer muſt keep before his own door, and to draw in random cuſtomers, make uſe of no other freedom or importunities than an obſequious air, with a ſubmiſſive poſture, and per-

haps a bow to every well dreſſed female that offers to look towards his ſhop.

What I have ſaid laſt, makes me think on another way of inviting cuſtomers, the moſt diſtant in the world from what I have been ſpeaking of, I mean that which is practiſed by the watermen, eſpecially on thoſe whom, by their mien and garb, they know to be peaſants. It is not unpleaſant to ſee half a dozen people ſurround a man they never ſaw in their lives before, and two of them that can get the neareſt, clapping each an arm over his neck, hug him in as loving and familiar a manner, as if he was their brother newly come home from an Eaſt India voyage; a third lays hold of his hand, another of his ſleeve, his coat, the buttons of it, or any thing he can come at, while a fifth or a ſixth, who has ſcampered twice round him already, without being able to get at him, plants himſelf directly before the man in hold, and within three inches of his noſe, contradicting his rivals with an open mouthed cry, ſhows him a dreadful ſet of large teeth, and a ſmall remainder of chewed bread and cheeſe, which the countryman's arrival had hindered from being ſwallowed.

At all this no offence is taken, and the peaſant juſtly thinks they are making much of him; therefore, far from oppoſing them, he patiently ſuffers himſelf to be puſhed or pulled which way the ſtrength that ſurrounds him ſhall direct. He has not the delicacy to find fault with a man's breath, who has juſt blown out his pipe, or a greaſy head of hair that is rubbing againſt his chops: Dirt and ſweat he has been uſed to from his cradle, and it is no diſturbance to him to hear half a ſcore people, ſome of them at his ear, and the furtheſt not five foot from him, bawl out as if he was a hundred yards off: He is conſcious that he makes no leſs noiſe when he is merry himſelf, and is ſecretly pleaſed with their boiſterous uſages. The hawling and pulling him about he conſtrues the way it is intended; it is a courtſhip he can feel and underſtand: He cannot help wiſhing them well for the eſteem they ſeem to have for him: He loves to be taken notice of, and admires the Londoners for being ſo preſſing in the offers of their ſervice to him, for the value of threepence or leſs; whereas, in the country at the ſhop he uſes, he can have nothing but he muſt firſt tell them what he wants, and, though he lays out three or four ſhillings at a time, has hardly a word ſpoke to him unleſs it be in anſwer to a queſ-

tion himſelf is forced to aſk firſt. This alacrity in his behalf moves his gratitude, and, unwilling to diſoblige any, from his heart he knows not whom to chooſe. I have ſeen a man think all this, or ſomething like it, as plainly as I could ſee the noſe in his face; and, at the ſame time, move along very contentedly under a load of watermen, and with a ſmiling countenance carry ſeven or eight ſtone more than his own weight to the water ſide.

If the little mirth I have ſhown, in the drawing of theſe two images from low life, miſbecomes me, I am ſorry for it, but I promiſe not to be guilty of that fault any more, and will now, without loſs of time, proceed with my argument in artleſs dull ſimplicity, and demonſtrate the groſs error of thoſe, who imagine that the ſocial virtues, and the amiable qualities that are praiſe-worthy in us, are equally beneficial to the public as they are to the individual perſons that are poſſeſſed of them, and that the means of thriving, and whatever conduces to the welfare and real happineſs of private families, muſt have the ſame effect upon the whole ſociety. This, I confeſs, I have laboured for all along, and I flatter myſelf not unſucceſsfully: But I hope nobody will like a problem the worſe for ſeeing the truth of it proved more ways than one.

It is certain, that the fewer deſires a man has, and the leſs he covets, the more eaſy he is to himſelf; the more active he is to ſupply his own wants, and the leſs he requires to be waited upon, the more he will be beloved, and the leſs trouble he is in a family; the more he loves peace and concord the more charity he has for his neighbour, and the more he ſhines in real virtue, there is no doubt but that in proportion he is acceptable to God and man. But let us be juſt, what benefit can theſe things be of, or what earthly good can they do, to promote the wealth, the glory, and worldly greatneſs of nations? It is the ſenſual courtier that ſets no limits to his luxury; the fickle ſtrumpet that invents new faſhions every week; the haughty ducheſs that in equipage, entertainments, and all her behaviour, would imitate a princeſs; the profuſe rake and laviſh heir, that ſcatter about their money without wit or judgment, buy every thing they ſee, and either deſtroy or give it away the next day; the covetous and perjured villain that ſqueezed an immenſe treaſure from the tears of widows and orphans, and left the prodigals the money to ſpend: It is theſe that are the prey and

proper food of a full grown Leviathan; or, in other words, ſuch is the calamitous condition of human affairs, that we ſtand in need of the plagues and monſters I named, to have all the variety of labour performed, which the ſkill of men is capable of inventing in order to procure an honeſt livelihood to the vaſt multitudes of working poor, that are required to make a large ſociety: And it is folly to imagine, that great and wealthy nations can ſubſiſt, and be at once powerful and polite without.

I proteſt againſt Popery as much as ever Luther and Calvin did, or Queen Elizabeth herſelf; but I believe from my heart, that the Reformation has ſcarce been more inſtrumental in rendering the kingdoms and ſtates that have embraced it, flouriſhing beyond other nations, than the ſilly and capricious invention of hooped and quilted petticoats. But if this ſhould be denied me by the enemies of prieſtly power, at leaſt I am ſure that, bar the great men who have fought for and againſt that layman's bleſſing, it has, from its beginning to this day, not employed ſo many hands, honeſt, induſtrious labouring hands, as the abominable improvement on female luxury, I named, has done in few years. Religion is one thing, and trade is another. He that gives moſt trouble to thouſands of his neighbours, and invents the moſt operoſe manufactures, is, right or wrong, the greateſt friend to the ſociety.

What a buſtle is there to be made in ſeveral parts of the world, before a fine ſcarlet or crimſon cloth can be produced; what multiplicity of trades and artificers muſt be employed! Not only ſuch as are obvious, as woolcombers, ſpinners, the weaver, the cloth worker, the ſcourer, the dyer, the ſetter, the drawer, and the packer; but others that are more remote, and might ſeem foreign to it; as the mill-wright, the pewterer, and the chemiſt, which yet are all neceſſary, as well as a great number of other handicrafts, to have the tools, utenſils, and other implements belonging to the trades already named: But all theſe things are done at home, and may be performed without extraordinary fatigue or danger; the moſt frightful proſpect is left behind, when we reflect on the toil and hazard that are to be undergone abroad, the vaſt ſeas we are to go over, the different climates we are to endure, and the ſeveral nations we muſt be obliged to for their aſſiſtance. Spain alone, it is true, might furniſh us with wool to make the fineſt cloth; but what ſkill and pains,

what experience and ingenuity, are required to dye it of thoſe beautiful colours! How widely are the drugs, and other ingredients, diſperſed through the univerſe that are to meet in one kettle! Allum, indeed, we have of our own; argol we might have from the Rhine, and vitriol from Hungary; all this is in Europe; but then for ſaltpetre in quantity, we are forced to go as far as the Eaſt Indies. Cocheneal, unknown to the ancients, is not much nearer to us, though in a quite different part of the earth: we buy it, it is true, from the Spaniards; but not being their product, they are forced to fetch it for us from the remoteſt corner of the new world in the Eaſt Indies. While ſo many ſailors are broiling in the ſun, and ſweltered with heat in the eaſt and weſt of us, another ſet of them are freezing in the north, to fetch potaſhes from Ruſſia.

When we are thoroughly acquainted with all the variety of toil and labour, the hardſhips and calamities that muſt be undergone to compaſs the end I ſpeak of, and we conſider the vaſt riſks and perils that are run in thoſe voyages, and that few of them are ever made but at the expence, not only of the health and welfare, but even the lives of many: When we are acquainted with, I ſay, and duly conſider the things I named, it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive a tyrant ſo inhuman, and void of ſhame, that, beholding things in the ſame view, he ſhould exact ſuch terrible ſervices from his innocent ſlaves; and, at the ſame time, dare to own, that he did it for no other reaſon, than the ſatisfaction a man receives from having a garment made of ſcarlet or crimſon cloth. But to what height of luxury muſt a nation be arrived, where not only the king's officers, but likewiſe the guards, even the private ſoldiers, ſhould have ſuch impudent deſires!

But if we turn the proſpect, and look on all thoſe labours as ſo many voluntary actions, belonging to different callings and occupations, that men are brought up to for a livelihood, and in which every one works for himſelf, how much ſoever he may ſeem to labour for others: If we conſider, that even the ſailors who undergo the greateſt hardſhips, as ſoon as one voyage is ended, even after ſhipwreck, are looking out, and ſoliciting for employment in another: If we conſider, I ſay, and look on theſe things in another view, we ſhall find, that the labour of the poor is ſo far from being a burden and an impoſition upon them, that to have employment is a bleſſing, which, in their addreſſes to Heaven, they pray for, and to

to procure it for the generality of them, is the greateſt care of every legiſlature.

As children, and even infants, are the apes of others, ſo all youth have an ardent deſire of being men and women, and become often ridiculous by their impatient endeavours to appear what every body ſees they are not; all large ſocieties are not a little indebted to this folly for the perpetuity, or at leaſt long continuance, of trades once eſtabliſhed. What pains will young people take, and what violence will they not commit upon themſelves, to attain to inſignificant, and often blameable qualifications, which, for want of judgment and experience, they admire in others, that are ſuperior to them in age! This fondneſs of imitation makes them accuſtom themſelves, by degrees, to the uſe of things that were irkſome, if not intolerable to them at firſt, till they know not how to leave them, and are often very ſorry for having inconſiderately increaſed the neceſſaries of life without any neceſſity. What eſtates have been got by tea and coffee! What a vaſt traffic is drove, what a variety of labour is performed in the world, to the maintenance of thouſands of families that altogether depend on two ſilly, if not odious cuſtoms; the taking of ſnuff, and ſmoking of tobacco; both which, it is certain, do infinitely more hurt than good to thoſe that are addicted to them! I ſhall go further, and demonſtrate the uſefulneſs of private loſſes and misfortunes to the public, and the folly of our wiſhes, when we pretend to be moſt wiſe and ſerious. The fire of London was a great calamity; but if the carpenters, bricklayers, ſmiths, and all, not only that are employed in building, but likewiſe thoſe that made and dealt in the ſame manufactures, and other merchandiſes that were burnt, and other trades again that got by them when they were in full employ, were to vote againſt thoſe who loſt by the fire, the rejoicings would equal, if not exceed the complaints. In recruiting what is loſt and deſtroyed by fire, ſtorms, ſea-fights, ſieges, battles, a conſiderable part of trade conſiſts; the truth of which, and whatever I have ſaid of the nature of ſociety, will plainly appear from what follows.

It would be a difficult taſk to enumerate all the advantages and different benefits, that accrue to a nation, on account of ſhipping and navigation; but if we only take into conſideration the ſhips themſelves, and every veſſel great and ſmall that is made uſe of for water-carriage, from the leaſt

wherry to a firſt rate man of war; the timber and hands that are employed in the building of them; and conſider the pitch, tar, roſin, greaſe; the maſts, yards, ſails and riggings; the variety of ſmiths work; the cables, oars, and every thing elſe belonging to them; we ſhall find, that to furniſh only ſuch a nation as ours with all the neceſſaries, make up a conſiderable part of the traffic of Europe, without ſpeaking of the ſtores and ammunition of all ſorts, that are conſumed in them, or the mariners, waterman and others, with their families, that are maintained by them.

But ſhould we, on the other hand, take a view of the manifold miſchiefs and variety of evils, moral as well as natural, that befal nations on the ſcore of ſeafaring, and their commerce with ſtrangers, the proſpect would be very frightful; and could we ſuppoſe a large populous iſland, that ſhould be wholly unacquainted with ſhips and ſea affairs, but otherwiſe a wiſe and well-governed people; and that ſome angel, or their genius, ſhould lay before them a ſcheme or draught, where they might ſee on the one ſide, all the riches and real advantages that would be acquired by navigation in a thouſand years; and on the other, the wealth and lives that would be loſt, and all the other calamities, that would be unavoidably ſuſtained on account of it during the ſame time, I am confident, they would look upon ſhips with horror and deteſtation, and that their prudent rulers would ſeverely forbid the making and inventing all buildings or machines to go to ſea with, of what ſhape or denomination ſoever, and prohibit all ſuch abominable contrivances on great penalties, if not the pain of death.

But to let alone the neceſſary conſequence of foreign trade, the corruption of manners, as well as plagues, poxes, and other diſeaſes, that are brought to us by ſhipping, ſhould we only caſt our eyes on what is either to be imputed to the wind and weather, the treachery of the ſeas, the ice of the north, the vermin of the ſouth, the darkneſs of nights, and unwholeſomeneſs of climates, or elſe occaſioned by the want of good proviſions, and the faults of mariners, and unſkilfulneſs of ſome, and the neglect and drunkenneſs of others; and ſhould we conſider the loſſes of men and treaſure ſwallowed up in the deep, the tears and neceſſities of widows and orphans made by the ſea, the ruin of merchants and the conſequences, the continual anxieties that parents and wives are in for the ſafety of their children and huſbands, and not for-

get the many pangs and heart-aches that are felt throughout a trading nation, by owners and inſurers, at every blaſt of wind; ſhould we caſt our eyes, I ſay, on theſe things, conſider with due attention and give them the weight they deſerve, would it not be amazing, how a nation of thinking people ſhould talk of their ſhips and navigation as a peculiar bleſſing to them, and placing an uncommon felicity in having an infinity of veſſels diſperſed through the wide world, and always ſome going to and others coming from every part of the univerſe?

But let us once, in our conſideration on theſe things, confine ourſelves to what the ſhips ſuffer only, the veſſels themſelves, with their rigging and appurtenances, without thinking on the freight they carry, or the hands that work them, and we ſhall find that the damage ſuſtained that way only, is very conſiderable, and muſt one year with another amount to vaſt ſums; the ſhips that are foundered at ſea, ſplit againſt rocks and ſwallowed up by ſands, ſome by the fierceneſs of tempeſts altogether, others by that and the want of pilots, experience, and knowledge of the coaſts: the maſts that are blown down, or forced to be cut and thrown overboard, the yards, ſails, and cordage of different ſizes that are deſtroyed by ſtorms, and the anchors that are loſt: add to theſe the neceſſary repairs of leaks ſprung, and other hurts received from the rage of winds, and the violence of the waves: many ſhips are ſet on fire by careleſſneſs, and the effects of ſtrong liquors, which none are more addicted to than ſailors: ſometimes unhealthy climates, at others the badneſs of proviſion breed fatal diſtempers, that ſweep away the greateſt part of the crew, and not a few ſhips are loſt for want of hands.

Theſe are all calamities inſeparable from navigation, and ſeem to be great impediments that clog the wheels of foreign commerce. How happy would a merchant think himſelf, if his ſhips ſhould always have fine weather, and the wind he wiſhed for, and every mariner he employed, from the higheſt to the loweſt, be a knowing experienced ſailor, and a careful, ſober, good man! Was ſuch a felicity to be had for prayers, what owner of ſhips is there, or dealer in Europe, nay, the whole world, who would not be all day long teazing Heaven to obtain ſuch a bleſſing for himſelf, without regard to what detriment it would do to others? Such a petition would certainly be a very unconſcionable one; yet where is the man who imagines not that he has a right to make it? And there-

fore, as every one pretends to an equal claim to thoſe favours, let us, without reflecting on the impoſſibility of its being true, ſuppoſe all their prayers effectual and their wiſhes anſwered, and afterwards examine into the reſult of ſuch a happineſs.

Ships would laſt as long as timber houſes to the full, becauſe they are as ſtrongly built, and the latter are liable to ſuffer by high winds and other ſtorms, which the firſt, by our ſuppoſition, are not to be: ſo that, before there would be any real occaſion for new ſhips, the maſter builders now in being, and every body under them, that is ſet to work about them, would all die a natural death, if they were not ſtarved or come to ſome untimely end: for, in the firſt place, all ſhips having proſperous gales, and never waiting for the wind, they would make very quick voyages both out and home: ſecondly, no merchandiſes would be damaged by the ſea, or by ſtreſs of weather thrown overboard, but the entire lading would always come ſafe aſhore; and hence it would follow, that three parts in four of the merchantmen already made, would be ſuperfluous for the preſent, and the ſtock of ſhips that are now in the world, ſerve a vaſt many years. Maſts and yards would laſt as long as the veſſels themſelves, and we ſhould not need to trouble Norway on that ſcore a great while yet. The ſails and rigging, indeed, of the few ſhips made uſe of would wear out, but not a quarter part ſo faſt as now they do, for they often ſuffer more in one hour's ſtorm, than in ten days fair weather.

Anchors and cables there would be ſeldom any occaſion for, and one of each would laſt a ſhip time out of mind: this article alone, would yield many a tedious holiday to the anchor-ſmiths and the rope-yards. This general want of conſumption would have ſuch an influence on the timber-merchants, and all that import iron, ſail-cloth, hemp, pitch, tar, &c. that four parts in five of what, in the beginning of this reflection on ſea-affairs, I ſaid, made a conſiderable branch of the traffic of Europe, would be entirely loſt.

I have only touched hitherto on the conſequences of this bleſſing in relation to ſhipping, but it would be detrimental to all other branches of trade beſides, and deſtructive to the poor of every country, that exports any thing of their own growth or manufacture. The goods and merchandiſes that every year go to the deep, that are ſpoiled at ſea by ſalt water, by heat, by vermine, deſtroyed by fire, or loſt to the

merchant by other accidents, all owing to ſtorms or tedious voyages, or elſe the neglect or rapacity of ſailors; ſuch goods, I ſay, and merchandiſes are a conſiderable part of what every year is ſent abroad throughout the world, and muſt have employed great multitudes of poor, before they could come on board. A hundred bales of cloth that are burnt or ſunk in the Mediterranean, are as beneficial to the poor in England, as if they had ſafely arrived at Smyrna or Aleppo, and every yard of them had been retailed on the grand Signior's dominions.

The merchant may break, and by him the clothier, the dyer, the packer, and other tradeſmen, the middling people, may ſuffer; but the poor that were ſet to work about them can never loſe. Day-labourers commonly receive their earnings once a-week, and all the working people that were employed, either in any of the various branches of the manufacture itſelf, or the ſeveral land and water carriages it requires to be brought to perfection, from the ſheep's back, to the veſſel it was entered in, were paid, at leaſt much the greateſt part of them, before the parcel came on board. Should any of my readers draw concluſions *in infinitum*, from my aſſertions, that goods ſunk or burnt are as beneficial to the poor, as if they had been well ſold and put to their proper uſes, I would count him a caviller and not worth anſwering: ſhould it always rain and the ſun never ſhine, the fruits of the earth would ſoon be rotten and deſtroyed; and yet it is no paradox to affirm, that, to have graſs or corn, rain is as neceſſary as the ſunſhine.

In what manner this bleſſing of fair winds and fine weather, would affect the mariners themſelves, and the breed of ſailors, may be eaſily conjectured from what has been ſaid already. As there would hardly one ſhip in four be made uſe of, ſo the veſſels themſelves being always exempt from ſtorms, fewer hands would be required to work them, and conſequently five in ſix of the ſeamen we have might be ſpared, which in this nation, moſt employments of the poor being overſtocked, would be but an untoward article. As ſoon as thoſe ſuperfluous ſeamen ſhould be extinct, it would be impoſſible to man ſuch large fleets as we could at preſent: but I do not look upon this as a detriment, or the leaſt inconveniency: for the reduction of mariners, as to numbers being general throughout the world, all the conſequence would be, that in caſe of war, the maritime powers would be

obliged to fight with fewer ſhips, which would be an happineſs inſtead of an evil: and would you carry this felicity to the higheſt pitch of perfection, it is but to add one deſirable bleſſing more, and no nation ſhall ever fight at all: the bleſſing I hint at is, what all good Chriſtians are bound to pray for, viz. that all princes and ſtates would be true to their oaths and promiſes, and juſt to one another, as well as their own ſubjects; that they might have a greater regard for the dictates of conſcience and religion, than thoſe of ſtate politics and worldly wiſdom, and prefer the ſpiritual welfare of others to their own carnal deſires, and the honeſty, the ſafety, the peace and tranquillity of the nations they govern, to their own love of glory, ſpirit of revenge, avarice, and ambition.

The laſt paragraph will to many ſeem a digreſſion, that makes little for my purpoſe; but what I mean by it, is to demonſtrate that goodneſs, integrity, and a peaceful diſpoſition in rulers and governors of nations, are not the proper qualifications to aggrandize them, and increaſe their numbers; any more than the uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs that every private perſon would be bleſt with, if he could, and which I have ſhown would be injurious and deſtructive to a large ſociety, that ſhould place a felicity in worldly greatneſs, and being envied by their neighbours, and value themſelves upon their honour and their ſtrength.

No man needs to guard himſelf againſt bleſſings, but calamities require hands to avert them. The amiable qualities of man put none of the ſpecies upon ſtirring: his honeſty, his love of company, his goodneſs, content and frugality, are ſo many comforts to an indolent ſociety, and the more real and unaffected they are, the more they keep every thing at reſt and peace, and the more they will every where prevent trouble and motion itſelf. The ſame almoſt may be ſaid of the gifts and munificence of Heaven, and all the bounties and benefits of nature: this is certain, that the more extenſive they are, and the greater plenty we have of them, the more we ſave our labour. But the neceſſities, the vices, and imperfections of man, together with the various inclemencies of the air and other elements, contain in them the ſeeds of all arts, induſtry and labour: it is the extremities of heat and cold, the inconſtancy and badneſs of ſeaſons, the violence and uncertainty of winds, the vaſt power and treachery of water, the rage and untractableneſs of fire, and the ſtubborn-

neſs and ſterility of the earth, that rack our invention, how we ſhall either avoid the miſchiefs they may produce, or correct the malignity of them, and turn their ſeveral forces to our own advantage a thouſand different ways; while we are employed in ſupplying the infinite variety of our wants, which will ever be multiplied as our knowledge is enlarged, and our deſires increaſe. Hunger, thirſt, and nakedneſs, are the firſt tyrants that force us to ſtir: afterwards, our pride, ſloth, ſenſuality, and fickleneſs, are the great patrons that promote all arts and ſciences, trades, handicrafts and callings; while the great taſk-maſters, neceſſity, avarice, envy, and ambition, each in the claſs that belongs to him, keep the members of the ſociety to their labour, and make them all ſubmit, moſt of them cheerfully, to the drudgery of their ſtation; kings and princes not excepted.

The greater the variety of trades and manufactures the more operoſe they are, and the more they are divided in many branches, the greater numbers may be contained in a ſociety without being in one another's way, and the more eaſily they may be rendered a rich, potent, and flouriſhing people. Few virtues employ any hands, and therefore they may render a ſmall nation good, but they can never make a great one. To be ſtrong and laborious, patient in difficulties, and aſſiduous in all buſineſs, are commendable qualities; but as they do their own work, ſo they are their own reward, and neither art nor induſtry have ever paid their compliments to them; whereas the excellency of human thought and contrivance, has been, and is yet no where more conſpicuous than in the variety of tools and inſtruments of workmen and artificers, and the multiplicity of engines, that were all invented either to aſſiſt the weakneſs of man, to correct his many imperfections, to gratify his lazineſs, or obviate his impatience.

It is in morality as it is in nature, there is nothing ſo perfectly good in creatures, that it cannot be hurtful to any one of the ſociety, nor any thing ſo entirely evil, but it may prove beneficial to ſome part or other of the creation: ſo that things are only good and evil in reference to ſo ſomething elſe, and according to the light and poſition they are placed in. What pleaſes us is good in that regard, and by this rule every man wiſhes well for himſelf to the beſt of his capacity, with little reſpect to his neighbour. There never was any rain yet, though in a very dry ſeaſon when public

prayers had been made for it, but ſomebody or other who wanted to go abroad, wiſhed it might be fair weather only for that day. When the corn ſtands thick in the ſpring, and the generality of the country rejoice at the pleaſing object, the rich farmer who kept his laſt year's crop for a better market, pines at the ſight, and inwardly grieves at the proſpect of a plentiful harveſt. Nay, we ſhall often hear your idle people openly wiſh for the poſſeſſions of others, and not to be injurious forſooth add this wiſe proviſo, that it ſhould be without detriment to the owners: but I am afraid they often do it without any ſuch reſtriction in their hearts.

It is a happineſs that the prayers as well as wiſhes of moſt people, are inſignificant and good for nothing; or elſe the only thing that could keep mankind fit for ſociety, and the world from falling into confuſion, would be the impoſſibility that all the petitions made to Heaven ſhould be granted. A dutiful pretty young gentleman newly come from his travels, lies at the Briel waiting with impatience for an eaſterly wind, to waft him over to England, where a dying father, who wants to embrace and give him his bleſſing before he yields his breath, lies hoaning after him, melted with grief and tenderneſs: in the mean while a Britiſh miniſter, who is to take care of the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany, is riding poſt to Harwich, and in violent haſte to be at Ratiſbone before the diet breaks up. At the ſame time a rich fleet lies ready for the Mediterranean, and a fine ſquadron is bound for the Baltic. All theſe things may probably happen at once, at leaſt there is no difficulty in ſuppoſing they ſhould. If theſe people are not atheiſts, or very great reprobates, they will all have ſome good thoughts before they go to ſleep, and conſequently about bed-time, they muſt all differently pray for a fair wind and a proſperous voyage. I do not ſay but it is their duty, and it is poſſible they may be all heard, but I am ſure they cannot be all ſerved at the ſame time.

After this, I flatter myſelf to have demonſtrated that, neither the friendly qualities and kind affections that are natural to man, nor the real virtues he is capable of acquiring by reaſon and ſelf-denial, are the foundation of ſociety; but that what we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle that makes us ſociable creatures, the ſolid baſis, the life and ſupport of all trades and employments without exception: that there we muſt look for the true

origin of all arts and ſciences, and that the moment evil ceaſes, the ſociety muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved.

I could add a thouſand things to enforce, and further illuſtrate this truth, with abundance of pleaſure; but for fear of being troubleſome, I ſhall make an end, though I confeſs that I have not been half ſo ſolicitous to gain the approbation of others, as I have ſtudied to pleaſe myſelf in this amuſement: yet if ever I hear, that by following this diverſion I have given any to the intelligent reader, it will always add to the ſatisfaction I have received in the performance. In the hope my vanity forms of this, I leave him with regret, and conclude with repeating the ſeeming paradox, the ſubſtance of which is advanced in the title page; that private vices, by the dexterous management of a ſkilful politician, may be turned into public benefits.

A

VINDICATION

OF THE

BOOK, from the ASPERSIONS contained in a Preſentment of the Grand Jury of Middleſex,

And an Abuſive Letter to Lord C——

THAT the reader may be fully inſtructed in the merits of the cauſe between my adverſaries and myſelf, it is requiſite that, before he ſees my defence, he ſhould know the whole charge, and have before him all the accuſations againſt me at large.

The Preſentment of the Grand Jury is worded thus:

WE the Grand Jury for the county of Middleſex, have, with the greateſt ſorrow and concern, obſerved the many books and pamphlets that are almoſt every week publiſhed againſt the ſacred articles of our holy religion, and all diſcipline and order in the church, and the manner in which this is carried on, ſeems to us to have a direct tendency to propagate infidelity, and conſequently corruption of all morals.

We are juſtly ſenſible of the goodneſs of the Almighty, that has preſerved us from the plague, which has viſited our neighbouring nation, and for which great mercy, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to command, by his proclamation, that thanks ſhould be returned to Heaven; but how provoking muſt it be to the Almighty, that his mercies and deliverances extended to this nation, and our thankſgiving that was publicly commanded for it, ſhould be attended with ſuch flagrant impieties.

We know of nothing that can be of greater ſervice to his Majeſty, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion (which is happily eſtabliſhed among us for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion), than the ſuppreſſion of blaſphemy and profaneneſs, which has a direct tendency to ſubvert the very foundation on which his Majeſty's government is fixed.

So reſtleſs have theſe zealots for infidelity been in their diabolical attempts againſt religion, that they have,

Firſt, Openly blaſphemed and denied the doctrine of the ever Bleſſed Trinity, endeavouring, by ſpecies pretences, to revive the Arian hereſy, which was never introduced into any nation, but the vengeance of Heaven purſued it.

Secondly, They affirm an abſolute fate, and deny the Providence and government of the Almighty in the world.

Thirdly, They have endeavoured to ſubvert all order and diſcipline of the church, and by vile and unjuſt reflections on the clergy, they ſtrive to bring contempt on all religion; that by the libertiniſm of their opinions they may encourage and draw others into the immoralities of their practice.

Fourthly, That a general libertiniſm may the more effectually be eſtabliſhed, the univerſities are decried, and all inſtructions of youth in the principles of the Chriſtian religion are exploded with the greateſt malice and falſity.

Fifthly, The more effectually to carry on theſe works of darkneſs, ſtudied artifices, and invented colours, have been made uſe of to run down religion and virtue as prejudicial to ſociety, and detrimental to the ſtate; and to recommend luxury, avarice, pride, and all kind of vices, as being neceſſary to public welfare, and not tending to the deſtruction of the conſtitution: nay, the very ſtews themſelves have had ſtrained apologies and forced encomiums made in their favour, and produced in print, with deſign, we conceive, to debauch the nation.

Theſe principles having a direct tendency to the ſubverſion of all religion and civil government, our duty to the Almighty, our love to our country, and regard to our oaths, oblige us to preſent

as the

publiſher of a book, intituled the Fable of the Bees; or Private Vices Public Benefits. 2d. Edit. 1723.

And alſo

as the publiſher

of a weekly paper, called the Britiſh Journal, Numb. 26, 35, 36, and 39.

The Letter I complain of is this:

My Lord,

It is welcome news to all the king's loyal subjects and true friends to the eſtabliſhed government and ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, that your Lordſhip is ſaid to be contriving ſome effectual means of ſecuring us from the dangers, wherewith his Majeſty's happy government ſeems to be threatened by Catiline, under the name of Cato; by the writer of a book, intituled, The Fable of the Bees, &c. and by others of their fraternity, who are undoubtedly uſeful friends to the Pretender, and diligent, for his ſake, in labouring to ſubvert and ruin our conſtitution, under a ſpecious pretence of defending it. Your Lordſhip's wiſe reſolution, totally to ſuppreſs ſuch impious writings, and the direction already given for having them preſented, immediately, by ſome of the grand juries, will effectually convince the nation, that no attempts againſt Chriſtianity will be ſuffered or endured here. And this conviction will at once rid mens minds of the uneaſineſs which this flagitious race of writers has endeavoured to raiſe in them; will therefore be a firm bulwark to the Proteſtant religion; will effectually defeat the projects and hopes of the Pretender; and beſt ſecure us againſt any change in the miniſtry. And no faithful Briton could be unconcerned, if the people ſhould imagine any the leaſt neglect in any ſingle perſon bearing a part in the miniſtry, or begin to grow jealous, that any thing could be done, which is not done, in defending their religion from every the leaſt appearance of danger approaching towards it. And, my Lord, this jealouſy might have been apt to riſe, if no meaſures had been taken to diſcourage and cruſh the open advocates of irreligion. It is no eaſy matter to get jealouſy out of one's brains, when it is once got into them. Jealouſy, my Lord! it is as furious a fiend as any of them all. I have ſeen a little thin weak woman ſo invigorated by a fit of jealouſy, that five grenadiers could not hold her. My Lord, go on with your juſt methods of keeping the people clear of this curſed jealouſy: for amongſt the various kinds and occaſions of it, that which concerns their religion, is the moſt violent, flagrant, frantic ſort of all; and accordingly has, in former reigns, produced thoſe various miſchiefs, which your Lordſhip has faithfully determined to prevent, dutifully re-

garding the royal authority, and conforming to the example of his Majeſty, who has graciouſly given directions (which are well known to your Lordſhip) for the preſerving of unity in the church; and the purity of the Chriſtian faith. It is in vain to think that the people of England will ever give up their religion, or be very fond of any miniſtry that will not ſupport it, as the wiſdom of this miniſtry has done, againſt ſuch audacious attacks as are made upon it by the ſcriblers; for ſcribler, your Lordſhip knows, is the juſt appellation of every author, who, under whatever plauſible appearance of good ſenſe, attempts to undermine the religion, and therefore the content and quiet, the peace and happineſs of his fellow-ſubjects, by ſubtle and artful, and fallacious arguments and inſinuations. May Heaven avert thoſe inſufferable miſeries, which the Church of Rome would bring upon us! tyranny is the bane of human ſociety, and there is no tyranny heavier than that of the triple crown. And, therefore, this free and happy people has juſtly conceived an utter abhorrence and dread of Popery, and of every thing that looks like encouragement or tendency to it; but they do alſo abhor and dread the violence offered to Chriſtianity itſelf, by our Britiſh Catilines, who ſhelter their treacherous deſigns againſt it, under the falſe colours of regard and good will to our bleſſed Proteſtant religion, while they demonſtrate, too plainly demonſtrate, that the title of Proteſtants does not belong to them, unleſs it can belong to thoſe who are in effect proteſtors againſt all religion.

And really the people cannot be much blamed for being a little unwilling to part with their religion: for they tell ye that there is a God; and that God governs the world; and that he is wont to bleſs or blaſt a kingdom, in proportion to the degrees of religion or irreligion prevailing in it. Your Lordſhip has a fine collection of books; and, which is a finer thing ſtill, you do certainly underſtand them, and can turn to an account of any important affair in a trice. I would therefore fain know, whether your Lordſhip can ſhow, from any writer, let him be as profane as the ſcribblers would have him, that any one empire, kingdom, country, or province, great or ſmall, did not dwindle and ſink, and was confounded, when it once failed of providing ſtudiouſly for the ſupport of religion.

The ſcribblers talk much of the Roman government, and liberty, and the ſpirit of the old Romans. But it is unde-

niable, that their moſt plauſible talk of theſe things is all pretence, and grimace, and an artifice to ſerve the purpoſes of irreligion; and by conſquence to render the people uneaſy, and ruin the kingdom. For if they did in reality eſteem, and would faithfully recommend to their countrymen, the ſentiments and principles, the main purpoſes and practices of the wiſe and proſperous Romans, they would, in the firſt place, put us in mind, that old Rome was as remarkable for obſerving and promoting natural religion, as new Rome has been for corrupting that which is revealed. And as the old Romans did ſignally recommend themſelves to the favour of heaven, by their faithful care of religion; ſo were they abundantly convinced, and did accordingly acknowledge, with univerſal conſent, that their care of religion was the great means * of God's preſerving the empire, and crowning it with conqueſt and ſucceſs, proſperity and glory. Hence it was, that when their orators were bent upon exerting their utmoſt in moving and perſuading the people, upon any occaſion, they ever put them in mind of their religion, if that could be any way affected by the point in debate; not doubting that the people would determine in their favour, if they could but demonſtrate, that the ſafety of religion depended upon the ſucceſs of their cauſe. And, indeed, neither the Romans, nor any other nation upon earth, did ever ſuffer their eſtabliſhed religion to be openly ridiculed, exploded, or oppoſed: and I am ſure, your Lordſhip would not, for all the world, that this thing would be done with impunity amongſt us, which was never endured in the world before. Did ever any man, ſince the bleſſed revelation of the goſpel, run riot upon Chriſtianity, as ſome men, nay, and ſome few women too, have lately done? muſt the devil grow rampant at this rate, and not to be called *coram nobis?* Why ſhould not he content himſelf to carry off people in the common way, the way of curſing and ſwearing, Sabbath breaking and cheating, bribery, and hypocriſy, drunkenneſs and whoring, and ſuch kind of things as he uſed to do? never let him domineer in mens mouths and writings, as he does now, with loud, tremendous infidelity, blaſphemy and prophaneneſs, enough to frighten the King's ſubjects out of their wits. We are now come to

* Quis eſt tam vecors qui non intelligat, numine hoc tantum imperium eſſe natum, actum, et retentum? *Cic. Orat. de Haruſp. Reſp.*

ſhort queſtion: God or the devil? that is the word; and time will ſhow, who and who goes together. Thus much may be ſaid at preſent, that thoſe have abundantly ſhown their ſpirit of oppoſition to ſacred things, who have not only inveighed againſt the national profeſſion and exerciſe of religion; and endeavoured, with bitterneſs and dexterity, to render it odious and contemptible, but are ſolicitous to hinder multitudes of the natives of this iſland from having the very ſeeds of religion ſown among them with advantage.

Arguments are urged, with the utmoſt vehemence, againſt the education of poor children in the charity ſchools, though there hath not one juſt reaſon been offered againſt the proviſion made for that education. The things that have been objected againſt it are not, in fact, true; and nothing ought to be regarded, by ſerious and wiſe men, as a weighty or juſt argument, if it is not a true one. How hath Catiline the confidence left to look any man in the face, after he hath ſpent more confidence than moſt mens whole ſtock amounts to, in ſaying, that this pretended charity has, in effect, deſtroyed all other charities, which were before given to the aged, ſick, and impotent.

It ſeems pretty clear, that if thoſe, who do not contribute to any charity ſchool, are become more uncharitable to any other object than formerly they were, their want of charity to the one, is not owing to their contribution to the other. And as to thoſe who do contribute to theſe ſchools; they are ſo far from being more ſparing in their relief of other objects, than they were before, that the poor widows, the aged and the impotent do plainly receive more relief from them, in proportion to their numbers and abilities, than from any the ſame numbers of men under the ſame circumſtancies of fortune, who do not concern themſelves with charity ſchools, in any reſpect, but in condemning and decrying them. I will meet Catiline at the Grecian coffee-houſe any day in the week, and by an enumeration of particular perſons, in as great a number as he pleaſeth, demonſtrate the truth of what I ſay. But I do not much depend upon his giving me the meeting, becauſe it is his buſineſs, not to encourage demonſtrations of the truth, but to throw diſguiſes upon it; otherwiſe, he never could have allowed himſelf, after repreſenting the charity ſchools as intended to breed up children to reading and writing, and a ſober behaviour, that they may be qualified to be ſervants, immediately to

add these words, a sort of idle and rioting vermin, by which the kingdom is already almost devoured, and are become every where a public nuisance, &c. What? Is it owing to the charity schools, that servants are become so idle, such rioting vermin, such a public nuisance; that women-servants turn whores, and the men-servants robbers, house-breakers, and sharpers? (as he says they commonly do). Is this owing to the charity schools? or, if it is not, how comes he to allow himself the liberty of representing these schools as a means of increasing this load of mischief, which is indeed too plainly fallen upon the public? The imbibing principles of virtue hath not, usually, been thought the chief occasion of running into vice. If the early knowledge of truth, and of our obligations to it, were the surest means of departing from it, nobody would doubt, that the knowledge of truth was instilled into Catiline very early, and with the utmost care. It is a good pretty thing in him to spread a report, and to lay so much stress upon it as he does, that there is more collected at the church doors in a day, to make these poor boys and girls appear in caps and livery-coats, than for all the poor in a year. O rare Catiline! This point you will carry most swimmingly; for you have no witnesses against you, nor any living soul to contradict you, except the collectors and overseers of the poor, and all other principal inhabitants of most of the parishes, where any charity schools are in England.

The jest of it is, my Lord, that these scribblers would still be thought good moral men. But, when men make it their business to mislead and deceive their neighbours, and that in matters of moment, by distorting and disguising the truth, by misrepresentations and false insinuations; if such men are not guilty of usurpation, while they take upon them the character of good moral men, then it is not immoral, in any man, to be false and deceitful, in cases where the law cannot touch him for being so, and morality bears no relation to truth and fair dealing. However, I shall not be very willing to meet one of these moral men upon Hounslow-heath, if I should happen to ride that way without pistols. For I have a notion, that they who have no conscience in one point, do not much abound with it in another. Your Lordship, who judges accurately of men, as well as books, will easily imagine, if you had no other knowledge of the charity schools, that there must be something very excellent in them

becauſe ſuch kind of men as theſe are ſo warm in oppoſing them.

They tell you, that theſe ſchools are hindrances to huſbandry and to manufacture. As to huſbandry; the children are not kept in the ſchools longer than till they are of age and ſtrength to perform the principal parts of it, or to bear conſtant labour in it; and even while they are under this courſe of education, your Lordſhip may depend upon it, that they ſhall never be hindered from working in the fields, or being employed in ſuch labour as they are capable of, in any parts of the year, when they can get ſuch employment for the ſupport of their parents and themſelves, In this caſe, the parents, in the ſeveral counties, are proper judges of their ſeveral ſituations and circumſtances, and at the ſame time, not ſo very fond of their childrens getting a little knowledge, rather than a little money, but that they will find other employment for them than going to ſchool, whenever they can get a penny by ſo doing. And the caſe is the ſame as to the manufactures; the truſtees of the charity ſchools, and the parents of the children bred in them, would be thankful to thoſe gentlemen who make the objection, if they would aſſiſt in removing it, by ſubſcribing to a fund for joining the employment of manufacture, to the buſineſs of learning to read and write in the charity ſchools. This would be a noble work: it is already affected by the ſupporters of ſome charity ſchools, and is aimed at, and earneſtly deſired by all the reſt: but Rome was not built in a day. Till this great thing can be brought about, let the maſters and managers of the manufactures in the ſeveral places of the kingdom, be ſo charitable as to employ the poor children for a certain number of hours in every day, in the reſpective manufactures, while the truſtees are taking care to fill up their other hours of the day, in the uſual duties of the charity ſchools. It is an eaſy matter for party-men, for deſigning and perverted minds, to invent colourable, fallacious arguments, and to offer railing, under the appearance of reaſoning, againſt the beſt things in the world. But undoubtedly, no impartial man, who is affected with a ſerious ſenſe of goodneſs, and a real love of his country, can think this proper and juſt view of the charity ſchools, liable to any juſt weighty objection, or refuſe to contribute his endeavours to improve and raiſe them to that perfection which is propoſed in them. In the mean time, let no man be ſo weak or ſo wicked as to deny,

that when poor children cannot meet with employment in any other honeſt way, rather than ſuffer their tender age to be ſpent in idleneſs, or in learning the arts of lying, and ſwearing, and ſtealing, it is true charity to them, and good ſervice done to our country, to employ them in learning the principles of religion and virtue, till their age and ſtrength will enable them to become ſervants in families, or to be engaged in huſbandry, or manufacture, or any kind of mechanic trade or laborious employment; for to theſe laborious employments are the charity children generally, if not always turned, as ſoon as they become capable of them: and therefore Catiline may be pleaſed to retract his objection concerning ſhop-keepers, or retailers of commodities, wherein he has affirmed, that their employments, which he ſays ought to fall to the ſhare of children of their own degree, are moſtly anticipated and engroſſed by the managers of the charity ſchools. He muſt excuſe my acquainting your Lordſhip, that this affirmation is in fact directly falſe, which is an inconvenience very apt to fall upon his affirmations, as it has particularly done upon one of them more, which I would mention. For he is not aſhamed roundly to aſſert, That the principles of our common people are debauched in our charity ſchools, who are taught, as ſoon as they can ſpeak, to blabber out High-church and Ormond, and ſo are bred up to be traitors before they know what treaſon ſignifies. Your Lordſhip, and other perſons of integrity, whoſe words are the faithful repreſentatives of their meaning, would now think, if I had not given you a key to Catiline's talk, that he has been fully convinced, that the children in the charity ſchoos are bred up to be traitors.

My Lord, if any one maſter be ſuffered by the truſtees to continue in any charity ſchool, againſt whom proof can be brought, that he is diſaffected to the government, or that he does not as faithfully teach the children obedience and loyalty to the King, as any other duty in the catachiſm, then I will gratify Catiline with a licence to pull down the ſchools, and hang up the maſters, according to his heart's deſire.

Theſe, and ſuch things as theſe, are urged with the like bitterneſs, and as little truth, in the book mentioned above, viz. The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Public Benefits, &c. Cataline explodes the fundamental articles of faith, impiouſly comparing the doctrine of the bleſſed Trinity to fee-fa-fum: this profligate author of the Fable is not only an

auxiliary to Catiline in oppoſition to faith, but has taken upon him to tear up the very foundations of moral virtue, and eſtabliſh vice in its room. The beſt phyſician in the world did never labour more, to purge the natural body of bad qualities, than this bumble-bee has done to purge the body-politic of good ones. He himſelf bears teſtimony to the truth of this charge againſt him: for when he comes to the concluſion of his book, he makes this obſervation upon himſelf and his performance: "After this, I flatter myſelf to "have demonſtrated, that neither the friendly qualities and "kind affections that are natural to man, nor the real virtues "he is capable of acquiring by reaſon and ſelf-denial, are "the foundation of ſociety; but that what we call evil in "this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle "that makes us ſociable creatures, the ſolid baſis, the life "and ſupport of all trades and employments without exception: that there we muſt look for the true origin of all "arts and ſciences, and that the moment evil ceaſes, the ſociety muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved"

Now, my Lord, you ſee the grand deſign, the main drift of Catiline and his confederates; now the ſcene opens, and the ſecret ſprings appear; now the fraternity adventure to ſpeak out, and ſurely no band of men ever dared to ſpeak at this rate before; now you ſee the true cauſe of all their enmity to the poor charity ſchools; it is levelled againſt religion: religion, my Lord, which the ſchools are inſtituted to promote, and which this confederacy is reſolved to deſtroy; for the ſchools are certainly one of the greateſt inſtruments of religion and virtue, one of the firmeſt bulwarks againſt Popery, one of the beſt recommendations of this people to the Divine favour, and therefore one of the greateſt bleſſings to our country of any thing that has been ſet on foot ſince our happy Reformation and deliverance from the idolatry and tyranny of Rome. If any trivial inconvenience did ariſe from ſo excellent a work, as ſome little inconvenience attends all human inſtitutions and affairs, the excellency of the work would ſtill be matter of joy, and find encouragement with all the wiſe and the good, who deſpiſe ſuch inſignificant objections againſt it, as other men are not aſhamed to raiſe and defend.

Now your Lordſhip alſo ſees the true cauſe of the ſatire, which is continually formed againſt the clergy, by Catiline and his confederates. Why ſhould Mr. Hall's conviction

and execution be any more an objection againſt the clergy, than Mr. Layer's againſt the gentlemen of the long robe? Why, becauſe the profeſſion of the law does not immediately relate to religion: and therefore Catiline will allow, that if any perſons of that profeſſion ſhould be traitors, or otherwiſe vicious, all the reſt may, notwithſtanding the iniquity of a brother, be as loyal and virtuous as any other ſubjects in the King's dominions: but becauſe matters of religion are the profeſſed concern, and the employment of the clergy; therefore Catiline's logic makes it out, as clear as the day, that if any of them be diſaffected to the government, all the reſt are ſo too; or if any of them be chargeable with vice, this conſequence from it is plain, that all or moſt of the reſt are as vicious as the devil can make them. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with a particular vindication of the clergy, nor is there any reaſon that I ſhould, for they are already ſecure of your Lordſhip's good affection to them, and they are able to vindicate themſelves whereſoever ſuch a vindication is wanted, being as faithful, and virtuous, and learned, a body of men as any in Europe; and yet they ſuſpend the publication of arguments in a ſolemn defence of themſelves, becauſe they neither expect nor deſire approbation and eſteem from impious and abandoned men; and, at the ſame time, they cannot doubt that all perſons, not only of great penetration, but of common ſenſe, do now clearly ſee, that the arrows ſhot againſt the clergy are intended to wound and deſtroy the divine inſtitution of the miniſterial offices, and to extirpate the religion which the ſacred offices were appointed to preſerve and promote. This was always ſuppoſed and ſuſpected by every honeſt and impartial man; but it is now demonſtrated by thoſe who before had given occaſion to ſuch ſuſpicions, for they have now openly declared, that faith, in the principal articles of it, is not only needleſs, but ridiculous, that the welfare of human ſociety muſt ſink and periſh under the encouragement of virtue, and that immorality is the only firm foundation whereon the happineſs of mankind can be built and ſubſiſt. The publication of ſuch tenets as theſe, an open avowed propoſal to extirpate the Chriſtian faith and all virtue, and to fix moral evil for the baſis of the government, is ſo ſtunning, ſo ſhocking, ſo frightful, ſo flagrant an enormity, that if it ſhould be imputed to us as a national guilt, the Divine vengeance muſt inevitably fall upon us. And how far this enormity would

become a national guilt, if it ſhould paſs diſregarded and unpuniſhed, a caſuiſt leſs ſkilful and diſcerning than your Lordſhip may eaſily gueſs. And, no doubt, your Lordſhip's good judgment, in ſo plain and important a caſe, has made you, like a wiſe and faithful patriot, reſolve to uſe your utmoſt endeavours in your high ſtation, to defend religion from the bold attacks made upon it.

As ſoon as I have ſeen a copy of the bill, for the better ſecurity of his Majeſty and his happy government, by the better ſecurity of religion in Great Britain, your Lordſhip's juſt ſcheme of politics, your love of your country, and your great ſervices done to it, ſhall again be acknowledged by,

MY LORD,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

THEOPHILUS PHILO-BRITANNUS.

These violent accuſations, and the great clamour every where raiſed againſt the book, by governors, maſters, and other champions of charity ſchools, together with the advice of friends, and the reflection on what I owed to myſelf, drew from me the following anſwer. The candid reader, in the peruſal of it, will not be offended at the repetition of ſome paſſages, one of which he may have met with twice already, when he ſhall conſider that, to make my defence by itſelf to the public, I was obliged to repeat what had been quoted in the Letter, ſince the paper would unavoidably fall into the hands of many who had never ſeen either the Fable of the Bees, or the Defamatory Letter wrote againſt it. The Anſwer was publiſhed in the London Journal of Auguſt 10. 1723, in theſe words:

WHEREAS, in the Evening Poſt of Thurſday July 11, a preſentment was inſerted of the Grand Jury of Middleſex, againſt the publiſher of a book, intituled, The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Public Beneſits; and ſince that, a paſſionate and abuſive Letter has been publiſhed againſt the ſame book, and the author of it, in the London Journal of Saturday, July 27; I think myſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to vindicate the above ſaid book againſt the black aſperſions that undeſervedly have been caſt upon it, being conſcious that I have not had the leaſt ill deſign in compoſing it. The ac-

cuſations againſt it having been made openly in the public papers, it is not equitable the defence of it ſhould appear in a more private manner. What I have to ſay in my behalf, I ſhall addreſs to all men of ſenſe and ſincerity, aſking no other favour of them, than their patience and attention. Setting aſide what in that Letter relates to others, and every thing that is foreign and immaterial, I ſhall begin with the paſſage that is quoted from the book, viz. "After this, I flatter myſelf to have demonſtrated, that neither the friendly qualities and kind affections that are natural to man, nor the real virtues he is capable of acquiring by reaſon and ſelf-denial, are the foundation of ſociety; but that what we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle that makes us ſociable creatures; the ſolid baſis, the life and ſupport of all trades and employments without exception: That there we muſt look for the true origin of all arts and ſciences; and that the moment evil ceaſes, the ſociety muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved." Theſe words, I own, are in the book, and, being both innocent and true, like to remain there in all future impreſſions. But I will likewiſe own very freely, that, if I had wrote with a deſign to be underſtood by the meaneſt capacities, I would not have choſe the ſubject there treated of; or if I had, I would have amplified and explained every period, talked and diſtinguiſhed magiſterially, and never appeared without the feſcue in my hand. As for example; to make the paſſage pointed at intelligible, I would have beſtowed a page or two on the meaning of the word Evil; after that I would have taught them, that every defect, every want, was an evil; that on the multiplicity of thoſe wants depended all thoſe mutual ſervices which the individual members of a ſociety pay to each other; and that conſequently, the greater variety there was of wants, the larger number of individuals might find their private intereſt in labouring for the good of others, and, united together, compoſe one body. Is there a trade or handicraft but what ſupplies us with ſomething we wanted? This want certainly, before it was ſupplied, was an evil, which that trade or handicraft was to remedy, and without which it could never have been thought of. Is there an art or ſcience that was not invented to mend ſome defect! Had this latter not exiſted, there could have been no occaſion for the former to move it. I ſay, p. 236. "The excellency of human thought

" and contivance has been, and is yet nowhere more conſpi-
" cuous, than in the variety of tools and inſtruments of work-
" men and artificers, and the multiplicity of engines, that
" were all invented, either to aſſiſt the weakneſs of man, to
" correct his many imperfections, to gratify his lazineſs, or
" obviate his impatience." Several foregoing pages run in the ſame ſtrain. But what relation has all this to religion or infidelity, more than it has to navigation or the peace in the north?

The many hands that are employed to ſupply our natural wants, that are really ſuch, as hunger, thirſt, and nakedneſs, are inconſiderable to the vaſt numbers that are all innocently gratifying the depravity of our corrupt nature, I mean the induſtrious, who get a livelihood by their honeſt labour, to which the vain and voluptuous muſt be beholden for all their tools and implements of eaſe and luxury. " The ſhort-ſight-
" ed vulgar, in the chain of cauſes, ſeldom can ſee farther
" than one link; but thoſe who can enlarge their view, and
" will give themſelves leiſure of gazing on the proſpect of
" concatenated events, may, in a hundred places, ſee good
" ſpring up, and pullulate from evil, as naturally as chickens
" do from eggs."

The words are to be found p. 46. in the Remark made on the ſeeming paradox; that in the grumbling hive,

> The worſt of all the multitude
> Did ſomething for the common good.

Where, in many inſtances, may be amply diſcovered, how unſearchable Providence daily orders the comforts of the laborious, and even the deliverances of the oppreſſed, ſecretly to come forth, not only from the vices of the luxurious, but likewiſe the crimes of the flagitious and moſt abandoned.

Men of candour and capacity perceive, at firſt ſight, that in the paſſage cenſured, there is no meaning hid or expreſſed, that is not altogether contained in the following words: " Man is a neceſſitous creature on innumerable accounts,
" and yet from thoſe very neceſſities, and nothing elſe, ariſe
" all trades and employments." But it is ridiculous for men to meddle with books above their ſphere.

The Fable of the Bees was deſigned for the entertainment of people of knowledge and education, when they have an idle hour which they know not how to ſpend better: it is a book of ſevere and exalted morality, that contains a ſtrict

teſt of virtue, an infallible touchſtone to diſtinguiſh the real from the counterfeited, and ſhows many actions to be faulty that are palmed upon the world for good ones: it deſcribes the nature and ſymptoms of human paſſions, detects their force and diſguiſes; and traces ſelf-love in its darkeſt receſſes; I might ſafely add, beyond any other ſyſtem of ethics: the whole is a rhapſody void of order or method, but no part of it has any thing in it that is ſour or pedantic; the ſtyle, I confeſs, is very unequal, ſometimes very high and rhetorical, and ſometimes very low, and even very trivial; ſuch as it is, I am ſatisfied that it has diverted perſons of great probity and virtue, and unqueſtionable good ſenſe; and I am in no fear that it will ever ceaſe to do ſo while it is read by ſuch. Whoever has ſeen the violent charge againſt this book, will pardon me for ſaying more in commendation of it, than a man, not labouring under the ſame neceſſity, would do of his own work on any other occaſion.

The encomiums upon ſtews complained of in the preſentment are no where in the book. What might give a handle to this charge, muſt be a political diſſertation concerning the beſt method to guard and preſerve women of honour and virtue from the inſults of diſſolute men, whoſe paſſions are often ungovernable: As in this there is a dilemma between two evils, which it is impracticable to ſhun both, ſo I have treated it with the utmoſt caution, and begin thus: "I am "far from encouraging vice, and ſhould think it an unſpeak-"able felicity for a ſtate, if the ſin of uncleanneſs could be "utterly baniſhed from it; but I am afraid it is impoſſible." I give my reaſons why I think it ſo; and, ſpeaking occaſionally of the muſic-houſes at Amſterdam, I give a ſhort account of them, than which nothing can be more harmleſs; and I appeal to all impartial judges, whether, what I have ſaid of them is not ten times more proper to give men (even the voluptuous of any taſte) a diſguſt and averſion againſt them, than it is to raiſe any criminal deſire. I am ſorry the Grand Jury ſhould conceive that I publiſhed this with a deſign to debauch the nation, without conſidering, that, in the firſt place, there is not a ſentence nor a ſyllable that can either offend the chaſteſt ear, or ſully the imagination of the moſt vicious; or, in the ſecond, that the matter complained of is manifeſtly addreſſed to magiſtrates and politicians, or, at leaſt, the more ſerious and thinking part of mankind; whereas a general corruption of manners as to lewdneſs, to be pro-

duced by reading, can only be apprehended from obſcenities eaſily purchaſed, and every way adapted to the taſtes and capacities of the heedleſs multitude and unexperienced youth of both ſexes: but that the performance, ſo outrageouſly exclaimed againſt, was never calculated for either of theſe claſſes of people, is ſelf-evident from every circumſtance. The beginning of the proſe is altogether philoſophical, and hardly intelligible to any that have not been uſed to matters of ſpeculation; and the running title of it is ſo far from being ſpecious or inviting, that without having read the book itſelf, nobody knows what to make of it, while, at the ſame time, the price is five ſhillings. From all which it is plain, that if the book contains any dangerous tenets, I have not been very ſolicitous to ſcatter them among the people. I have not ſaid a word to pleaſe or engage them, and the greateſt compliment I have made them has been, *Apage vulgus*. But as nothing (I ſay, p. 138) would more clearly demonſtrate the falſity of my notions than that, the generality of the people ſhould fall in with them, ſo I do not expect the approbation of the multitude. I write not to many, nor ſeek for any well-wiſhers, but among the few that can think abſtractly, and have their minds elevated above the vulgar." Of this I have made no ill uſe, and ever preſerved ſuch a tender regard to the public, that when I have advanced any uncommon ſentiments, I have uſed all the precautions imaginable, that they might not be hurtful to weak minds that might caſually dip into the book. When (p. 137.) I owned, "That it was my ſentiment that no ſocie-" ty could be raiſed into a rich and mighty kingdom, or ſo " raiſed ſubſiſt in their wealth and power for any conſiderable " time, without the vices of man," I had premiſed, what was true, "That I had never ſaid or imagined, that man could not " be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty kingdom, as in the " moſt pitiful commonwealth:" which caution, a man leſs ſcrupulous than myſelf might have thought ſuperfluous, when he had already explained himſelf on that head in the very ſame paragraph which begins thus: "I lay down, as a firſt " principle, that in all ſocieties, great or ſmall, it is the du-" ty of every member of it to be good; that virtue ought " to be encouraged, vice diſcountenanced, the laws obeyed, " and the tranſgreſſors puniſhed" There is not a line in the book that contradicts this doctrine, and I defy my enemies to diſprove what I have advanced, p. 139, "That if I have

" ſhown the way to wordly greatneſs, I have always, without " heſitation, preferred the road that leads to virtue." No man ever took more pains not to be miſconſtrued than myſelf: mind p. 138, when I ſay, " That ſocieties cannot be " raiſed to wealth and power, and the top of earthly glory, " without vices; I do not think, that by ſo ſaying, I bid men " be vicious, any more than I bid them be quarrelſome or co- " vetous, when I affirm, that the profeſſion of the law could " not be mintained in ſuch numbers and ſplendour, if there was " not abundance of too ſelfiſh and litigious people." A caution of the ſame nature I had already given towards the end of the Preface, on account of a palpable evil inſeparable from the felicity of London. To ſearch into the real cauſes of things, imports no ill deſign, nor has any tendency to do harm. A man may write on poiſons, and be an excellent phyſician. Page 235, I ſay, " No man needs to guard him- " ſelf againſt bleſſings, but calamities require hands to avert " them." And lower, " It is the extremities of heat and cold, " the inconſtancy and badneſs of ſeaſons, the violence and " uncertainty of winds, the vaſt power and treachery of water, " the rage and untractableneſs of fire, and the ſtubbornneſs " and ſterility of the earth, that rack our invention, how we " ſhall either avoid the miſchiefs they produce, or correct the " malignity of them, and turn their ſeveral forces to our own " advantage a thouſand different ways." While a man is inquiring into the occupation of vaſt multitudes, I cannot ſee why he may not ſay all this and much more, without being accuſed of depreciating and ſpeaking ſlightly of the gifts and munificence of heaven; when, at the ſame time, he demonſtrates, that without rain and ſunſhine this globe would not be habitable to creatures like ourſelves. It is an out-of-the-way ſubject, and I would never quarrel with the man who ſhould tell me that it might as well have been let alone: yet I always thought it would pleaſe men of any tolerable taſte, and not be eaſily loſt.

My vanity I could never conquer, ſo well as I could wiſh; and I am too proud to commit crimes, and as to the main ſcope, the intent of the book, I mean the view it was wrote with, I proteſt that it has been with the utmoſt ſincerity, what I have declared of it in the Preface, where you will find theſe words: " If you aſk me, why I have done all this, *cui bono*? And what " good theſe notions will produce? Truly, beſides the reader's " diverſion, I believe none at all; but if I was aſked, what na-

" turally ought to be expected from them? I would anſwer, " That, in the firſt place, the people who continually find fault " with others, by reading them would be taught to look at " home, and examining their own conſciences, be made " aſhamed of always railing at what they are more or leſs " guilty of themſelves; and that, in the next, thoſe who are " ſo fond of the eaſe and comforts of a great and flouriſhing " nation, would learn more patiently to ſubmit to thoſe in- " conveniences, which no government upon earth can reme- " dy, when they ſhould ſee the impoſſibility of enjoying any " great ſhare of the firſt, without partaking likewiſe of the " latter."

The firſt impreſſion of the Fable of the Bees, which came out in 1714, was never carped at, or publicly taken notice of; and all the reaſon I can think on, why this ſecond edition ſhould be ſo unmercifully treated, though it has many precautions which the former wanted, is an Eſſay on Charity and Charity Schools, which is added to what was printed before. I confeſs, that it is my ſentiment, that all hard and dirty work, ought, in a well-governed nation, to be the lot and portion of the poor, and that to divert their children from uſeful labour till they are fourteen or fifteen years old, is a wrong method to qualify them for it when are they grown up. I have given ſeveral reaſons for my opinion in that Eſſay, to which I refer all impartial men of underſtanding, aſſuring them that they will not meet with ſuch monſtrous impiety in it as reported. What an advocate I have been for libertiniſm and immorality, and what an enemy to all inſtructions of youth in the Chriſtian faith, may be collected from the pains I have taken on education for above ſeven pages together: and afterwards again, page 193, where ſpeaking of the inſtructions the children of the poor might receive at church; from which, I ſay, " Or ſome other place " of worſhip, I would not have the meaneſt of a pariſh that " is able to walk to it, be abſent on Sundays," I have theſe words: " It is the Sabbath, the moſt uſeful day in ſeven, " that is ſet apart for divine ſervice and religious exerciſe, as " well as reſting from bodily labour; and it is a duty incum- " bent on all magiſtrates, to take a particular care of that " day. The poor more eſpecially, and their children, " ſhould be made to go to church on it, both in the fore and " the afternoon, becauſe they have no time on any other. " By precept and example, they ought to be encouraged to

" it from their very infancy: the wilful neglect of it ought " to be counted ſcandalous; and if downright compulſion to " what I urge might ſeem too harſh, and perhaps impractica- " ble, all diverſions at leaſt ought ſtrictly to be prohibited, " and the poor hindered from every amuſement abroad, that " might allure or draw them from it." If the arguments I have made uſe of are not convincing, I deſire they may be refuted, and I will acknowledge it as a favour in any one that ſhall convince me of my error, without ill language, by ſhowing me wherein I have been miſtaken: but calumny, it ſeems, is the ſhorteſt way of confuting an adverſary, when men are touched in a ſenſible part. Vaſt ſums are gathered for theſe charity ſchools, and I underſtand human nature too well to imagine, that the ſharers of the money ſhould hear them ſpoke againſt with any patience. I foreſaw, therefore, the uſage I was to receive, and having repeated the common cant that is made for charity ſchools, I told my readers, page 165. " This is the general cry, and he that ſpeaks the " leaſt word againſt it, is an uncharitable, hard-hearted, and " inhuman, if not a wicked, profane and atheiſtical wretch." For this reaſon, it cannot be thought, that it was a great ſurpriſe to me, when in that extraordinary letter to Lord C. I ſaw myſelf called " profligate author; the publication of " my tenets, an open and avowed propoſal to extirpate the " Chriſtian faith and all virtue, and what I had done ſo ſtun- " ning, ſo ſhocking, ſo frightful, ſo flagrant an enormity, that " it cried for the vengeance of Heaven." This is no more than what I have already expected from the enemies to truth and fair dealing, and I ſhall retort nothing on the angry author of that letter, who endeavours to expoſe me to the public fury. I pity him, and have charity enough to believe that he has been impoſed upon himſelf, by truſting to fame and the hearſay of others; for no man in his wits can imagine that he ſhould have read one quarter part of my book, and write as he does.

I am ſorry if the words Private Vices, Public Benefits, have ever given any offence to a well-meaning man. The myſtery of them is ſoon unfolded, when once they are rightly underſtood; but no man of ſincerity will queſtion the innocence of them, that has read the laſt paragraph, where I take my leave of the reader, " and conclude with repeating " the ſeeming paradox, the ſubſtance of which is advanced " in the title page; that private vices, by the dexterous ma-

" nagement of a ſkilful politician, may be turned into public " benefits." Theſe are the laſt words of the book, printed in the ſame large character with the reſt. But I ſet aſide all what I have ſaid in my vindication; and if, in the whole book called the Fable of the Bees, and preſented by the grand jury of Middleſex to the judges of the King's Bench, there is to be found the leaſt title of blaſphemy or profaneneſs, or any thing tending to immorality or the corruption of manners, I deſire it may be publiſhed; and if this be done without invective, perſonal reflections, or ſetting the mob upon me, things I never deſign to anſwer, I will not only recant, but likewiſe beg pardon of the offended public in the moſt ſolemn manner: and (if the hangman might be thought too good for the office) burn the book myſelf, at any reaſonable time and place my adverſaries ſhall be pleaſed to appoint.

The Author of the Fable of the Bees.

THE

FABLE OF THE BEES.

PART II.

Opinionum enim Commenta delit dies; Naturæ judicia confirmat.
Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2.

PREFACE.

CONSIDERING the manifold clamours, that have been raiſed from ſeveral quarters, againſt the Fable of the Bees, even after I had publiſhed the vindication of it, many of my readers will wonder to ſee me come out with a ſecond part, before I have taken any further notice of what has been ſaid againſt the firſt. Whatever is publiſhed, I take it for granted, is ſubmitted to the judgment of all the world that ſee it; but it is very unreaſonable, that authors ſhould not be upon the ſame footing with their critics. The treatment I have received, and the liberties ſome gentlemen have taken with me, being well known, the public muſt be convinced before now, that, in point of civility, I owe my adverſaries nothing: and if thoſe, who have taken upon them to ſchool and reprimand me, had an undoubted right to cenſure what they thought fit, without aſking my leave, and to ſay of me what they pleaſed, I ought to have an equal privilege to examine their cenſures, and, without conſulting them, to judge in my turn, whether they are worth anſwering or not. The public muſt be the umpire between us. From the Appendix that has been added to the firſt part, ever ſince the third edition, it is manifeſt, that I have been far from endeavouring to ſtifle, either the arguments or the invectives that were made againſt me; and, not to have left the reader uninformed of any thing extant of either ſort, I once thought to have taken this opportunity of preſenting him with a liſt of the adverſaries that have appeared in print againſt me: but as they are in nothing ſo conſiderable as they are in their numbers, I was afraid it would have looked like oſtentation, unleſs I would have anſwered them all, which I ſhall never attempt. The reaſon, therefore, of my obſtinate ſilence has been all along, that hitherto I have not been accuſed of any thing that is criminal or immoral, for which every middling capacity could not have framed a very good anſwer, from ſome part or other, either of the vindication or the book itſelf.

However, I have wrote, and had by me near two years, a defence of the Fable of the Bees, in which I have ſtated and endeavoured to ſolve all the objections that might reaſon-

ably be made againſt it, as to the doctrine contained in it, and the detriment it might be of to others: for this is the only thing about which I ever had any concern. Being conſcious, that I have wrote with no ill deſign, I ſhould be ſorry to lie under the imputation of it: but as to the goodneſs or badneſs of the performance itſelf, the thought was never worth my care; and therefore thoſe critics, that found fault with my bad reaſoning, and ſaid of the book, that it is ill wrote, that there is nothing new in it, that it is incoherent ſtuff, that the language is barbarous. the humour low, and the ſtyle mean and pitiful; thoſe critics, I ſay, are all very welcome to ſay what they pleaſe: In the main, I believe they are in the right; but if they are not, I ſhall never give myſelf the trouble to contradict them; for I never think an author more fooliſhly employed, than when he is vindicating his own abilities. As I wrote it for my diverſion, ſo I had my ends; if thoſe who read it have not had theirs, I am ſorry for it, though I think myſelf not at all anſwerable for the diſappointment. It was not wrote by ſubſcription, nor have I ever warranted, any where, what uſe or goodneſs it would be of: on the contrary, in the very preface, I have called it an inconſiderable trifle; and ſince that, I have publicly owned that it was a rhapſody. If people will buy books without looking into them, or knowing what they are, I cannot ſee whom they have to blame but themſelves, when they do not anſwer expectations. Beſides, it is no new thing for people to diſlike books after they have bought them: this will happen ſometimes, even when men of conſiderable figure had given them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, before hand, that they would be pleaſed with them.

A conſiderable part of the defence I mentioned, has been ſeen by ſeveral of my friends, who have been in expectation of it for ſome time. I have ſtayed neither for types nor paper, and yet I have ſeveral reaſons, why I do not yet publiſh it; which, having touched nobody's money, nor made any promiſe concerning it, I beg leave to keep to myſelf. Moſt of my adverſaries, whenever it comes out, will think it ſoon enough; and nobody ſuffers by the delay but myſelf.

Since I was firſt attacked, it has long been a matter of wonder and perplexity to me to find out, why and how men ſhould conceive, that I had wrote with an intent to debauch the nation, and promote all manner of vice: and it was a great while before I could derive the charge from any thing,

but wilful miſtake and premeditated malice. But ſince I have ſeen, that men could be ſerious in apprehending the increaſe of rogues and robberies, from the frequent repreſentations of the Beggar's Opera, I am perſuaded, that there really are ſuch wrongheads in the world, as will fancy vices to be encouraged, when they ſee them expoſed. To the ſame perverſeneſs of judgment it muſt have been owing, that ſome of my adverſaries were highly incenſed with me, for having owned, in the Vindication, that hitherto I had not been able to conquer my vanity, as well as I could have wiſhed. From their cenſure it is manifeſt, that they muſt have imagined, that to complain of a frailty, was the ſame as to brag of it. But if theſe angry gentlemen had been leſs blinded with paſſion, or ſeen with better eyes, they would eaſily have perceived, unleſs they were too well pleaſed with their pride, that to have made the ſame confeſſion themſelves, they wanted nothing but ſincerity. Whoever boaſts of his vanity, and at the ſame time ſhows his arrogance, is unpardonable. But when we hear a man complain of an infirmity, and his want of power entirely to cure it, whilſt he ſuffers no ſymptoms of it to appear, that we could juſtly upbraid him with, we are ſo far from being offended, that we are pleaſed with the ingenuity, and applaud his candour; and when ſuch an author takes no greater liberties with his readers, than what is uſual in the ſame manner of writing, and owns that to be the reſult of vanity, which others tell a thouſand lies about, his confeſſion is a compliment, and the frankneſs of it ought not to be looked upon otherwiſe, than as a civility to the public, a condeſcenſion he was not obliged to make. It is not in feeling the paſſions, or in being affected with the frailties of nature, that vice conſiſts; but in indulging and obeying the call of them, contrary to the dictates of reaſon. Whoever pays great deference to his readers, reſpectfully ſubmitting himſelf to their judgment, and tells them at the ſame time, that he is entirely deſtitute of pride; whoever, I ſay, does this, ſpoils his compliment whilſt he is making of it: for it is no better than bragging, that it coſts him nothing. Perſons of taſte, and the leaſt delicacy, can be but little affected with a man's modeſty, of whom they are ſure, that he is wholly void of pride within: the abſence of the one makes the virtue of the other ceaſe; at leaſt the merit of it is not greater than that of chaſtity in an eunuch, or humility in a beggar. What glory would it be

to the memory of Cato, that he refuſed to touch the water that was brought him, if it was not ſuppoſed that he was very thirſty when he did it?

The reader will find, that in this ſecond part I have endeavoured to illuſtrate and explain ſeveral things, that were obſcure and only hinted at in the firſt.

Whilſt I was forming this deſign, I found, on the one hand, that, as to myſelf, the eaſieſt way of executing it, would be by dialogue; but I knew, on the other, that to diſcuſs opinions, and manage controverſies, it is counted the moſt unfair manner of writing. When partial men have a mind to demoliſh an adverſary, and triumph over him with little expence, it has long been a frequent practice to attack him with dialogues, in which the champion, who is to loſe the battle, appears at the very beginning of the engagement, to be the victim that is to be ſacrificed, and ſeldom makes a better figure than cocks on Shrove-Tueſday, that receive blows, but return none, and are viſibly ſet up on purpoſe to be knocked down. That this is to be ſaid againſt dialogues, is certainly true; but it is as true, that there is no other manner of writing, by which greater reputation has been obtained. Thoſe, who have moſt excelled all others in it, were the two moſt famous authors of all antiquity, Plato and Cicero: the one wrote almoſt all his philoſophical works in dialogues, and the other has left us nothing elſe. It is evident, then, that the fault of thoſe, who have not ſucceeded in dialogues; was in the management, and not in the manner of writing; and that nothing but the ill uſe that has been made of it, could ever have brought it into diſrepute. The reaſon why Plato preferred dialogues to any other manner of writing, he ſaid, was, that things thereby might look, as if they were acted, rather than told: the ſame was afterwards given by Cicero in the ſame words, rendered into his own language. The greateſt objection that in reality lies againſt it, is the difficulty there is in writing them well. The chief of Plato's interlocutors was always his maſter Socrates, who every where maintains his character with great dignity; but it would have been impoſſible to have made ſuch an extraordinary perſon ſpeak like himſelf on ſo many emergencies, if Plato had not been as great a man as Socrates.

Cicero, who ſtudied nothing more than to imitate Plato, introduced in his dialogues ſome of the greateſt men in Rome, his contemporaries, that were known to be of different

opinions, and made them maintain and defend every one his own ſentiments, as ſtrenuouſly, and in as lively a manner, as they could poſſibly have done themſelves; and in reading his dialogues a man may eaſily imagine himſelf to be in company with ſeveral learned men of different taſtes and ſtudies. But to do this, a man muſt have Cicero's capacity. Lucian likewiſe, and ſeveral others among the ancients, choſe for their ſpeakers, perſons of known characters. That this intereſts and engages the reader more than ſtrange names, is undeniable; but then, when the perſonages fall ſhort of thoſe characters, it plainly ſhows, that the author undertook what he was not able to execute. To avoid this inconveniency, moſt dialogue-writers among the moderns, have made uſe of fictitious names, which they either invented themſelves or borrowed of others. Theſe are, generally ſpeaking, judicious compounds, taken from the Greek, that ſerve for ſhort characters of the imaginary perſons they are given to, denoting either the party they ſide with, or what it is they love or hate. But of all theſe happy compounds, there is not one that has appeared equally charming to ſo many authors of different views and talents, as Philalethes; a plain demonſtration of the great regard mankind generally have to truth. There has not been a paper-war of note, theſe two hundred years, in which both parties, at one time or other, have not made uſe of this victorious champion; who, which ſide ſoever he has fought on, has hitherto, like Dryden's Almanzor, been conqueror, and conſtantly carried all before him. But, as by this means the event of the battle muſt always be known, as ſoon as the combatants are named, and before a blow is ſtruck; and as all men are not equally peaceable in their diſpoſitions, many readers have complained, that they had not ſport enough for their money, and that knowing ſo much before hand, ſpoiled all their diverſion. This humour having prevailed for ſome time, authors are grown leſs ſolicitous about the names of the perſonages they introduce. This careleſs way, ſeeming to me at leaſt as reaſonable as any other, I have followed; and had no other meaning by the names I have given my interlocutors, than to diſtinguiſh them, without the leaſt regard to the derivation of words, or any thing relating to the etymology of them: all the care I have taken about them, that I know of, is, that the pronunciation of them ſhould not be harſh, nor the ſounds offenſive.

But though the names I have chosen are feigned, and the circumstances of the persons fictitious, the characters themselves are real, and as faithfully copied from nature as I have been able to take them. I have known critics find fault with play-wrights for annexing short characters to the names they gave the persons of the drama; alleging, that it is forestalling their pleasure, and that whatever the actors are represented to be, they want no monitor, and are wise enough to find it out themselves. But I could never approve of this censure: there is a satisfaction, I think, in knowing ones company; and when I am to converse with people for a considerable time, I desire to be well acquainted with them, and the sooner the better. It is for this reason, I thought it proper to give the reader some account of the persons that are to entertain him. As they are supposed to be people of quality, I beg leave, before I come to particulars, to premise some things concerning the *beau monde* in general; which, though most people perhaps know them every body does not always attend to. Among the fashionable part of mankind throughout Christendom, there are, in all countries, persons, who, though they feel a just abhorrence to atheism and professed infidelity, yet have very little religion, and are scarce half-believers, when their lives come to be looked into, and their sentiments examined. What is chiefly aimed at in a refined education, is to procure as much ease and pleasure upon earth, as that can afford: therefore men are first instructed in all the various arts of rendering their behaviour agreeable to others, with the least disturbance to themselves. Secondly, they are imbued with the knowledge of all the elegant comforts of life, as well as the lessons of human prudence, to avoid pain and trouble, in order to enjoy as much of the world, and with as little opposition, as it is possible. Whilst thus men study their own private interest, in assisting each other to promote and increase the pleasures of life in general, they find by experience, that to compass those ends, every thing ought to be banished from conversation, that can have the least tendency of making others uneasy; and to reproach men with their faults or imperfections, neglects or omissions, or to put them in mind of their duty, are offices that none are allowed to take upon them, but parents or professed masters and tutors; nor even they before company: but to reprove and pretend to teach others, we have no authority over, is ill manners, even in a clergyman out of the

pulpit; nor is he there to talk magiſterially, or ever to mention things, that are melancholy or diſmal, if he ſhould paſs for a polite preacher: but whatever we may vouchſafe to hear at church, neither the certainty of a future ſtate, nor the neceſſity of repentance, nor any thing elſe relating to the eſſentials of Chriſtianity, are ever to be talked of when we are out of it, among the *beau monde*, upon any account whatever. The ſubject is not diverting: beſides, every body is ſuppoſed to know thoſe things, and to take care accordingly; nay, it is unmannerly to think otherwiſe. The decency in faſhion being the chief, if not the only rule, all modiſh people walk by, not a few of them go to church, and receive the ſacrament, from the ſame principle that obliges them to pay viſits to one another, and now and then to make an entertainment. But as the greateſt care of the *beau monde* is to be agreeable, and appear well-bred, ſo moſt of them take particular care, and many againſt their conſciences, not to ſeem burdened with more religion than it is faſhionable to have, for fear of being thought to be either hypocrites or bigots.

Virtue, however, is a very faſhionable word, and ſome of the moſt luxurious are extremely fond of the amiable ſound; though they mean nothing by it, but a great veneration for whatever is courtly or ſublime, and an equal averſion to every thing that is vulgar or unbecoming. They ſeem to imagine, that it chiefly conſiſts in a ſtrict compliance to the rules of politeneſs, and all the laws of honour, that have any regard to the reſpect that is due to themſelves. It is the exiſtence of this virtue, that is often maintained with ſo much pomp of words, and for the eternity of which ſo many champions are ready to take up arms: whilſt the votaries of it deny themſelves no pleaſure, they can enjoy, either faſhionably or in ſecret, and, inſtead of ſacrificing the heart to the love of real virtue, can only condeſcend to adandon the outward deformity of vice, for the ſatisfaction they receive from appearing to be well-bred. It is counted ridiculous for men to commit violence upon themſelves, or to maintain, that virtue requires ſelf-denial: all court philoſophers are agreed, that nothing can be lovely or deſirable, that is mortifying or uneaſy. A civil behaviour among the fair in public, and a deportment inoffenſive both in words and actions, is all the chaſtity the polite world requires in men. What liberties ſoever a man gives himſelf in private, his reputation ſhall ne-

ver ſuffer, whilſt he conceals his amours from all thoſe that are not unmannerly inquiſitive, and takes care that nothing criminal can ever be proved upon him. *Si non caſte ſaltem caute*, is a precept that ſufficiently ſhows what every body expects; and though incontinence is owned to be a ſin, yet never to have been guilty of it is a character which moſt ſingle men under thirty would not be fond of, even amongſt modeſt women.

As the world everywhere, in compliment itſelf, deſires to be counted really virtuous, ſo bare-faced vices, and all treſpaſſes committed in ſight of it, are heinous and unpardonable. To ſee a man drunk in the open ſtreet, or any ſerious aſſembly at noon-day, is ſhocking; becauſe it is a violation of the laws of decency, and plainly ſhows a want of reſpect, and neglect of duty, which every body is ſuppoſed to owe to the public. Men of mean circumſtances likewiſe may be blamed for ſpending more time or money in drinking, than they can afford; but when theſe and all worldly conſiderations are out of the queſtion, drunkenneſs itſelf, as it is a ſin, an offence to Heaven, is ſeldom cenſured; and no man of fortune ſcruples to own, that he was at ſuch a time in ſuch a company, where they drank very hard. Where nothing is committed, that is either beaſtly, or otherwiſe extravagant, ſocieties, that meet on purpoſe to drink and be merry, reckon their manner of paſſing away the time as innocent as any other, though moſt days in the year they ſpend five or ſix hours of the four and twenty in that diverſion. No man had ever the reputation of being a good companion, that would never drink to exceſs; and if a man's conſtitution be ſo ſtrong, or himſelf ſo cautious, that the doſe he takes overnight, never diſorders him the next day, the worſt that ſhall be ſaid of him, is, that he loves his bottle with moderation: though every night conſtantly he makes drinking his paſtime, and hardly ever goes to bed entirely ſober.

Avarice, it is true, is generally deteſted; but as men may be as guilty of it by ſcraping money together, as they can be by hoarding it up, ſo all the baſe, the ſordid, and unreaſonable means of acquiring wealth, ought to be equally condemned and exploded, with the vile, the pitiful, and penurious way of ſaving it: but the world is more indulgent; no man is taxed with avarice, that will conform with the *beau monde*, and live every way in ſplendour, though he ſhould always be raiſing the rents of his eſtate, and hardly ſuffer his

tenants to live under him; though he ſhould enrich himſelf by uſury, and all the barbarous advantages that extortion can make of the neceſſities of others: and though, moreover, he ſhould be a bad paymaſter himſelf, and an unmerciful creditor to the unfortunate; it is all one, no man is counted covetous, who entertains well, and will allow his family what is faſhionable for a perſon in his condition. How often do we ſee men of very large eſtates unreaſonably ſolicitous after greater riches! What greedineſs do ſome men diſcover in extending the perquiſites of their offices! What diſhonourable condeſcenſions are made for places of profit! What ſlaviſh attendance is given, and what low ſubmiſſions and unmanly cringes are made to favourites for penſions, by men that could ſubſiſt without them! Yet theſe things are no reproach to men, and they are never upbraided with them but by their enemies, or thoſe that envy them, and perhaps the diſcontented and the poor. On the contrary, moſt of the well-bred people, that live in affluence themſelves, will commend them for their diligence and activity; and ſay of them, that they take care of the main chance; that they are induſtrious men for their families, and that they know how, and are fit, to live in the world.

But theſe kind conſtructions are not more hurtful to the practice of Chriſtianity, than the high opinion which, in an artful education, men are taught to have of their ſpecies, is to the belief of its doctrine, if a right uſe be not made of it. That the great pre-eminence we have over all other creatures we are acquainted with, conſiſts in our rational faculty, is very true; but it is as true, that the more we are taught to admire ourſelves, the more our pride increaſes, and the greater ſtreſs we lay on the ſufficiency of our reaſon: For as experience teaches us, that the greater and the more tranſcendent the eſteem is, which men have for their own worth, the leſs capable they generally are to bear injuries without reſentment; ſo we ſee, in like manner, that the more exalted the notions are which men entertain of their better part, their reaſoning faculty, the more remote and averſe they will be from giving their aſſent to any thing that ſeems to inſult over or contradict it: And aſking a man to admit of any thing he cannot comprehend, the proud reaſoner calls an affront to human underſtanding. But as eaſe and pleaſure are the grand aim of the *beau monde*, and civility is inſeparable from their behaviour, whether they are

believers or not, ſo well-bred people never quarrel with the religion they are brought up in: They will readily comply with every ceremony in divine worſhip they have been uſed to, and never diſpute with you either about the Old or the New Teſtament, if, in your turn, you will forbear laying great ſtreſs upon faith and myſteries, and allow them to give an allegorical, or any other figurative ſenſe to the Hiſtory of the Creation, and whatever elſe they cannot comprehend or account for by the light of nature.

I am far from believing, that, among the faſhionable people, there are not, in all Chriſtian countries, many perſons of ſtricter virtue, and greater ſincerity in religion, than I have here deſcribed; but that a conſiderable part of mankind have a great reſemblance to the picture I have been drawing, I appeal to every knowing and candid reader. Horatio, Cleomenes, and Fulvia, are the names I have given to my interlocutors: The firſt repreſents one of the modiſh people I have been ſpeaking of, but rather of the better ſort of them as to morality, though he ſeems to have a greater diſtruſt of the ſincerity of clergymen, than he has of that of any other profeſſion, and to be of the opinion, which is expreſſed in that trite and ſpecious, as well as falſe and injurious ſaying, prieſts of all religions are the ſame. As to his ſtudies, he is ſuppoſed to be tolerably well verſed in the claſſics, and to have read more than is uſual for people of quality, that are born to great eſtates. He is a man of ſtrict honour, and of juſtice as well as humanity; rather profuſe than covetous, and altogether diſintereſted in his principles. He has been abroad, ſeen the world, and is ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of the accompliſhments that uſually gain a man the reputation of being very much of a gentleman.

Cleomenes had been juſt ſuch another, but was much reformed. As he had formerly, for his amuſement only, been dipping into anatomy, and ſeveral parts of natural philoſophy; ſo, ſince he was come home from his travels, he had ſtudied human nature, and the knowledge of himſelf, with great application. It is ſuppoſed, that, whilſt he was thus employing moſt of his leiſure hours, he met with the Fable of the Bees; and, making a great uſe of what he read, compared what he felt himſelf within, as well as what he had ſeen in the world, with the ſentiments ſet forth in that book, and found the inſincerity of men fully as univerſal, as it was there repreſented. He had no opinion of the pleas and excuſes

that are commonly made to cover the real desires of the heart; and he ever suspected the sincerity of men, whom he saw to be fond of the world, and with eagerness grasping at wealth and power, when they pretended that the great end of their labours was to have opportunities of doing good to others upon earth, and becoming themselves more thankful to Heaven; especially, if they conformed with the *beau monde*, and seemed to take delight in a fashionable way of living: He had the same suspicion of all men of sense, who, having read and considered the gospel, would maintain the possibility that persons might pursue worldly glory with all their strength, and, at the same time, be good Christians. Cleomenes himself believed the Bible to be the word of God, without reserve, and was entirely convinced of the mysterious, as well as historical truths that are contained in it. But as he was fully persuaded, not only of the veracity of the Christian religion, but likewise of the severity of its precepts, so he attacked his passions with vigour, but never scrupled to own his want of power to subdue them, or the violent opposition he felt from within; often complaining, that the obstacles he met with from flesh and blood, were insurmountable. As he understood perfectly well the difficulty of the task required in the gospel, so he ever opposed those easy casuists, that endeavoured to lessen and extenuate it for their own ends; and he loudly maintained, that men's gratitude to Heaven was an unacceptable offering, whilst they continued to live in ease and luxury, and were visibly solicitous after their share of the pomp and vanity of this world. In the very politeness of conversation, the complacency with which fashionable people are continually soothing each other's frailties, and in almost every part of a gentleman's behaviour, he thought there was a disagreement between the outward appearances, and what is felt within, that was clashing with uprightness and sincerity. Cleomenes was of opinion, that of all religious virtues, nothing was more scarce, or more difficult to acquire, than Christian humility; and that to destroy the possibility of ever attaining to it, nothing was so effectual as what is called a gentleman's education; and that the more dexterous, by this means, men grew in concealing the outward signs, and every symptom of pride, the more entirely they became enslaved by it within. He carefully examined into the felicity that accrues from the applause of others, and the invisible wages which men of

ſenſe and judicious fancy received for their labours; and what it was at the bottom that rendered thoſe airy rewards ſo raviſhing to mortals. He had often obſerved, and watched narrowly the countenances and behaviour of men, when any thing of their's was admired or commended, ſuch as the choice of their furniture, the politeneſs of their entertainments, the elegancy of their equipages, their dreſs, their diverſions, or the fine taſte diſplayed in their buildings.

Cleomenes ſeemed charitable, and was a man of ſtrict morals, yet he would often complain that he was not poſſeſſed of one Chriſtian virtue, and found fault with his own actions, that had all the appearances of goodneſs; becauſe he was conſcious, he ſaid, that they were performed from a wrong principle. The effects of his education, and his averſion to infamy, had always been ſtrong enough to keep him from turpitude; but this he aſcribed to his vanity, which he complained was in ſuch full poſſeſſion of his heart, that he knew no gratification of any appetite from which he was able to exclude it. Having always been a man of unblameable behaviour, the ſincerity of his belief had made no viſible alteration in his conduct to outward appearances; but in private he never ceaſed from examining himſelf. As no man was leſs prone to enthuſiaſm than himſelf, ſo his life was very uniform; and as he never pretended to high flights of devotion, ſo he never was guilty of enormous offences. He had a ſtrong averſion to rigoriſts of all ſorts; and when he ſaw men quarrelling about forms and creeds, and the interpretation of obſcure places, and requiring of others the ſtricteſt compliance to their own opinions in diſputable matters, it raiſed his indignation to ſee the generality of them want charity, and many of them ſcandalouſly remiſs in the plaineſt and moſt neceſſary duties. He took uncommon pains to ſearch into human nature, and left no ſtone unturned, to detect the pride and hypocriſy of it, and, among his intimate friends, to expoſe the ſtratagems of the one, and the exorbitant power of the other. He was ſure, that the ſatisfaction which aroſe from worldly enjoyments, was ſomething diſtinct from gratitude, and foreign to religion; and he felt plainly, that as it proceeded from within, ſo it centered in himſelf: The very reliſh of life, he ſaid, was accompanied with an elevation of mind, that ſeemed to be inſeparable from his being. Whatever principle was the cauſe of this, he was convinced within himſelf, that the ſacrifice of the

heart, which the gospel requires, consisted in the utter extirpation of that principle; confessing, at the same time, that this satisfaction he found in himself, this elevation of mind, caused his chief pleasure; and that, in all the comforts of life, it made the greatest part of the enjoyment.

Cleomenes, with grief, often owned his fears, that his attachment to the world would never cease whilst he lived; the reasons he gave, were the great regard he continued to have for the opinion of worldly men; the stubbornes of his indocile heart, that could not be brought to change the objects of its pride; and refused to be ashamed of what, from his infancy, it had been taught to glory in; and, lastly, the impossibility, he found in himself, of being ever reconciled to contempt, and enduring, with patience, to be laughed at and despised for any cause, or on any consideration whatever. These were the obstacles, he said, that hindered him from breaking off all commerce with the *beau monde*, and entirely changing his manner of living; without which, he thought it mockery to talk of renouncing the world, and bidding adieu to all the pomp and vanity of it.

The part of Fulvia, which is the third person, is so inconsiderable, she just appearing only in the first dialogue, that it would be impertinent to trouble the reader with a character of her. I had a mind to say some things on painting and operas, which I thought might, by introducing her, be brought in more naturally, and with less trouble, than they could have been without her. The ladies, I hope, will find no reason, from the little she does say, to suspect that she wants either virtue or understanding.

As to the fable, or what is supposed to have occasioned the first dialogue between Horatio and Cleomenes, it is this. Horatio, who had found great delight in my Lord Shaftsbury's polite manner of writing, his fine raillery, and blending virtue with good manners, was a great stickler for the social system; and wondered how Cleomenes could be an advocate for uch a book as the Fable of the Bees, of which he had heard a very vile character from several quarters. Cleomenes, who loved and had a great friendship for Horatio, wanted to undeceive him; but the other, who hated satire, was prepossessed, and having been told likewise, that martial courage, and honour itself, were ridiculed in that book, he was very much exasperated against the author and his whole scheme: he had two or three times heard Cleomenes dis-

courſe on this ſubject with others; but would never enter into the argument himſelf; and finding his friend often preſſing to come to it, he began to look cooly upon him, and at laſt to avoid all opportunities of being alone with him: till Cleomenes drew him in, by the ſtratagem which the reader will ſee he made uſe of, as Horatio was one day taking his leave after a ſhort complimentary viſit.

I ſhould not wonder to ſee men of candour, as well as good ſenſe, find fault with the manner, in which I have choſe to publiſh theſe thoughts of mine to the world: There certainly is ſomething in it, which I confeſs I do not know how to juſtify to my own ſatisfaction. That ſuch a man as Cleomenes, having met with a book agreeable to his own ſentiments, ſhould deſire to be acquainted with the author of it, has nothing in it that is improbable or unſeemly; but then it will be objected, that, whoever the interlocutors are, it was I myſelf who wrote the dialogues; and that it is contrary to all decency, that a man ſhould proclaim concerning his own work, all that a friend of his, perhaps, might be allowed to ſay: this is true; and the beſt anſwer which I think can be made to it, is, that ſuch an impartial man, and ſuch a lover of truth, as Cleomenes is repreſented to be, would be as cautious in ſpeaking of his friend's merit, as he would be of his own. It might be urged likewiſe, that when a man profeſſes himſelf to be an author's friend, and exactly to entertain the ſame ſentiments with another, it muſt naturally put every reader upon his guard, and render him as ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful of ſuch a man, as he would be of the author himſelf. But how good ſoever the excuſes are, that might be made for this manner of writing, I would never have ventured upon it, if I had not liked it in the famous Gaſſendus, who, by the help of ſeveral dialogues and a friend, who is the chief perſonage in them, has not only explained and illuſtrated his ſyſtem, but likewiſe refuted his adverſaries: him I have followed, and I hope the reader will find, that whatever opportunity I have had by this means, of ſpeaking well of myſelf indirectly, I had no deſign to make that, or any other ill uſe of it.

As it is ſuppoſed, that Cleomenes is my friend, and ſpeaks my ſentiments, ſo it is but juſtice, that every thing which he advances ſhould be looked upon and conſidered as my own; but no man in his ſenſes would think, that I ought to be equally reſponſible for every thing that Horatio ſays, who is

his antagoniſt. If ever he offers any thing that ſavours of libertiniſm, or is otherwiſe exceptionable, which Cleomenes does not reprove him for in the beſt and moſt ſerious manner, or to which he gives not the moſt ſatisfactory and convincing anſwer that can be made, I am to blame, otherwiſe not. Yet from the fate the firſt part has met with, I expect to ſee in a little time ſeveral things tranſcribed and cited from this, in that manner, by themſelves, without the replies that are made to them, and ſo ſhown to the world, as my words and my opinion. The opportunity of doing this will be greater in this part than it was in the former, and ſhould I always have fair play, and never be attacked, but by ſuch adverſaries, as would make their quotations from me without artifice, and uſe me with common honeſty, it would go a great way to the refuting of me; and I ſhould myſelf begin to ſuſpect the truth of ſeveral things I have advanced, and which hitherto I cannot help believing.

A ſtroke made in this manner, —— which the reader will ſometimes meet with in the following dialogues, is a ſign, either of interruption, when the perſon ſpeaking is not ſuffered to go on with what he was going to ſay, or elſe of a pauſe, during which ſomething is ſuppoſed to be ſaid or done, not relating to the diſcourſe.

As in this part I have not altered the ſubject, on which a former, known by the name of the Fable of the Bees, was wrote; and the ſame unbiaſſed method of ſearching after truth, and inquiring into the nature of man and ſociety, made uſe of in that, is continued in this, I thought it unneceſſary to look out for another title; and being myſelf a great lover of ſimplicity, and my invention none of the moſt fruitful, the reader, I hope, will pardon the bald, inelegant aſpect, and unuſual emptineſs of the title page.

Here I would have made an end of my Preface, which I know very well is too long already: but the world having been very groſsly impoſed upon by a falſe report, that ſome months ago was very ſolemnly made, and as induſtriouſly ſpread in moſt of the newſpapers, for a conſiderable time, I think it would be an unpardonable neglect in me, of the public, ſhould I ſuffer them; to remain in the error they were led into, when I am actually addreſſing them; and there is no other perſon, from whom they can ſo juſtly expect to be undeceived. In the London Evening Poſt of Saturday March 9,

1727-8. the following paragraph was printed in ſmall Italic, at the end of the home news.

On Friday evening the firſt inſtant, a gentleman, well-dreſſed, appeared at the bonfire before St. James's Gate, who declared himſelf the author of a book, intituled, the Fable of the Bees; and that he was ſorry for writing the ſame: and recollecting his former promiſe, pronounced theſe words: I commit my book to the flames; and threw it in accordingly.

The Monday following, the ſame piece of news was repeated in the Daily Journal, and after that for a conſiderable time, as I have ſaid, in moſt of the papers: but ſince the Saturday mentioned, which was the only time it was printed by itſelf, it appeared always with a ſmall addition to it, and annexed (with a N. B. before it) to the following advertiſement.

APETH-AOΓIA:

Or an Inquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue, wherein the falſe notions of Machiavel, Hobbs, Spinoſa, and Mr. Bayle, as they are collected and digeſted by the Author of the Fable of the Bees, are examined and confuted; and the eternal and unalterable nature and obligation of moral virtue is ſtated and vindicated; to which is prefixed, a Prefatory Introduction, in a Letter to that Author, By Alexander Innes, D. D. Preacher Aſſiſtant at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter.

The ſmall addition which I ſaid was made to that notable piece of news, after it came to be annexed to this advertiſement, conſiſted of theſe five words (upon reading the above book), which were put in after, "ſorry for writing the ſame." This ſtory having been often repeated in the papers, and never publicly contradicted, many people, it ſeems, were credulous enough to believe, notwithſtanding the improbability of it. But the leaſt attentive would have ſuſpected the whole, as ſoon as they had ſeen the addition that was made to it, the ſecond time it was publiſhed; for ſuppoſing it to be intelligible, as it follows the advertiſement, it cannot be pretended, that the repenting gentleman pronounced thoſe very words. He muſt have named the book; and if he had ſaid, that his ſorrow was occaſioned by reading the APETH-AOΓIA, or the new book of the reverend Dr. Innes, how came

such a remarkable part of his confession to be omitted in the first publication, where the well-dressed gentleman's words and actions seemed to be set down with so much care and exactness? Besides, every body knows the great industry, and general intelligence of our news-writers: if such a farce had really been acted, and a man had been hired to pronounce the words mentioned, and throw a book into the fire, which I have often wondered was not done, is it credible at all, that a thing so remarkable, done so openly, and before so many witnesses, the first day of March, should not be taken notice of in any of the papers before the ninth, and never be repeated afterwards, or ever mentioned but as an appendix of the advertisement to recommend Dr. Innes's book?

However, this story has been much talked of, and occasioned a great deal of mirth among my acquaintance, several of whom have earnestly pressed me more than once to advertise the falsity of it, which I would never comply with for fear of being laughed at, as some years ago poor Dr. Patridge was, for seriously maintaining that he was not dead. But all this while we were in the dark, and nobody could tell how this report came into the world, or what it could be that had given a handle to it, when one evening a friend of mine, who had borrowed Dr. Innes's book, which till then I had never seen, showed me in it the following lines.

But *a propos*, Sir, if I rightly remember, the ingenuous Mr. Law, in his Remarks upon your Fable of the Bees, puts you in mind of a promise you had made, by which you obliged yourself to burn that book at any time or place your adversary should appoint, if any thing should be found in it tending to immorality or the corruption of manners. I have a great respect for that gentleman, though I am not personally acquainted with him, but I cannot but condemn his excessive credulity and good nature, in believing that a man of your principles could be a slave to his word; for my own part, I think, I know you too well to be so easily imposed upon; or if, after all, you should really persist in your resolution, and commit it to the flames, I appoint the first of March before St. James's Gate, for that purpose, it being the birth-day of the best and most glorious queen upon earth; and the burning of your book the smallest atonement you can make, for endeavouring to corrupt and debauch his majesty's subjects in their principles. Now, Sir, if you agree to this, I hope you are not so destitute of friends, but that you may

find ſome charitable neighbour or other, who will lend you a helping hand, and throw in the author at the ſame time by way of appendix; the doing of which will, in my opinion, complete the ſolemnity of the day. I am not your patient, but, your moſt humble ſervant.

Thus ends what, in the APETH-AOTIA, Doctor Innes is pleaſed to call a Prefatory Introduction, in a Letter to the Author of the Fable of the Bees. It is ſigned A. I. and dated Tot-hill-fields, Weſtminſter, Jan. 20. 1727-8.

Now all our wonder ceaſed. The judicious reader will eaſily allow me, that, having read thus much, I had an ample diſpenſation from going on any further; therefore I can ſay nothing of the book: and as to the reverend author of it, who ſeems to think himſelf ſo well acquainted with my principles, I have not the honour to know either him or his morals, otherwiſe than from what I have quoted here. *Ex pede Herculem.*

London, October 20. 1728.

THE FIRST

DIALOGUE.

BETWEEN

HORATIO, CLEOMENES, AND FULVIA.

CLEOMENES.

ALWAYS in haſte, Horatio?

Hor. I muſt beg of you to excuſe me, I am obliged to go.

Cleo. Whether you have other enagements than you uſed to have, or whether your temper is changed, I cannot tell, but ſomething has made an alteration in you, of which I cannot comprehend the cauſe. There is no man in the world whoſe friendſhip I value more than I do yours, or whoſe company I like better, yet I can never have it. I profeſs I have thought ſometimes that you have avoided me on purpoſe.

Hor. I am ſorry, Cleomenes, I ſhould have been wanting in civility to you; I come every week conſtantly to pay my reſpects to you, and if ever I fail, I always ſend to inquire after your health.

Cleo. No man outdoes Horatio in civility; but I thought ſomething more was due to our affections and long acquaintance, beſides compliments and ceremony: Of late I have never been to wait upon you, but you are gone abroad, or I find you engaged; and when I have the honour to ſee you here, your ſtay is only momentary. Pray pardon my rudeneſs for once: What is it that hinders you now from keeping me company for an hour or two? My couſin talks of going out, and I ſhall be all alone.

Hor. I know better than to rob you of ſuch an opportunity for ſpeculation?

Cleo. Speculation! on what, pray?

Hor. That vileneſs of our ſpecies in the refined way of thinking you have of late been ſo fond of, I call it the ſcheme of deformity, the partiſans of which ſtudy chiefly to make every thing in our nature appear as ugly and con-

temptible as it is poſſible, and take uncommon pains to perſuade men that they are devils.

Cleo. If that be all, I ſhall ſoon convince you.

Hor. No conviction to me, I beſeech you: I am determined, and fully perſuaded, that there is good in the world as well as evil; and that the words, honeſty, benevolence, and humanity, and even charity, are not empty ſounds only, but that there are ſuch things in ſpite of the Fable of the Bees; and I am reſolved to believe, that, notwithſtanding the degeneracy of mankind, and the wickedneſs of the age, there are men now living, who are actually poſſeſſed of thoſe virtues.

Cleo. But you do not know what I am going to ſay: I am——

Hor. That may be, but I will not hear one word; all you can ſay is loſt upon me, and if you will not give me leave to ſpeak out, I am gone this moment. That curſed book has bewitched you, and made you deny the exiſtence of thoſe very virtues that had gained you the eſteem of your friends. You know this is not my uſual language; I hate to ſay harſh things: But what regard can, or ought one to have for an author that treats every body *de haut en bas*, makes a jeſt of virtue and honour, calls Alexander the Great a madman, and ſpares kings and princes no more than any one, would the moſt abject of the people? The buſineſs of his philoſophy is juſt the reverſe to that of the herald's office; for, as there they are always contriving and finding out high and illuſtrious pedigrees for low and obſcure people, ſo your author is ever ſearching after, and inventing mean contemptible origins for worthy and honourable actions. I am your very humble ſervant.

Cleo. Stay. I am of your opinion; what I offered to convince you of, was, how entirely I am recovered of the folly which you have ſo juſtly expoſed: I have left that error.

Hor. Are you in earneſt?

Cleo. No man more: There is no greater ſtickler for the ſocial virtues than myſelf; and I much queſtion, whether there is any of Lord Shaftſbury's admirers that will go my lengths!

Hor. I ſhall be glad to ſee you go my lengths firſt, and as many more as you pleaſe. You cannot conceive, Cleomenes, how it has grieved me, when I have ſeen how many

enemies you made yourself by that extravagant way of arguing. If you are but serious, whence comes this change?

Cleo. In the first place, I grew weary of having every body against me: and, in the second, there is more room for invention in the other system. Poets and orators in the social system have fine opportunities of exerting themselves.

Hor. I very much suspect the recovery you boast of: Are you convinced, that the other system was false, which you might have easily learned from seeing every body against you?

Cleo. False to be sure; but what you allege is no proof of it: for if the greatest part of mankind were not against that scheme of deformity, as you justly call it, insincerity could not be so general, as the scheme itself supposes it to be: But since my eyes have been opened, I have found out that truth and probability are the silliest things in the world; they are of no manner of use, especially among the people *de bon gout.*

Hor. I thought what a convert you was: but what new madness has seized you now?

Cleo. No madness at all: I say, and will maintain it to the world, that truth, in the sublime, is very impertinent; and that in the arts and sciences, fit for men of taste to look into, a master cannot commit a more unpardonable fault, than sticking to, or being influenced by truth, where it interferes with what is agreeable.

Hor. Homely truths indeed——

Cleo. Look upon that Dutch piece of the nativity: what charming colouring there is! What a fine pencil, and how just are the outlines for a piece so curiously finished! But what a fool the fellow was to draw hay, and straw, and water, and a rack as well as a manger: it is a wonder he did not put the bambino into the manger.

Ful. The *bambino?* That is the child, I suppose: why it should be in the manger; should it not? Does not the history tell us, that the child was laid in the manger? I have no skill in painting; but I can see whether things are drawn to the life or not: sure nothing can be more like the head of an ox than that there. A picture then pleases me best when the art in such a manner deceives my eye, that, without making any allowance, I can imagine I see the things in reality which the painter has endeavoured to represent. I have always thought it an admirable piece; sure nothing in the world can be more like nature.

Cleo. Like nature! So much the worſe: Indeed, couſin, it is eaſily ſeen, that you have no ſkill in painting. It is not nature, but agreeable nature, *la belle nature*, that is to be repreſented: all things that are abject, low, pitiful, and mean, are carefully to be avoided, and kept out of ſight; becauſe, to men of the true taſte, they are as offenſive as things that are ſhocking, and really naſty.

Ful. At that rate, the Virgin Mary's condition, and our Saviour's birth, are never to be painted.

Cleo. That is your miſtake; the ſubject itſelf is noble: Let us go but in the next room, and I will ſhow you the difference.——Look upon that picture, which is the ſame hiſtory. There is fine architecture, there is a colonnade; can any thing be thought of more magnificent? How ſkilfully is that aſs removed, and how little you ſee of the ox: pray, mind the obſcurity they are both placed in. It hangs in a ſtrong light, or elſe one might look ten times upon the picture without obſerving them: Behold theſe pillars of the Corinthian order, how lofty they are, and what an effect they have, what a noble ſpace, what an area here is! How nobly every thing concurs to expreſs the majeſtic grandeur of the ſubject, and ſtrikes the ſoul with awe and admiration at the ſame time!

Ful. Pray couſin, has good ſenſe ever any ſhare in the judgment which your men of true taſte form about pictures?

Hor. Madam!

Ful. I beg pardon, Sir, if I have offended: but to me it ſeems ſtrange to hear ſuch commendations given to a painter, for turning the ſtable of a country inn into a palace of extraordinary magnificence: This is a great deal worſe than Swift's Metamorphoſis of Philemon and Baucis; for there ſome ſhow of reſemblance is kept in the changes.

Hor. In a country ſtable, Madam, there is nothing but filth and naſtineſs, or vile abject things not fit to be ſeen, at leaſt not capable of entertaining perſons of quality.

Ful. The Dutch picture in the next room has nothing that is offenſive: but an Augean ſtable, even before Hercules had cleaned it, would be leſs ſhocking to me than thoſe fluted pillars; for nobody can pleaſe my eye that affronts my underſtanding: When I deſire a man to paint a conſiderable hiſtory, which every body knows to have been tranſacted at a country inn, does he not ſtrangely impoſe upon me, becauſe he underſtands architecture, to draw me a room that

might have ſerved for a great hall, or banqueting-houſe, to any Roman emperor? Beſides, that the poor and abject ſtate in which our Saviour choſe to appear at his coming into the world, is the moſt material circumſtance of the hiſtory: it contains an excellent moral againſt vain pomp, and is the ſtrongeſt perſuaſive to humility, which, in the Italian, are more than loſt.

Hor. Indeed, Madam, experience is againſt you; and it is certain, that, even among the vulgar, the repreſentations of mean and abject things, and ſuch as they are familiar with, have not that effect, and either breed contempt, or are inſignificant: whereas vaſt piles, ſtately buildings, roofs of uncommon height, ſurpriſing ornaments, and all the architecture of the grand taſte, are the fitteſt to raiſe devotion, and inſpire men with veneration, and a religious awe for the places that have theſe excellencies to boaſt of. Is there ever a meeting-houſe or barn to be compared to a fine cathedral, for this purpoſe?

Ful. I believe there is a mechanical way of raiſing devotion in ſilly ſuperſtitious creatures; but an attentive contemplation on the works of God, I am ſure——

Cleo. Pray, couſin, ſay no more in defence of your low taſte: The painter has nothing to do with the truth of the hiſtory; his buſineſs is to expreſs the dignity of the ſubject, and, in compliment to his judges, never to forget the excellency of our ſpecies: All his art and good ſenſe muſt be employed in raiſing that to the higheſt pitch: Great maſters do not paint for the common people, but for perſons of refined underſtanding: What you complain of, is the effect of the good manners and complaiſance of the painter. When he had drawn the Infant and the Madona, he thought the leaſt glimpſe of the ox and the aſs would be ſufficient to acquaint you with the hiſtory: They who want more ſeſcuing, and a broader explanation, he does not deſire his picture ſhould ever be ſhown to; for the reſt, he entertains you with nothing but what is noble and worthy your attention: You ſee he is an architect, and completely ſkilled in perſpective, and he ſhows you how finely he can round a pillar, and that both the depth, and the height of a ſpace, may be drawn on a flat, with all the other wonders he performs by his ſkill in that inconceivable myſtery of light and ſhadows.

Ful. Why then is it pretended that painting is an imitation of nature?

Cleo. At firſt ſetting out a ſcholar is to copy things exactly as he ſees them; but from a great maſter, when he is left to his own invention, it is expected he ſhould take the perfections of nature, and not paint it as it is, but as we would wiſh it to be. Zeuxis, to draw a goddeſs, took five beautiful women, from which he culled what was moſt graceful in each.

Ful. Still every grace he painted was taken from nature.

Cleo. That's true; but he left nature her rubbiſh, and imitated nothing but what was excellent, which made the aſſemblage ſuperior to any thing in nature. Demetrius was taxed for being too natural; Dionyſus was alſo blamed for drawing men like us. Nearer our times, Michael Angelo was eſteemed too natural, and Lyſippus of old upbraided the common ſort of ſculptors for making men ſuch as they were found in nature.

Ful. Are theſe things real?

Cleo. You may read it yourſelf in Graham's Preface to The Art of Painting: the book is above in the library.

Hor. Theſe things may ſeem ſtrange to you, Madam, but they are of immenſe uſe to the public: the higher we can carry the excellency of our ſpecies, the more thoſe beautiful images will fill noble minds with worthy and ſuitable ideas of their own dignity, that will ſeldom fail of ſpurring them on to virtue and heroic actions. There is a grandeur to be expreſſed in things that far ſurpaſſes the beauties of ſimple nature. You take delight in operas, Madam, I do not queſtion; you muſt have minded the noble manner and ſtatelineſs beyond nature, which every thing there is executed with. What gentle touches, what ſlight and yet majeſtic motions are made uſe of to expreſs the moſt boiſterous paſſions! As the ſubject is always lofty, ſo no poſture is to be choſen but what is ſerious and ſignificant, as well as comely and agreeable; ſhould the actions there be repreſented as they are in common life, they would ruin the ſublime, and at once rob you of all your pleaſure.

Ful. I never expected any thing natural at an opera; but as perſons of diſtinction reſort thither, and every body comes dreſſed, it is a ſort of employment, and I ſeldom miſs a night, becauſe it is the faſhion to go: beſides, the royal family, and the monarch himſelf, generally honouring them with their preſence, it is almoſt become a duty to attend them, as much as it is to go to court. What diverts me there is the company, the lights, the muſic, the ſcenes, and other decora-

tions: but as I underſtand but very few words of Italian, ſo what is moſt admired in the *recitativo* is loſt upon me, which makes the acting part to me rather ridiculous than——

Hor. Ridiculous, Madam! For Heaven's ſake——

Ful. I beg pardon, Sir, for the expreſſion, I never laughed at an opera in my life; but I confeſs, as to the entertainment itſelf, that a good play is infinitely more diverting to me; and I prefer any thing that informs my underſtanding beyond all the recreations which either my eyes or my ears can be regaled with.

Hor. I am ſorry to hear a lady of your good ſenſe make ſuch a choice. Have you no taſte for muſic, Madam?

Ful. I named that as part of my diverſion.

Cleo. My couſin plays very well upon the harpſichord herſelf.

Ful. I love to hear good muſic; but it does not throw me into thoſe raptures, I hear others ſpeak of.

Hor. Nothing certainly can elevate the mind beyond a fine concert: it ſeems to diſengage the ſoul from the body, and lift it up to heaven. It is in this ſituation, that we are moſt capable of receiving extraordinary impreſſions: when the inſtruments ceaſe, our temper is ſubdued, and beautiful action joins with the ſkilful voice, in ſetting before us in a tranſcendent light, the heroic labours we are come to admire, and which the word Opera imports. The powerful harmony between the engaging ſounds and ſpeaking geſtures invades he heart, and forcibly inſpires us with thoſe noble ſentiments, which to entertain, the moſt expreſſive words can only attempt to perſuade us. Few comedies are tolerable, and in the beſt of them, if the levity of the expreſſions does not corrupt, the meanneſs of the ſubject muſt debaſe the manners; at leaſt to perſons of quality. In tragedies the ſtyle is more ſublime and the ſubjects generally great; but all violent paſſions, and even the repreſentations of them, ruffle and diſcompoſe the mind: beſides, when men endeavour to expreſs things ſtrongly, and they are acted to the life, it often happens that the images do miſchief, becauſe they are too moving, and that the action is faulty for being too natural; and experience teaches us, that in unguarded minds, by thoſe pathetic performances, flames are often raiſed that are prejudicial to virtue. The playhouſes themſelves are far from being inviting, much leſs the companies, at leaſt the greateſt part of them that frequent them, ſome of which are almoſt of the loweſt

rank of all. The diſguſt that perſons of the leaſt elegance receive from theſe people are many; beſides, the ill ſcents, and unſeemgly ſights one meets with, of careleſs rakes and impudent wenches, that, having paid their money, reckon themſelves to be all upon the level with every body there; the oaths, ſcurrilities, and vile jeſts one is often obliged to hear, without reſenting them; and the odd mixture of high and low that are all partaking of the ſame diverſion, without regard to dreſs or quality, are all very offenſive; and it cannot but be very diſagreeable to polite people to be in the ſame crowd with a variety of perſons, ſome of them below mediocrity, that pay no deference to one another. At the opera, every thing charms and concurs to make happineſs complete. The ſweetneſs of voice, in the firſt place, and the ſolemn compoſure of the action, ſerve to mitigate and allay every paſſion; it is the gentleneſs of them, and the calm ſerenity of the mind, that make us amiable, and bring us the neareſt to the perfection of angels; whereas, the violence of the paſſions, in which the corruption of the heart chiefly conſiſts, dethrones our reaſon, and renders us more like unto ſavages. It is incredible, how prone we are to imitation, and how ſtrangely, unknown to ourſelves, we are ſhaped and faſhioned after the models and examples that are often ſet before us. No anger nor jealouſy are ever to be ſeen at an opera, that diſtort the features; no flames that are noxious, nor is any love repreſented in them, that is not pure and next to ſeraphic; and it is impoſſible for the remembrance to carry any thing away from them, that can fully the imagination. Secondly, the company is of another ſort: the place itſelf is a ſecurity to peace, as well as every one's honour; and it is impoſſible to name another, where blooming innocence and irreſiſtible beauty ſtand in ſo little need of guardians. Here we are ſure never to meet with petulancy or ill manners, and to be free from immodeſt ribaldry, libertine wit, and deteſtable ſatire. If you will mind, on the one hand, the richneſs and ſplendour of dreſs, and the quality of the perſons that appear in them; the variety of colours, and the luſtre of the fair in a ſpacious theatre, well illuminated and adorned; and on the other, the grave deportment of the aſſembly, and the conſciouſneſs that appears in every countenance, of the reſpect they owe to each other, you will be forced to confeſs, that upon earth there cannot be a paſtime more agreeable: believe me, Madam, there is no place,

where both ſexes have ſuch opportunities of imbibing exalted ſentiments, and raiſing themſelves above the vulgar, as they have at the opera; and there is no other ſort of diverſion or aſſembly, from the frequenting of which, young perſons of quality can have equal hopes of forming their manners, and contracting a ſtrong and laſting habit of virtue.

Ful. You have ſaid more in commendation of operas, Horatio, than I ever heard or thought of before; and I think every body who loves that diverſion is highly obliged to you. The grand gout, I believe, is a great help in panegyric, eſpecially, where it is an incivility ſtrictly to examine and overcurioufly to look into matters.

Cleo. What ſay you now, Fulvia, of nature and good ſenſe, are they not quite beat out of doors?

Ful. I have heard nothing yet, to make me out of conceit with good ſenſe; though what you inſinuated of nature, as if it was not to be imitated in painting, is an opinion, I muſt confeſs, which hitherto I more admire at, than I can approve of it.

Hor. I would never recommend any thing, Madam, that is repugnant to good ſenſe; but Cleomenes muſt have ſome deſign in over-acting the part he pretends to have choſen. What he ſaid about painting is very true, whether he ſpoke it in jeſt or in earneſt; but he talks ſo diametrically oppoſite to the opinion which he is known every where to defend of late, that I do not know what to make of him.

Ful. I am convinced of the narrowneſs of my own underſtanding, and am going to viſit ſome perſons, with whom I ſhall be more upon the level.

Hor. You will give me leave to wait upon you to your coach, Madam.——Pray, Cleomenes, what is it you have got in your head?

Cleo. Nothing at all: I told you before, that I was ſo entirely recovered from my folly, that few people went my lengths. What jealouſy you entertain of me I do not know; but I find myſelf much improved in the ſocial ſyſtem. Formerly I thought, that chief miniſters, and all thoſe at the helm of affairs, acted from principles of avarice and ambition; that in all the pains they took, and even in the ſlaveries they underwent for the public good, they had their private ends, and that they were ſupported in the fatigue by ſecret enjoyments they were unwilling to own. It is not a month ago, that I imagined that the inward care and real ſolicitude of

all great men centered within themſelves; and that to enrich themſelves, acquire titles of honour, and raiſe their families on the one hand, and to have opportunities on the other of diſplaying a judicious fancy to all the elegant comforts of life, and eſtabliſhing, without the leaſt trouble of ſelf-denial, the reputation of being wiſe, humane, and munificent, were the things, which, beſides the ſatisfaction there is in ſuperiority and the pleaſure of governing, all candidates to high offices and great poſts propoſed to themſelves, from the places they ſued for: I was ſo narrow minded, that I could not conceive how a man would ever voluntarily ſubmit to be a ſlave but to ſerve himſelf. But I have abandoned that ill-natured way of judging: I plainly perceive the public good, in all the deſigns of politicians, the ſocial virtues ſhine in every action, and I find that the national intereſt is the compaſs that all ſtateſmen ſteer by.

Hor. That is more than I can prove; but certainly there have been ſuch men, there have been patriots, that without ſelfiſh views have taken incredible pains for their country's welfare: nay, there are men now that would do the ſame, if they were employed; and we have had princes that have neglected their eaſe and pleaſure, and ſacrificed their quiet, to promote the proſperity and increaſe the wealth and honour of the kingdom, and had nothing ſo much at heart as the happineſs of their ſubjects.

Cleo. No diſaffection, I beg of you. The difference between paſt and preſent times, and perſons in and out of places, is perhaps clearer to you than it is to me; but it is many years ago, you know, that it has been agreed between us never to enter into party diſputes: what I deſire your attention to, is my reformation, which you ſeem to doubt of, and the great change that is wrought in me. The religion of moſt kings and other high potentates, I formerly had but a ſlender opinion of, but now I meaſure their piety by what they ſay of it themſelves to their ſubjects.

Hor. That is very kindly done.

Cleo. By thinking meanly of things, I once had ſtrange blundering notions concerning foreign wars: I thought that many of them aroſe from trifling cauſes, magnified by politicians for their own ends; that the moſt ruinous miſunderſtandings between ſtates and kingdoms might ſpring from the hidden malice, folly, or caprice of one man; that many of them had been owing to the private quarrels, piques, re-

ſentments, and the haughtineſs of the chief miniſters of the reſpective nations, that were the ſufferers; and that what is called perſonal hatred between princes ſeldom was more at firſt, than either an open or ſecret animoſity which the two great favourites of thoſe courts had againſt one another: but now I have learned to derive thoſe things from higher cauſes. I am reconciled likewiſe to the luxury of the voluptuous, which I uſed to be offended at, becauſe now I am convinced that the money of moſt rich men, is laid out with the ſocial deſign of promoting arts and ſciences, and that in the moſt expenſive undertakings their principal aim is the employment of the poor.

Hor. Theſe are lengths indeed.

Cleo. I have a ſtrong averſion to ſatire, and deteſt it every whit as much as you do: the moſt inſtructive writings to underſtand the world, and penetrate into the heart of man, I take to be addreſſes, epithets, dedications, and above all, the preambles to patents, of which I am making a large collec-lection.

Hor. A very uſeful undertaking!

Cleo. But to remove all your doubts of my converſion, I will ſhow you ſome eaſy rules I have laid down for young beginners.

Hor. What to do?

Cleo. To judge of mens actions by the lovely ſyſtem of Lord Shaftſbury, in a manner diametrically oppoſite to that of the Fable of the Bees.

Hor. I do not underſtand you.

Cleo. You will preſently. I have called them rules, but they are rather examples from which the rules are to be gathered: as for inſtance, if we ſee an induſtrious poor woman, who has pinched her belly, and gone in rags for a conſiderable time to ſave forty ſhillings, part with her money to put out her ſon at ſix years of age to a chimney-ſweeper; to judge of her charitably, according to the ſyſtem of the ſocial virtues, we muſt imagine, that though ſhe never paid for the ſweeping of a chimney in her life, ſhe knows by experience, that for want of this neceſſary cleanlineſs the broth has been often ſpoiled, and many a chimney has been ſet on fire, and therefore to do good in her generation, as far as ſhe is able, ſhe gives up her all, both offſpring and eſtate, to aſſiſt in preventing the ſeveral miſchiefs that are often occaſioned by great quantities of ſoot diſregarded; and, free from ſelfiſh-

neſs, ſacrifices her only ſon to the moſt wretched employment for the public welfare.

Hor. You do not vie I ſee with Lord Shaftſbury, for loftineſs of ſubjects.

Cleo. When in a ſtarry night with amazement we behold the glory of the firmament, nothing is more obvious than that the whole, the beautiful all, muſt be the workmanſhip of one great Architect of power and wiſdom ſtupendous; and it is as evident, that every thing in the univerſe is a conſtituent part of one entire fabric.

Hor. Would you make a jeſt of this too.

Cleo. Far from it: they are awful truths, of which I am as much convinced as I am of my own exiſtence; but I was going to name the conſequences, which Lord Shaftſbury draws from them, in order to demonſtrate to you, that I am a convert, and a very punctual obſerver of his Lordſhip's inſtructions, and that, in my judgment on the poor woman's conduct, there is nothing that is not entirely agreeable to the generous way of thinking ſet forth and recommended in the Characteriſtics.

Hor. Is it poſſible a man ſhould read ſuch a book, and make no better uſe of it! I deſire you would name the conſequences you ſpeak of.

Cleo. As that infinity of luminous bodies, however different in magnitude, velocity, and the figures they deſcribe in their courſes, concur all of them to make up the univerſe, ſo this little ſpot we inhabit is likewiſe a compound of air, water, fire, minerals, vegetables, and living creatures, which, though vaſtly differing from one another in their nature, do altogether make up the body of this terraqueous globe.

Hor. This is very right, and in the ſame manner as our whole ſpecies is compoſed of many nations of different religions, forms of government, intereſts and manners that divide and ſhare the earth between them; ſo the civil ſociety in every nation conſiſts in great multitudes of both ſexes, that widely differing from each other in age, conſtitution, ſtrength, temper, wiſdom and poſſeſſions, all help to make up one body politic.

Cleo. The ſame exactly which I would have ſaid: now, pray Sir, is not the great end of men's forming themſelves into ſuch ſocieties, mutual happineſs; I mean, do not all individual perſons, from being thus combined, propoſe to themſelves a more comfortable condition of life, than human crea-

tures, if they were to live like other wild animals, without tie or dependance, could enjoy in a free and ſavage ſtate?

Hor. This certainly is not only the end, but the end which is every where attained to by government and ſociety, in ſome degree or other.

Cleo. Hence it muſt follow, that it is always wrong for men to purſue gain or pleaſure, by means that are viſibly detrimental to the civil ſociety, and that creatures who can do this muſt be narrow-ſouled, ſhort-ſighted, ſelfiſh people; whereas, wiſe men never look upon themſelves as individual perſons, without conſidering the whole of which they are but trifling parts in reſpect to bulk, and are incapable of receiving any ſatisfaction from things that interfere with the public welfare. This being undeniably true, ought not all private advantage to give way to this general intereſt; and ought it not to be every one's endeavour, to increaſe this common ſtock of happineſs; and, in order to it, do what he can to render himſelf a ſerviceable and uſeful member of that whole body which he belongs to?

Hor. What of all this?

Cleo. Has not my poor woman, in what I have related of her, acted in conformity to this ſocial ſyſtem?

Hor. Can any one in his ſenſes imagine, that an indigent thoughtleſs wretch, without ſenſe or education, ſhould ever act from ſuch generous principles?

Cleo. Poor I told you the woman was, and I will not inſiſt upon her education; but as for her being thoughtleſs and void of ſenſe, you will give me leave to ſay, that it is an aſperſion for which you have no manner of foundation; and from the account I have given of her, nothing can be gathered but that ſhe was a conſiderate, virtuous, wiſe woman, in poverty.

Hor. I ſuppoſe you would perſuade me that you are in earneſt.

Cleo. I am much more ſo than you imagine; and ſay once more, that, in the example I have given, I have trod exactly in my Lord Shaftſbury's ſteps, and cloſely followed the ſocial ſyſtem. If I have committed any error, ſhow it me.

Hor. Did that author ever meddle with any thing ſo low and pitiful.

Cleo. There can be nothing mean in noble actions, whoever the perſons are that perform them. But if the vulgar

are to be all excluded from the ſocial virtues, what rule or inſtruction ſhall the labouring poor, which are by far the greateſt part of the nation, have left them to walk by, when the Characteriſtics have made a jeſt of all revealed religion, eſpecially the Chriſtian? but if you deſpiſe the poor and illiterate, I can, in the ſame method, judge of men in higher ſtations. Let the enemies to the ſocial ſyſtem behold the venerable counſellor, now grown eminent for his wealth, that at his great age continues ſweltering at the bar to plead the doubtful cauſe, and, regardleſs of his dinner, ſhorten his own life in endeavouring to ſecure the poſſeſſions of others. How conſpicuous is the benevolence of the phyſician to his kind, who, from morning till night, viſiting the ſick, keeps ſeveral ſets of horſes to be more ſerviceable to many, and ſtill grudges himſelf the time for the neceſſary functions of life! In the ſame manner the indefatigable clergyman, who, with his miniſtry, ſupplies a very large pariſh already, ſolicits with zeal to be as uſeful and beneficent to another, though fifty of his order, yet unemployed, offer their ſervice for the ſame purpoſe.

Hor. I perceive your drift: from the ſtrained panegyrics you labour at, you would form arguments *ad abſurdum:* the banter is ingenious enough, and, at proper times, might ſerve to raiſe a laugh; but then you muſt own likewiſe, that thoſe ſtudied encomiums will not bear to be ſeriouſly examined into. When we conſider that the great buſineſs as well as perpetual ſolicitude of the poor, are to ſupply their immediate wants, and keep themſelves from ſtarving, and that their children are a burden to them, which they groan under, and deſire to be delivered from by all poſſible means, that are not claſhing with the low involuntary affection which nature forces them to have for their offſpring: when, I ſay, we conſider this, the virtues of your induſtrious make no great figure. The public ſpirit likewiſe, and the generous principles, your ſagacity has found out in the three faculties, to which men are brought up for a livelihood, ſeem to be very far fetched. Fame, wealth, and greatneſs, every age can witneſs: but whatever labour or fatigue they ſubmit to, the motives of their actions are as conſpicuous as their calling themſelves.

Cleo. Are they not beneficial to mankind, and of uſe to the public?

Hor. I do not deny that; we often receive ineſtimable benefits from them, and the good ones in either profeſſion are not only uſeful, but very neceſſary to the ſociety: but though there are ſeveral that ſacrifice their whole lives, and all the comforts of them, to their buſineſs, there is not one of them that would take a quarter of the pains he now is at, if, without taking any, he could acquire the ſame money, reputation, and other advantages that may accrue to him from the eſteem or gratitude of thoſe whom he has been ſerviceable to; and I do not believe, there is an eminent man among them that would not own this if the queſtion was put to him. Therefore, when ambition and the love of money are avowed principles men act from, it is very ſilly to aſcribe virtues to them, which they themſelves pretend to lay no manner of claim to, But your encomium upon the parſon is the merrieſt jeſt of all: I have heard many excuſes made, and ſome of them very frivolous, for the covetouſneſs of prieſts; but what you have picked out in their praiſe is more extraordinary than any thing I ever met with; and the moſt partial advocate and admirer of the clergy never yet diſcovered before yourſelf a great virtue in their hunting after pluralities, when they were well provided for themſelves, and many others for want of employ were ready to ſtarve.

Cleo. But if there be any reality in the ſocial ſyſtem, it would be better for the public, if men, in all profeſſions, were to act from thoſe generous principles; and you will allow, that the ſociety would be the gainers, if the generality in the three faculties would mind others more, and themſelves leſs than they do now.

Hor. I do not know that; and conſidering what ſlavery ſome lawyers, as well as phyſicians, undergo, I much queſtion whether it would be poſſible for them to exert themſelves in the ſame manner though they would, if the conſtant baits and refreſhments of large fees did not help to ſupport human nature, by continually ſtimulating this darling paſſion.

Cleo. Indeed, Horatio, this is a ſtronger argument againſt the ſocial ſyſtem, and more injurious to it than any thing that has been ſaid by the author whom you have exclaimed againſt with ſo much bitterneſs.

Hor. I deny that: I do not conclude from the ſelfiſhneſs in ſome, that there is no virtue in others.

Cleo. Nor he neither, and you very much wrong him if you aſſert that he ever did.

Hor. I refuſe to commend what is not praiſe-worthy; but as bad as mankind are, virtue has an exiſtence as well as vice, though it is more ſcarce.

Cleo. What you ſaid laſt, nobody ever contradicted; but I do not know what you would be at: does not the Lord Shaftſbury endeavour to do good, and promote the ſocial virtues, and am I not doing the very ſame? ſuppoſe me to be in the wrong in the favourable conſtructions I have made of things, ſtill it is to be wiſhed for at leaſt, that men had a greater regard to the public welfare, leſs fondneſs for their private intereſt, and more charity for their neighbours, than the generality of them have.

Hor. To be wiſhed for, perhaps, it may be, but what probability is there that this ever will come to paſs?

Cleo. And unleſs that can come to paſs, it is the idleſt thing in the world to diſcourſe upon, and demonſtrate the excellency of virtue; what ſignifies it to ſet forth the beauty of it, unleſs it was poſſible that men ſhould fall in love with it?

Hor. If virtue was never recommended, men might grow worſe than they are.

Cleo. Then, by the ſame reaſon, if it was recommended more, men might grow better than they are. But I ſee perfectly well the reaſon of theſe ſhifts and evaſions you make uſe of againſt your opinion: You find yourſelf under a neceſſity of allowing my panegyrics, as you call them, to be juſt; or finding the ſame fault with moſt of my Lord Shaftsbury's; and you would do neither if you could help it: From mens preferring company to ſolitude, his Lordſhip pretends to prove the love and natural affection we have for our own ſpecies: If this was examined into with the ſame ſtrictneſs as you have done every thing I have ſaid in behalf of the three faculties, I believe that the ſolidity of the conſequences would be pretty equal in both. But I ſtick to my text, and ſtand up for the ſocial virtues: The noble author of that ſyſtem had a moſt charitable opinion of his ſpecies, and extolled the dignity of it in an extraordinary manner, and why my imitation of him ſhould be called a banter, I ſee no reaſon. He certainly wrote with a good deſign, and endeavoured to inſpire his readers with refined notions, and a public ſpirit abſtract from religion: The world enjoys the fruits

of his labours; but the advantage that is juſtly expected from his writings, can never be ſo univerſally felt, before that public ſpirit, which he recommended, comes down to the meaneſt tradeſmen, whom you would endeavour to exclude from the generous ſentiments and noble pleaſures that are already ſo viſible in many. I am now thinking on two ſorts of people that ſtand very much in need of, and yet hardly ever meet with one another: This misfortune muſt have cauſed ſuch a chaſm in the band of ſociety, that no depth of thought, or happineſs of contrivance, could have filled up the vacuity, if a moſt tender regard for the commonwealth, and the height of benevolence did not influence and oblige others, mere ſtrangers to thoſe people, and commonly men of ſmall education, to aſſiſt them with their good offices, and ſtop up the gap. Many ingenious workmen, in obſcure dwellings, would be ſtarved in ſpite of induſtry, only for want of knowing where to ſell the product of their labour, if there were not others to diſpoſe of it for them: And again, the rich and extravagant are daily furniſhed with an infinite variety of ſuperfluous knicknacks and elaborate trifles, every one of them invented to gratify either a needleſs curioſity, or elſe wantonneſs and folly; and which they could never have thought of, much leſs wanted, had they never ſeen or known where to buy them. What a bleſſing, then, to the public, is the ſocial toyman, who lays out a conſiderable eſtate to gratify the deſires of theſe two different claſſes of people? He procures food and raiment for the deſerving poor, and ſearches with great diligence after the moſt ſkilful artificers, that no man ſhall be able to produce better workmanſhip than himſelf: with ſtudied civilities, and a ſerene countenance, he entertains the greateſt ſtrangers; and, often ſpeaking to them firſt, kindly offers to gueſs at their wants: He confines not his attendance to a few ſtated hours, but waits their leiſure all day long in an open ſhop, where he bears the ſummer's heat, and winter's cold, with equal cheerfulneſs. What a beautiful proſpect is here of natural affection to our kind! For, if he acts from that principle, who only furniſhes us with neceſſaries of life, certainly he ſhows a more ſuperlative love and indulgence to his ſpecies, who will not ſuffer the moſt whimſical of it to be an hour deſtitute of what he ſhall fancy, even things the moſt unneceſſary.

Hor. You have made the moſt of it indeed, but are you not tired yet with theſe fooleries yourſelf?

Cleo. What fault do you find with theſe kind conſtructions; do they detract from the dignity of our ſpecies?

Hor. I admire your invention, and thus much I will own, that, by overacting the part in that extravagant manner, you have ſet the ſocial ſyſtem in a more diſadvantageous light than ever I had conſidered it before: But the beſt things, you know, may be ridiculed.

Cleo. Whether I know that or not, Lord Shaftſbury has flatly denied it; and takes joke and banter to be the beſt and ſureſt touchſtone to prove the worth of things: It is his opinion, that no ridicule can be faſtened upon what is really great and good. His Lordſhip has made uſe of that teſt to try the Scriptures and the Chriſtian religion by, and expoſed them becauſe it ſeems they could not ſtand it.

Hor. He has expoſed ſuperſtition, and the miſerable notions the vulgar were taught to have of God; but no man ever had more ſublime ideas of the Supreme Being, and the univerſe, than himſelf.

Cleo. You are convinced, that what I charge him with is true

Hor. I do not pretend to defend every ſyllable that noble Lord has wrote. His ſtyle is engaging, his language is polite, his reaſoning ſtrong; many of his thoughts are beautifully expreſſed, and his images, for the greateſt part, inimitably fine. I may be pleaſed with an author, without obliging myſelf to anſwer every cavil that ſhall be made againſt him. As to what you call your imitation of him, I have no taſte in burleſque: but the laugh you would raiſe might be turned upon you with leſs trouble than you ſeem to have taken. Pray, when you conſider the hard and dirty labours that are performed to ſupply the mob with the vaſt quantities of ſtrong beer they ſwill, do not you diſcover ſocial virtue in a drayman?

Cleo. Yes, and in a dray-horſe too; at leaſt as well as I can in ſome great men, who yet would be very angry ſhould we refuſe to believe, that the moſt ſelfiſh actions of theirs, if the ſociety received but the leaſt benefit from them, were chiefly owing to principles of virtue, and a generous regard to the public. Do you believe that, in the choice of a Pope, the greateſt dependence of the Cardinals, and what they principally rely upon, is the influence of the Holy Ghoſt?

Hor. No more than I do tranſubſtantiation.

Cleo. But if you had been brought up a Roman Catholic, you would believe both.

Hor. I do not know that.

Cleo. You would, if you was ſincere in your religion, as thouſands of them are, that are no more deſtitute of reaſon and good ſenſe than you or I.

Hor. I have nothing to ſay as to that: there are many things incomprehenſible, that yet are certainly true: Theſe are properly the objects of faith; and, therefore, when matters are above my capacity, and really ſurpaſs my underſtanding, I am ſilent, and ſubmit with great humility: but I will ſwallow nothing which I plainly apprehend to be contrary to my reaſon, and is directly claſhing with my ſenſes.

Cleo. If you believe a Providence, what demonſtration can you have, that God does not direct men in an affair of higher importance to all Chriſtendom, than any other you can name?

Hor. This is an enſnaring, and a very unfair queſtion. Providence ſuperintends and governs every thing without exception. To defend my negative, and give a reaſon for my unbelief, it is ſufficient, if I prove, that all the inſtruments, and the means they make uſe of in thoſe elections, are viſibly human and mundane, and many of them unwarrantable and wicked.

Cleo. Not all the means; becauſe every day they have prayers, and ſolemnly invoke the Divine aſſiſtance.

Hor. But what ſtreſs they lay upon it may be eaſily gathered from the reſt of their behaviour. The court of Rome is, without diſpute, the greateſt academy of refined politics, and the beſt ſchool to learn the art of caballing: there ordinary cunning, and known ſtratagems, are counted ruſticity, and deſigns are purſued through all the mazes of human ſubtlety. Genius there muſt give way to fineſſe, as ſtrength does to art in wreſtling; and a certain ſkill ſome men have in concealing their capacities from others, is of far greater uſe with them, than real knowledge, or the ſoundeſt underſtanding. In the ſacred college, where every thing is *auro venale*, truth and juſtice bear the loweſt price: Cardinal Palavicini, and other Jeſuits, that have been the ſtanch advocates of the Papal authority, have owned with oſtentation the *Politia religioſa della chieſa*, and not hid from us the virtues and accompliſhments, that were only valuable among the Purpurati, in whoſe judgment over-reaching, at any rate, is the higheſt honour, and to be outwitted, though by the baſeſt

artifice, the greateſt ſhame. In conclaves, more eſpecially, nothing is carried on without tricks and intrigue; and in them the heart of man is ſo deep, and ſo dark an abyſs, that the fineſt air of diſſimulation is ſometimes found to have been ſincere, and men often deceive one another, by counterfeiting hypocriſy. And is it credible, that holineſs, religion, or the leaſt concern for ſpirituals, ſhould have any ſhare in the plots, machinations, brigues, and contrivances of a ſociety, of which each member, beſides the gratification of his own paſſions, has nothing at heart but the intereſt of his party, right or wrong, and to diſtreſs every faction that oppoſes it?

Cleo. Theſe ſentiments confirm to me what I have often heard, that renegadoes are the moſt cruel enemies.

Hor. Was ever I a Roman Catholic?

Cleo. I mean from the ſocial ſyſtem, of which you have been the moſt ſtrenuous aſſertor; and now no man can judge of actions more ſeverely, and indeed leſs charitably, than yourſelf, eſpecially of the poor cardinals. I little thought, if once I quitted the ſcheme of deformity, to have found an adverſary in you; but we have both changed ſides it ſeems.

Hor. Much alike, I believe.

Cleo. Nay, what could any body think to hear me making the kindeſt interpretations of things that can be imagined, and yourſelf doing quite the reverſe?

Hor. What ignorant people, that knew neither of us, might have done, I do not know: but it has been very manifeſt from our diſcourſe, that you have maintained your cauſe, by endeavouring to ſhow the abſurdity of the contrary ſide, and that I have defended mine by letting you ſee, that we were not ſuch fools as you would repreſent us to be. I had taken a reſolution never to engage with you on this topic, but you ſee I have broke it: I hate to be thought uncivil; it was mere complaiſance drew me in; though I am not ſorry that we talked of it ſo much as we did, becauſe I found your opinion leſs dangerous than I imagined: you have owned the exiſtence of virtue, and that there are men who act from it as a principle, both which I thought you denied: but I would not have you flatter yourſelf that you deceived me, by hanging out falſe colours.

Cleo. I did not lay on the diſguiſe ſo thick, as not to have you ſee through it, nor would I ever have diſcourſed upon this ſubject with any body, who could have been ſo eaſily

impoſed upon. I know you to be a man of very good ſenſe and ſound judgment; and it is for that very reaſon I ſo heartily wiſh you would ſuffer me to explain myſelf, and demonſtrate to you, how ſmall the difference is between us, which you imagine to be ſo conſiderable: There is not a man in the world, in whoſe opinion I would leſs paſs for an ill man than in yours; but I am ſo ſcrupulouſly fearful of offending you, that I never dared to touch upon ſome points, unleſs you had given me leave. Yield ſomething to our friendſhip, and condeſcend for once to read the Fable of the Bees for my ſake: It is a handſome volume: you love books: I have one extremely well bound; do; let me, ſuffer me to make you a preſent of it.

Hor. I am no bigot, Cleomenes; but I am a man of honour, and, you know, of ſtrict honour: I cannot endure to hear that ridiculed, and the leaſt attempt of it chafes my blood: Honour is the ſtrongeſt and nobleſt tie of ſociety by far, and therefore, believe me, can never be innocently ſported with. It is a thing ſo ſolid and awful, as well as ſerious, that it can at no time become the object of mirth or diverſion; and it is impoſſible for any pleaſantry to be ſo ingenious, or any jeſt ſo witty, that I could bear with it on that head. Perhaps I am ſingular in this, and, if you will, in the wrong; be that as it will, all I can ſay is, *Je ne'entens pas Raillerie la deſſus;* and therefore, no Fable of the Bees for me, if we are to remain friends: I have heard enough of that.

Cleo. Pray, Horatio, can there be honour without juſtice?

Hor. No: Who affirms there can?

Cleo. Have you not owned, that you have thought worſe of me, than now you find me to deſerve? No men, nor their works, ought to be condemned upon hearſays and bare ſurmiſes, much leſs upon the accuſations of their enemies, without being examined into.

Hor. There you are in the right: I heartily beg your pardon, and to atone for the wrong I have done you, ſay what you pleaſe, I will hear it with patience, be it never ſo ſhocking; but I beg of you be ſerious.

Cleo. I have nothing to ſay to you that is diſtaſteful, much leſs ſhocking: all I deſire is, to convince you, that I am neither ſo ill-natured nor uncharitable, in my opinion of mankind, as you take me to be: and that the notions I entertain of the worth of things, will not differ much from yours,

when both come to be looked into. Do but conſider what we have been doing: I have endeavoured to ſet every thing in the handſomeſt light I could think of; you ſay, to ridicule the ſocial ſyſtem; I own it; now reflect on your own conduct, which has been to ſhow the folly of my ſtrained panegyrics, and replace things in that natural view, which all juſt, knowing men would certainly behold them in. This is very well done: but it is contrary to the ſcheme you pretended to maintain; and if you judge of all actions in the ſame manner, there is an end of the ſocial ſyſtem; or, at leaſt, it will be evident, that it is a theory never to be put into practice. You argue for the generality of men, that they are poſſeſſed of theſe virtues, but when we come to particulars, you can find none. I have tried you every where: you are as little ſatisfied with perſons of the higheſt rank, as you are with them of the loweſt, and you count it ridiculous to think better of the middling people. Is this otherwiſe than ſtanding up for the goodneſs of a deſign, at the ſame time you confeſs, that it never was, or ever can be executed? What ſort of people are they, and where muſt we look for them, whom you will own to act from thoſe principles of virtue?

Hor. Are there not in all countries men of birth and ample fortune, that would not accept of places, though they were offered, that are generous and beneficent, and mind nothing but what is great and noble?

Cleo. Yes: But examine their conduct, look into their lives, and ſcan their actions with as little indulgence as you did thoſe of the cardinals, or the lawyers and phyſicians, and then ſee what figure their virtues will make beyond thoſe of the poor induſtrious woman. There is, generally ſpeaking, leſs truth in panegyrics, than there is in ſatires. When all our ſenſes are ſoothed, when we have no diſtemper of body or mind to diſturb us, and meet with nothing that is diſagreeable, we are pleaſed with our being: it is in this ſituation that we are moſt apt to miſtake outward appearances for realities, and judge of things more favourably than they deſerve. Remember, Horatio, how feelingly you ſpoke half an hour ago in commendation of operas: Your ſoul ſeemed to be lifted up whilſt you was thinking on the many charms you find in them. I have nothing to ſay againſt the elegancy of the diverſion, or the politeneſs of thoſe that frequent them: but I am afraid you loſt yourſelf in the contempla-

tion of the lovely idea, when you aſſerted that they were the moſt proper means to contract a ſtrong and laſting habit of virtue; do you think, that among the ſame number of people, there is more real virtue at an opera, than there is at a bear-garden?

Hor. What a compariſon!

Cleo. I am very ſerious.

Hor. The noiſe of dogs, and bulls, and bears, make a fine harmony!

Cleo. It is impoſſible you ſhould miſtake me, and you know very well, that it is not the different pleaſures of thoſe two places I would compare together. The things you mentioned are the leaſt to be complained of: the continual ſounds of oaths and imprecations, the frequent repetitions of the word *lie*, and other more filthy expreſſions, the loudneſs and diſſonance of many ſtrained and untuneful voices, are a perfect torment to a delicate ear. The frowſineſs of the place, and the ill ſcents of different kinds, are a perpetual nuiſance; but in all mob meetings——

Hor. L'odorat ſouffre beaucoup.

Cleo. The entertainment in general is abominable, and all the ſenſes ſuffer. I allow all this. The greaſy heads, ſome of them bloody, the jarring looks, and threatning, wild, and horrid aſpects, that one meets with in thoſe ever-reſtleſs aſſemblies, muſt be very ſhocking to the ſight, and ſo indeed is every thing elſe that can be ſeen among a rude and ragged multitude, that are covered with dirt, and have in none of their paſtimes one action that is inoffenſive: but, after all, vice and what is criminal, are not to be confounded with roughneſs and want of manners, no more than politeneſs and an artful behaviour ought to be with virtue or religion. To tell a premeditated falſehood in order to do miſchief, is a greater ſin, than to give a man the lie, who ſpeaks an untruth; and it is poſſible, that a perſon may ſuffer greater damage, and more injury to his ruin, from ſlander in the low whiſper of a ſecret enemy, than he could have received from all the dreadful ſwearing and curſing, the moſt noiſy antagoniſt could pelt him with. Incontinence, and adultery itſelf, perſons of quality are not more free from all over Chriſtendom, than the meaner people: but if there are ſome vices, which the vulgar are more guilty of than the better ſort, there are others the reverſe. Envy, detraction, and the ſpirit of revenge, are more raging and miſchievous in courts than they

are in cottages. Exceſs of vanity and hurtful ambition are unknown among the poor; they are ſeldom tainted with avarice, with irreligion never; and they have much leſs opportunity of robbing the public than their betters. There are few perſons of diſtinction, whom you are not acquainted with: I deſire, you would ſeriouſly reflect on the lives of as many as you can think of, and next opera night on the virtues of the aſſembly.

Hor. You make me laugh. There is a good deal in what you ſay; and I am perſuaded, all is not gold that gliſters. Would you add any more?

Cleo. Since you have given me leave to talk, and you are ſuch a patient hearer, I would not ſlip the opportunity of laying before you ſome things of high concern, that perhaps you never conſidered in the light, which you ſhall own yourſelf they ought to be ſeen in.

Hor. I am ſorry to leave you; but I have really buſineſs that muſt be done to-night: it is about my law-ſuit, and I have ſtayed beyond my time already: but if you will come and eat a bit of mutton with me to-morrow, I will ſee nobody but yourſelf, and we will converſe as long as you pleaſe.

Cleo. With all my heart. I will not fail to wait on you.

THE SECOND

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

HORATIO AND CLEOMENES

HORATIO.

THE diſcourſe we had yeſterday, has made a great impreſſion upon me; you ſaid ſeveral things that were very entertaining, and ſome which I ſhall not eaſily forget: I do not remember I ever looked into myſelf ſo much as I have done ſince laſt night after I left you.

Cleo. To do that faithfully, is a more difficult and a ſeverer taſk than is commonly imagined. When, yeſterday, I aſked you where and among what ſort of people we were to look for thoſe whom you would allow to act from principles of virtue, you named a claſs, among whom I have found very agreeable characters of men, that yet all have their failings. If theſe could be left out, and the beſt were picked and culled from the different good qualities that are to be ſeen in ſeveral, the compound would make a very handſome picture.

Hor. To finiſh it well every way would be a great maſterpiece.

Cleo. That I ſhall not attempt: but I do not think it would be very difficult to make a little ſketch of it, that yet ſhould exceed nature, and be a better pattern for imitation than any can be ſhown alive. I have a mind to try; the very thought enlivens me. How charming is the portrait of a complete gentleman, and how raviſhing is the figure which a perſon of great birth and fortune, to whom nature has been no niggard, makes, when he underſtands the world, and is thoroughly well-bred!

Hor. I think them ſo, I can aſſure you, whether you are in jeſt or in earneſt.

Cleo. How entirely well hid are his greateſt imperfections! though money is his idol, and he is covetous in his heart, yet his inward avarice is forced to give way to his outward liberality, and an open generoſity ſhines through all his actions.

Hor. There lies your fault: it is this I cannot endure in you.

Cleo. What is the matter?

Hor. I know what you are about, you are going to give me the caricatura of a gentleman, under pretence of drawing his portrait.

Cleo. You wrong me, I have no ſuch thought.

Hor. But why is it impoſſible for human nature ever to be good? inſtead of leaving out, you put in failings without the leaſt grounds or colour. When things have a handſome appearance every way, what reaſon have you to ſuſpect them ſtill to be bad? How came you to know, and which way have you diſcovered imperfections that are entirely well hid; and why ſhould you ſuppoſe a perſon to be covetous in his heart, and that money is his idol, when you own yourſelf

that he never ſhews it, and that an open generoſity ſhines through all his actions? This is monſtrous.

Cleo. I have made no ſuch ſuppoſition of any man, and I proteſt to you, that, in what I ſaid, I had no other meaning than to obſerve, that whatever frailties and natural infirmities perſons might be conſcious of within, good ſenſe and good manners were capable, and, without any other aſſiſtance, ſufficient to keep them out of ſight: but your queſtions are very ſeaſonable, and ſince you have ſtarted this, I will be very open to you, and acquaint you before hand with my deſign of the deſcription I am going to make; and the uſe I intend it for; which in ſhort is, to demonſtrate to you, that a moſt beautiful ſuperſtructure may be raiſed upon a rotten and deſpicable foundation. You will underſtand me better preſently.

Hor. But how do you know a foundation to be rotten that ſupports the building, and is wholly concealed from you?

Cleo. Have patience, and I promiſe you, that I ſhall take nothing for granted, which you ſhall not allow of yourſelf.

Hor. Stick cloſe to that, and I deſire no more: now ſay what you will.

Cleo. The true object of pride or vain glory is the opinion of others; and the moſt ſuperlative wiſh, which a man poſſeſſed, and entirely filled with it can make, is, that he may be well thought of, applauded, and admired by the whole world, not only in the preſent but all future ages. This paſſion is generally exploded; but it is incredible, how many ſtrange and widely different miracles are, and may be performed by the force of it; as perſons differ in circumſtances and inclinations. In the firſt place, there is no danger ſo great, but by the help of his pride a man may ſlight and confront it; nor any manner of death ſo terrible, but with the ſame aſſiſtance he may court, and if he has a firm conſtitution, undergo it with alacrity. In the ſecond, there are no good offices or duties, either to others or ourſelves, that Cicero has ſpoke of, nor any inſtance of benevolence, humanity, or other ſocial virtue, that Lord Shaftſbury has hinted at, but a man of good ſenſe and knowledge may learn to practiſe them from no better principle than vain glory, if it be ſtrong enough to ſubdue and keep under all other paſſions that may thwart and interfere with his deſign.

Hor. Shall I allow all this?

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. When?

Cleo. Before we part.

Hor. Very well.

Cleo. Men of tolerable parts in plentiful circumſtances, that were artfully educated, and are not ſingular in their temper, can hardly fail of a genteel behaviour: the more pride they have, and the greater value they ſet on the eſteem of others, the more they will make it their ſtudy to render themſelves acceptable to all they converſe with; and they will take uncommon pains to conceal and ſtifle in their boſoms, every thing which their good ſenſe tells them ought not to be ſeen or underſtood.

Hor. I muſt interrupt you, and cannot ſuffer you to go on thus. What is all this but the old ſtory over again, that every thing is pride, and all we ſee hypocriſy, without proof or argument? Nothing in the world is more falſe than what you have advanced now; for, according to that, the moſt noble, the moſt gallant, and the beſt bred man would be the proudeſt; which is ſo claſhing with daily experience, that the very reverſe is true. Pride and inſolence are no where more common than among upſtarts; men of no family, that raiſe eſtates out of nothing, and the moſt ordinary people, that having had no education, are puffed up with their fortune whenever they are lifted up above mediocrity, and from mean ſtations advanced to poſts of honour: whereas, no men upon earth, generally ſpeaking, are more courteous, humane, or polite, than perſons of high birth, that enjoy the large poſſeſſions and known ſeats of their anceſtors; men illuſtrious by deſcent, that have been uſed to grandeur and titles of honour from their infancy, and received an education ſuitable to their quality. I do not believe there ever was a nation, that were not ſavages, in which the youth of both ſexes were not expreſsly taught never to be proud or haughty: did you ever know a ſchool, a tutor, or a parent, that did not continually inculcate to thoſe under their care to be civil and obliging; nay, does not the word mannerly itſelf import as much?

Cleo. I beg of you, let us be calm, and ſpeak with exactneſs. The doctrine of good manners furniſhes us with a thouſand leſſons, againſt the various appearances and outward ſymptoms of pride, but it has not one precept againſt the paſſion itſelf.

Hor. How is that?

Cleo. No, not one againſt the paſſion itſelf; the conqueſt of it is never attempted, nor talked of in a gentleman's education, where men are to be continually inſpired and kept warm with the ſenſe of their honour, and the inward value they muſt put upon themſelves on all emergencies.

Hor. This is worth conſideration, and requires time to be examined into; but where is your fine gentleman, the picture you promiſed?

Cleo. I am ready, and ſhall begin with his dwelling: Though he has ſeveral noble ſeats in different countries, yet I ſhall only take notice of his chief manſion-houſe that bears the name, and does the honours of the family: this is amply magnificent, and yet commodious to admiration. His gardens are very extenſive, and contain an infinite variety of pleaſing objects: they are divided into many branches for divers purpoſes, and every where filled with improvements of art upon nature; yet a beautiful order and happy contrivance are conſpicuous through every part; and though nothing is omitted to render them ſtately and delightful; the whole is laid out to the beſt advantage. Within doors, every thing beſpeaks the grandeur and judgment of the maſter; and as no coſt is ſpared any where to procure beauty or conveniency, ſo you ſee none impertinently laviſhed. All his plate and furniture are completely fine, and you ſee nothing but what is fathionable. He has no pictures but of the moſt eminent hands: the rarities he ſhows are really ſuch; he hoards up no trifles, nor offers any thing to your ſight that is ſhocking: but the ſeveral collections he has of this ſort, are agreeable as well as extraordinary, and rather valuable than large: but curioſities and wealth are not confined to his cabinet; the marble and ſculpture that are diſplayed up and down are a treaſure themſelves; and there is abundance of admirable gilding and excellent carving to be ſeen in many places. What has been laid out on the great hall, and one gallery, would be a conſiderable eſtate; and there is a ſaloon and a ſtair-caſe not inferior to either: theſe are all very ſpacious and lofty; the architecture of them is of the beſt taſte, and the decorations ſurpriſing. Throughout the whole there appears a delicate mixture and aſtoniſhing variety of lively embelliſhments, the ſplendour of which, joined to a perfect cleanlineſs, no where neglected, are higly entertaining to the moſt careleſs and leaſt obſerving eye; whilſt the exactneſs of the workmanſhip beſtowed on every part of the meaneſt

utenſil, gives a more ſolid ſatisfaction, and is raviſhing to the curious. But the greateſt excellency in this model of perfection is this; that as in the moſt ordinary rooms there is nothing wanting for their purpoſe, and the leaſt paſſage is handſomely finiſhed; ſo in thoſe of the greateſt eclat there is nothing overcharged, nor any part of them encumbered with ornaments.

Hor. This is a ſtudied piece; but I do not like it the worſe for it, pray go own.

Cleo. I have thought of it before, I own. His equipage is rich and well choſen, and there is nothing to be ſeen about him that art or expence, within the compaſs of reaſon, could make better. At his own table his looks are ever jovial; and his heart ſeems to be as open as his countenance. His chief buſineſs there is to take care of others, without being troubleſome; and all his happineſs ſeems to conſiſt in being able to pleaſe his friends: in his greateſt mirth, he is wanting in reſpect to no man; and never makes uſe of abbreviations in names, or unhandſome familiarities with the meaneſt of his gueſts. To every one that ſpeaks to him, he gives an obliging attention, and ſeems never to diſregard any thing but what is ſaid in commendation of his fare: he never interrupts any diſcourſe but what is made in his praiſe, and ſeldom aſſents to any encomiums, though the moſt equitable that are made on any thing that is his. When he is abroad he never ſpies faults; and whatever is amiſs, he either ſays nothing, or, in anſwer to the complaints and uneaſineſs of others, gives every thing the beſt-natured turn it can bear; but he ſeldom leaves a houſe before he finds out ſomething to extol in it, without wronging his judgment. His converſation is always facetious and good humoured, but as ſolid as it is diverting. He never utters a ſyllable that has the leaſt tincture of obſcenity or profaneneſs; nor ever made a jeſt that was offenſive.

Hor. Very fine!

Cleo. He ſeems to be entirely free from bigotry and ſuperſtition, avoids all diſputes about religion; but goes conſtantly to church, and is ſeldom abſent from his family devotions.

Hor. A very godly gentleman!

Cleo. I expected we ſhould differ there.

Hor. I do not find fault. Proceed, pray.

Cleo. As he is a man of erudition himſelf, ſo he is a promoter of arts and ſciences; he is a friend to merit, a re-

warder of induſtry, and a profeſſed enemy to nothing but immorality and oppreſſion. Though no man's table is better furniſhed, nor cellars better ſtored; he is temperate in his eating, and never commits exceſs in drinking: though he has an exquiſite palate, he always prefers wholeſome meats to thoſe that are delicious only, and never indulges his appetite in any thing that might probably be prejudicial to his health.

Hor. Admirably good!

Cleo. As he is in all other things, ſo he is elegant in his clothes, and has often new ones: neatneſs he prefers to finery in his own dreſs; but his retinue is rich. He ſeldom wears gold or ſilver himſelf, but on very ſolemn occaſions, in compliment to others; and to demonſtrate that theſe pompous habits are made for no other purpoſe, he is never ſeen twice in the ſame; but having appeared in them one day, he gives them away the next. Though of every thing he has the beſt of the ſort, and might be called curious in apparel; yet he leaves the care of it to others; and no man has his clothes put on better that ſeem ſo little to regard them.

Hor. Perfectly right; to be well dreſſed is a neceſſary article, and yet to be ſolicitous about it is below a perſon of quality.

Cleo. Therefore he has a domeſtic of good taſte, a judicious man, who ſaves him that trouble; and the management likewiſe of his lace and linen, is the province of a ſkilful woman. His language is courtly, but natural and intelligible; it is neither low nor bombaſtic, and ever free from pedantic and vulgar expreſſions. All his motions are genteel without affectation; his mien is rather ſedate than airy, and his manner noble: for though he is ever civil and condeſcending, and no man leſs arrogant, yet in all his carriage there is ſomething gracefully majeſtic; and as there is nothing mean in his humility, ſo his loftineſs has nothing diſobliging.

Hor Prodigiouſly good!

Cleo. He is charitable to the poor; his houſe is never ſhut to ſtrangers; and all his neighbours he counts to be his friends. He is a father to his tenants; and looks upon their welfare as inſeparable from his intereſt. No man is leſs uneaſy at little offences, or more ready to forgive all treſpaſſes without deſign. The injuries that are ſuffered from other landlords, he turns into benefits; and whatever damages, great or ſmall, are ſuſtained on his account, either from his

diverſions or otherwiſe, he doubly makes good. He takes care to be early informed of ſuch loſſes, and commonly repairs them before they are complained of.

Hor. Oh rare humanity; hearken ye foxhunters!

Cleo. He never chides any of his people; yet no man is better ſerved; and though nothing is wanting in his houſekeeping, and his family is very numerous, yet the regularity of it is no leſs remarkable than the plenty they live in. His orders he will have ſtrictly obeyed; but his commands are always reaſonable, and he never ſpeaks to the meaneſt footman without regard to humanity. Extraordinary diligence in ſervants, and all laudable actions he takes notice of himſelf, and often commends them to their faces; but leaves it to his ſteward to reprove or diſmiſs thoſe he diſlikes.

Hor. Well judged.

Cleo. Whoever lives with him is taken care of in ſickneſs as well as in health. The wages he gives are above double thoſe of other maſters; and he often makes preſents to thoſe that are more than ordinary obſerving and induſtrious to pleaſe: but he ſuffers nobody to take a penny of his friends or others, that come to his houſe, on any account whatever. Many faults are connived at, or pardoned for the firſt time, but a breach of this order is ever attended with the loſs of their places as ſoon as it is found out; and there is a premium for the diſcovery.

Hor. This is the only exceptionable thing, in my opinion, that I have heard yet.

Cleo. I wonder at that: why ſo, pray?

Hor. In the firſt place, it is very difficult to enforce obedience to ſuch a command; ſecondly, if it could be executed, it would be of little uſe; unleſs it could be made general, which is impoſſible: and therefore I look upon the attempt of introducing this maxim to be ſingular and fantaſtical. It would pleaſe miſers and others, that would never follow the example at home; but it would take away from generous men a handſome opportunity of ſhowing their liberal and beneficent diſpoſition: beſides, it would manifeſtly make ones houſe too open to all ſorts of people.

Cleo. Ways might be found to prevent that; but then it would be a bleſſing, and do great kindneſs to men of parts and education, that have little to ſpare, to many of whom this money to ſervants is a very grievous burden.

Hor. What you mention is the only thing that can be ſaid for it, and I own, of great weight: but I beg your pardon for interrupting you.

Cleo. In all his dealings he is punctual and juſt. As he has an immenſe eſtate, ſo he has good managers to take care of it: but though all his accounts are very neatly kept, yet he makes it part of his buſineſs to look them over himſelf. He ſuffers no tradeſman's bill to lie by unexamined; and though he meddles not with his ready caſh himſelf, yet he is a quick and cheerful, as well as an exact paymaſter; and the only ſingularity he is guilty of, is, that he never will owe any thing on a new-year's day

Hor. I like that very well.

Cleo. He is affable with diſcretion, of eaſy acceſs, and never ruffled with paſſion. To ſum up all, no man ſeems to be leſs elevated with his condition than himſelf; and in the full enjoyment of ſo many perſonal accompliſhments, as well as other poſſeſſions, his modeſty is equal to the reſt of his happineſs; and in the midſt of the pomp and diſtinction he lives in, he never appears to be entertained with his greatneſs, but rather unacquainted with the things he excels in.

Hor. It is an admirable character, and pleaſes me exceedingly; but I will freely own to you, that I ſhould have been more highly delighted with the deſcription, if I had not known your deſign, and the uſe you intend to make of it; which, I think, is barbarous: to raiſe ſo fine, ſo elegant, and ſo complete an edifice, in order to throw it down, is taking great pains to ſhow one's ſkill in doing miſchief. I have obſerved the ſeveral places where you left room for evaſions, and ſapping the foundation you have built upon. His heart *ſeems* to be as open; and he never *appears* to be entertained with his greatneſs. I am perſuaded, that wherever you have put in this *ſeeming* and *appearing*, you have done it deſignedly, and with an intent to make uſe of them as ſo many back doors to creep out at. I could never have taken notice of theſe things, if you had not acquainted me with your intention before hand.

Cleo. I have made uſe of the caution you ſpeak of: but with no other view than to avoid juſt cenſure, and prevent your accuſing me of incorrectneſs, or judging with too much precipitation; if it ſhould be proved afterwards, that this gentleman had acted from an ill principle, which is the thing I own I purpoſed to convince you of; but ſeeing, that it

would be unpleaſant to you, I will be ſatisfied with having given you ſome ſmall entertainment of the deſcription, and for the reſt, I give you leave to think me in the wrong.

Hor. Why ſo? I thought the character was made and contrived on purpoſe for my inſtruction.

Cleo. I do not pretend to inſtruct you: I would have offered ſomething, and appealed to your judgment; but I have been miſtaken, and plainly ſee my error. Both laſt night and now, when we began our diſcourſe, I took you to be in another diſpoſition of thinking than I perceive you are. You ſpoke of an impreſſion that had been made upon you, and of looking into yourſelf, and gave ſome other hints, which too raſhly I miſconſtrued in my favour; but I have found ſince, that you are as warm as ever againſt the ſentiments I profeſs myſelf to be of; and therefore I will deſiſt. I expect no pleaſure from any triumph, and I know nothing that would vex me more, than the thoughts of diſobliging you. Pray let us do in this as we do in another matter of importance, never touch upon it: friends in prudence ſhould avoid all ſubjects in which they are known eſſentially to differ. Believe me, Horatio, if it was in my power to divert or give you any pleaſure, I would grudge no pains to compaſs that end: but to make you uneaſy, is a thing that I ſhall never be knowingly guilty of, and I beg a thouſand pardons for having ſaid ſo much both yeſterday and to-day. Have you heard any thing from Gibraltar?

Hor. I am aſhamed of my weakneſs and your civility: you have not been miſtaken in the hints you ſpeak of; what you have ſaid has certainly made a great impreſſion upon me, and I have endeavoured to examine myſelf: but, as you ſay, it is a ſevere taſk to do it faithfully. I deſired you to dine with me on purpoſe, that we might talk of theſe things. It is I that have offended, and it is I that ought to aſk pardon for the ill manners I have been guilty of; but you know the principles I have always adherred to; it is impoſſible to recede from them at once. I ſee great difficulties, and now and then a glimpſe of truth, that makes me ſtart: I ſometimes feel great ſtruggles within; but I have been ſo uſed to derive all actions that are really good from laudable motives, that as ſoon as I return to my accuſtomed way of thinking, it carries all before it, Pray bear with my infirmities. I am in love with your fine gentleman, and I confeſs, I cannot ſee how a perſon ſo univerſally good, ſo far remote

from all ſelfiſhneſs, can act in ſuch an extraordinary manner every way, but from principles of virtue and religion. Where is there ſuch a landlord in the world? If I am in an error, I ſhall be glad to be undeceived. Pray inform me, and ſay what you will, I promiſe you to keep my temper, and I beg of you ſpeak your mind with freedom.

Cleo. You have bid me before ſay what I would, and when I did, you ſeemed diſpleaſed; but ſince you command me I will try once more.——Whether there is or ever was ſuch a man as I have deſcribed, in the world, is not very material: but I will eaſily allow, that moſt people would think it leſs difficult to conceive one, than to imagine that ſuch a clear and beautiful ſtream could flow from ſo mean and muddy a ſpring, as an exceſſive thirſt after praiſe, and an immoderate deſire of general applauſe from the moſt knowing judges; yet it is certain, that great parts and extraordinary riches may compaſs all this in a man, who is not deformed, and has had a refined education; and that there are many perſons naturally no better than a thouſand others, who by the helps mentioned, might attain to thoſe good qualities and accompliſhments, if they had but reſolution and perſeverance enough, to render every appetite and every faculty ſubſervient to that one predominant paſſion, which, if continually gratified, will always enable them to govern, and, if required, to ſubdue all the reſt without exception, even in the moſt difficult caſes.

Hor. To enter into an argument concerning the poſſibility of what you ſay, might occaſion a long diſpute; but the probability, I think, is very clear againſt you, and if there was ſuch a man, it would be much more credible, that he acted from the excellency of his nature, in which ſo many virtues and rare endowments were aſſembled, than that all his good qualities ſprung from vicious motives. If pride could be the cauſe of all this, the effect of it would ſometimes appear in others. According to your ſyſtem, there is no ſcarcity of it, and there are men of great parts and prodigious eſtates all over Europe: why are there not ſeveral ſuch patterns to be ſeen up and down, as you have drawn us one; and why is it ſo very ſeldom, that many virtues and good qualities are ſeen to meet in one individual?

Cleo. Why ſo few perſons, though there are ſo many men of immenſe fortune, ever arrive at any thing like this high pitch of accompliſhments, there are ſeveral reaſons that are

very obvious. In the firſt place, men differ in temperament: ſome are naturally of an active, ſtirring; others of an indolent, quiet diſpoſition; ſome of a bold, others of a meek ſpirit. In the ſecond, it is to be conſidered, that this temperament in men come to maturity is more or leſs conſpicuous, according as it has been either checked or encouraged by education. Thirdly, that on theſe two depend the different perception men have of happineſs, according to which the love of glory determines them different ways. Some think it the greateſt felicity to govern and rule over others: ſome take the praiſe of bravery and undauntedneſs in dangers to be the moſt valuable: others, erudition, and to be a celebrated author: ſo that, though they all love glory, they ſet out differently to acquire it. But a man who hates a buſtle, and is naturally of a quiet eaſy temper, and which has been encouraged in him by education, it is very likely might think nothing more deſirable than the character of a fine gentleman; and if he did, I dare ſay that he would endeavour to behave himſelf pretty near the pattern I have given you; I ſay pretty near, becauſe I may have been miſtaken in ſome things, and as I have not touched upon every thing, ſome will ſay, that I have left out ſeveral neceſſary ones: but in the main I believe, that in the country and age we live in, the qualifications I have named would get a man the reputation I have ſuppoſed him to deſire.

Hor. Without doubt, I make no manner of ſcruple about what you ſaid laſt; and I told you before that it was an admirable character, and pleaſed me exceedingly. That I took notice of your making your gentleman ſo very godly as you did, was becauſe it is not common; but I intended it not as a reflection. One thing, indeed, there was in which I differed from you; but that was merely ſpeculative; and, ſince I have reflected on what you have anſwered me, I do not know but I may be in the wrong, as I ſhould certainly believe myſelf to be, if there really was ſuch a man, and he was of the contrary opinion: to ſuch a fine genius I would pay an uncommon deference, and with great readineſs ſubmit my underſtanding to his ſuperior capacity. But the reaſons you give why thoſe effects which you aſcribe to pride, are not more common, the cauſe being ſo univerſal, I think are inſufficient. That men are prompted to follow different ends, as their inclinations differ, I can eaſily allow; but there are great numbers of rich men that are likewiſe of

a quiet and indolent diſpoſition, and moreover very deſirous of being thought fine gentlemen. How comes it, that among ſo many perſons of high birth, princely eſtates, and the moſt refined education, as there are in Chriſtendom, that ſtudy, travel, and take great pains to be well accompliſhed, there is not one, to whom all the good qualities, and every thing you named, could be applied without flattery?

Cleo. It is very poſſible that thouſands may aim at this, and not one of them ſucceed to that degree: in ſome, perhaps the predominant paſſion is not ſtrong enough entirely to ſubdue the reſt: love or covetouſneſs may divert others: drinking, gaming, may draw away many, and break in upon their reſolution; they may not have ſtrength to perſevere in a deſign, and ſteadily to purſue the ſame ends; or they may want a true taſte or knowledge of what is eſteemed by men of judgment; or, laſtly, they may not be ſo thoroughly well-bred, as is required to conceal themſelves on all emergencies: for the practical part of diſſimulation is infinitely more difficult than the theory: and any one of theſe obſtacles is ſufficient to ſpoil all, and hinder the finiſhing of ſuch a piece.

Hor. I ſhall not diſpute that with you: but all this while you have proved nothing, nor given the leaſt reaſon why you ſhould imagine, that a man of a character, to all outward appearance ſo bright and beautiful, acted from vicious motives. You would not condemn him without ſo much as naming the cauſe why you ſuſpect him.

Cleo. By no means; nor have I advanced any thing that is ill natured or uncharitable: for I have not ſaid, that if I found a gentleman in poſſeſſion of all the things I mentioned, I would give his rare endowments this turn, and think all his perfections derived from no better ſtock, than an extraordinary love of glory. What I argue for, and inſiſt upon, is, the poſſibility that all theſe things might be performed by a man from no other views, and with no other helps, than thoſe I have named: nay, I believe moreover, that a gentleman ſo accompliſhed, all his knowledge and great parts notwithſtanding, may himſelf be ignorant, or at leaſt not well aſſured of the motive he acts from.

Hor. This is more unintelligible than any thing you have ſaid yet; why will you heap difficulties upon one another, without ſolving any? I deſire you would clear up this laſt paradox, before you do any thing elſe.

Cleo. In order to obey you, I muſt put you in mind of what happens in early education, by the firſt rudiments of which, infants are taught in the choice of actions to prefer the precepts of others to the dictates of their own inclinations; which, in ſhort, is no more than doing as they are bid. To gain this point, puniſhments and rewards are not neglected, and many different methods are made uſe of; but it is certain, that nothing proves more often effectual for this purpoſe, or has a greater influence upon children, than the handle that is made of ſhame; which, though a natural paſſion, they would not be ſenſible of ſo ſoon, if we did not artfully rouſe and ſtir it up in them, before they can ſpeak or go: by which means, their judgment being then weak, we may teach them to be aſhamed of what we pleaſe, as ſoon as we can perceive them to be any ways affected with the paſſion itſelf: but as the fear of ſhame is very inſignificant, where there is but little pride, ſo it is impoſſible to augment the firſt, without increaſing the latter in the ſame proportion.

Hor. I ſhould have thought that this increaſe of pride would render children more ſtubborn and leſs docile.

Cleo. You judge right; it would ſo, and muſt have been a great hinderance to good manners, till experience taught men, that though pride was not to be deſtroyed by force, it might be governed by ſtratagem, and that the beſt way to manage it, is by playing the paſſion againſt itſelf. Hence it is, that in an artful education, we are allowed to place as much pride as we pleaſe in our dexterity of concealing it. I do not ſuppoſe, that this covering ourſelves, notwithſtanding the pride we take in it, is performed without a difficulty that is plainly felt, and perhaps very unpleaſant at firſt; but this wears off as we grow up; and when a man has behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence as I have deſcribed, lived up to the ſtricteſt rules of good-breeding for many years, and has gained the eſteem of all that know him, when this noble and polite manner is become habitual to him, it is poſſible he may in time forget the principle he ſet out with, and become ignorant, or at leaſt inſenſible of the hidden ſpring that gives life and motion to all his actions.

Hor. I am convinced of the great uſe that may be made of pride, if you will call it ſo; but I am not ſatisfied yet, how a man of ſo much ſenſe, knowledge, and penetration, one that underſtands himſelf ſo entirely well, ſhould be ignorant of his own heart, and the motives he acts from.

What is it that induces you to believe this, beſides the poſſibility of his forgetfulneſs?

Cleo. I have two reaſons for it, which I deſire may be ſeriouſly conſidered. The firſt is, that in what relates to ourſelves, eſpecially our own worth and excellency, pride blinds the underſtanding in men of ſenſe and great parts as well as in others, and the greater value we may reaſonably ſet upon ourſelves, the fitter we are to ſwallow the groſſeſt flatteries, in ſpite of all our knowledge and abilities in other matters: witneſs Alexander the Great, whoſe vaſt genius could not hinder him from doubting ſeriouſly, whether he was a god or not. My ſecond reaſon will prove to us, that if the perſon in queſtion was capable of examining himſelf, it is yet highly improbable, that he would ever ſet about it: for, it muſt be granted, that, in order to ſearch into ourſelves, it is required we ſhould be willing as well as able; and we have all the reaſon in the world to think, that there is nothing which a very proud man of ſuch high qualifications would avoid more carefully than ſuch an inquiry: becauſe, for all other acts of ſelf-denial, he is repaid in his darling paſſion; but this alone is really mortifying, and the only ſacrifice of his quiet for which he can have no equivalent. If the hearts of the beſt and ſincereſt men are corrupt and deceitful, what condition muſt theirs be in, whoſe whole life is one continued ſcene of hypocriſy! therefore inquiring within, and boldly ſearching into ones own boſom, muſt be the moſt ſhocking employment, that a man can give his mind to, whoſe greateſt pleaſure conſiſts in ſecretly admiring himſelf. It would be ill manners, after this, to appeal to yourſelf; but the ſeverity of the taſk——

Hor. Say no more, I yield this point, though I own I cannot conceive what advantage you can expect from it: for, inſtead of removing, it will rather help to increaſe the grand difficulty, which is to prove, that this complete perſon you have deſcribed, acts from a vicious motive: and if that be not your deſign, I cannot ſee what you drive at.

Cleo. I told you it was.

Hor. You muſt have a prodigious ſagacity in detecting abſtruſe matters before other men.

Cleo. You wonder, I know, which way I arrogate to myſelf ſuch a ſuperlative degree of penetration, as to know an artful cunning man better than he does himſelf, and how I dare pretend to enter and look into a heart, which I have

owned to be completely well concealed from all the world; which in ſtrictneſs is an impoſſibility, and conſequently not to be bragged of but by a coxcomb.

Hor. You may treat yourſelf as you pleaſe, I have ſaid no ſuch thing; but I own that I long to ſee it proved, that you have this capacity. I remember the character very well: Notwithſtanding the precautions you have taken, it is very full: I told you before, that where things have a handſome appearance every way, there can be no juſt cauſe to ſuſpect them. I will ſtick cloſe to that; your gentleman is all of a piece: You ſhall alter nothing, either by retracting any of the good qualities you have given him, or making additions that are either claſhing with, or unſuitable to what you have allowed already.

Cleo. I ſhall attempt neither: And without that deciſive trials may be made, by which it will plainly appear whether a perſon acts from inward goodneſs, and a principle of religion, or only from a motive of vain glory; and, in the latter caſe, there is an infallible way of dragging the lurking fiend from his darkeſt receſſes into a glaring light, where all the world ſhall know him.

Hor. I do not think myſelf a match for you in argument; but I have a great mind to be your gentleman's advocate againſt all your infallibility: I never liked a cauſe better in my life. Come, I undertake to defend him in all the ſuppoſitions you can make that are reaſonable and conſiſtent with what you have ſaid before.

Cleo. Very well: let us ſuppoſe what may happen to the moſt inoffenſive, the moſt prudent, and beſt-bred man; that our fine gentleman differs in opinion before company, with another, who is his equal in birth and quality, but not ſo much maſter over his outward behaviour, and leſs guarded in his conduct; let this adverſary, *mal á propos*, grow warm, and ſeem to be wanting in the reſpect that is due to the other, and reflect on his honour in ambiguous terms. What is your client to do?

Hor. Immediately to aſk for an explanation.

Cleo. Which, if the hot man diſregards with ſcorn, or flatly refuſes to give, ſatisfaction muſt be demanded, and tilt they muſt.

Hor. You are too haſty: it happened before company; in ſuch caſes, friends, or any gentlemen preſent, ſhould interpoſe and take care, that if threatening words enſue, they

are, by the civil authority, both put under arreſt; and before they came to uncourteous language, they ought to have been parted by friendly force, if it were poſſible. After that, overtures may be made of reconciliation with the niceſt regard to the point of honour.

Cleo. I do not aſk for directions to prevent a quarrel; what you ſay may be done, or it may not be done: The good offices of friends may ſucceed, and they may not ſucceed. I am to make what ſuppoſitions I think fit within the verge of poſſibility, ſo they are reaſonable and conſiſtent with the character I have drawn: can we not ſuppoſe theſe two perſons in ſuch a ſituation that you yourſelf would adviſe your friend to ſend his adverſary a challenge?

Hor. Without doubt ſuch a thing may happen.

Cleo. That is enough. After that a duel muſt enſue, in which, without determining any thing, the fine gentleman, we will ſay, behaves himſelf with the utmoſt gallantry.

Hor. To have ſuſpected or ſuppoſed otherwiſe would have been unreaſonable.

Cleo. You ſee, therefore, how fair I am. But what is it, pray, that ſo ſuddenly diſpoſes a courteous ſweet-tempered man, for ſo ſmall an evil, to ſeek a remedy of that extreme violence? But above all, what is it that buoys up and ſupports him againſt the fear of death? for there lies the greateſt difficulty.

Hor. His natural courage and intrepidity, built on the innocence of his life, and the rectitude of his manners.

Cleo. But what makes ſo juſt and prudent a man, that has the good of ſociety ſo much at heart, act knowingly againſt the laws of his country?

Hor. The ſtrict obedience he pays to the laws of honour, which are ſuperior to all others.

Cleo. If men of honour would act conſiſtently, they ought all to be Roman Catholics.

Hor. Why, pray?

Cleo. Becauſe they prefer oral tradition to all written laws: for nobody can tell when, in what king's or emperor's reign, in what country, or by what authority theſe laws of honour were firſt enacted: it is very ſtrange they ſhould be of ſuch force.

Hor. They are wrote and engraved in every ones breaſt that is a man of honour: there is no denying of it; you are conſcious of it yourſelf; every body feels it within.

Cleo. Let them be wrote or engraved wherever you pleaſe, they are directly oppoſite to and clashing with the laws of God; and if the gentleman I deſcribed was as ſincere in his religion as he appeared to be, he muſt have been of an opinion contrary to yours; for Chriſtians of all perſuaſions are unanimous in allowing the divine laws to be far above all other; and that all other conſiderations ought to give way to them. How, and under what pretence can a Chriſtian, who is a man of ſenſe, ſubmit or agree to laws that preſcribe revenge, and countenance murder; both which are ſo expreſsly forbid by the precepts of his religion?

Hor. I am no caſuiſt: but you know, that what I ſay is true; and that, among perſons of honour, a man would be laughed at, that ſhould make ſuch a ſcruple. Not but that I think killing a man to be a great ſin, where it can be helped; and that all prudent men ought to avoid the occaſion, as much as it is in their power. He is highly blameable who is the firſt aggreſſor, and gives the affront; and whoever enters upon it out of levity, or ſeeks a quarrel out of wantonneſs, ought to be hanged. Nobody would chooſe it, who is not a fool; and yet, when it is forced upon one, all the wiſdom in the world cannot teach him how to avoid it. It has been my caſe you know: I ſhall never forget the reluctancy I had againſt it; but neceſſity has no law.

Cleo. I ſaw you that very morning, and you ſeemed to be ſedate and void of paſſion: you could have no concern.

Hor. It is filly to ſhow any at ſuch times; but I know beſt what I felt; the ſtruggle I had within was unſpeakable: it is a terrible thing. I would then have given a conſiderable part of my eſtate, that the thing which forced me into it had not happened; and yet, upon leſs provocation, I would act the ſame part again to-morrow.

Cleo. Do you remember what your concern was chiefly about?

Hor. How can you aſk? It is an affair of the higheſt importance that can occur in life; I was no boy; it was after we came from Italy; I was in my nine and twentieth year, had very good acquaintance, and was not ill received: a man of that age, in health and vigour, who has ſeven thouſand a-year, and the proſpect of being a peer of England, has no reaſon to quarrel with the world, or wiſh himſelf out of it. It is a very great hazard a man runs in a duel; beſides the remorſe and uneaſineſs one muſt feel as long as he lives, if he

has the misfortune of killing his adversary. It is impossible to reflect on all these things, and at the same time resolve to run those hazards (though there are other considerations of still greater moment), without being under a prodigious concern.

Cleo. You say nothing about the sin.

Hor. The thoughts of that, without doubt, are a great addition; but the other things are so weighty of themselves, that a man's condition at such a time, is very perplexed without further reflection.

Cleo. You have now a very fine opportunity, Horatio, of looking into your heart, and with a little of my assistance, examining yourself. If you can condescend to this, I promise you that you shall make great discoveries, and be convinced of truths you are now unwilling to believe. A lover of justice and probity, as you are, ought not to be fond of a road of thinking, where he is always forced to skulk, and never dares to meet with light or reason. Will you suffer me to ask you some questions, and will you answer them directly and in good humour?

Hor. I will, without reserve.

Cleo. Do you remember the storm upon the coast of Genoa?

Hor. Going to Naples? Very well; it makes me cold to think of it.

Cleo. Was you afraid?

Hor. Never more in my life: I hate that fickle element; I cannot endure the sea.

Cleo. What was you afraid of?

Hor. That is a pretty question: do you think a young fellow of six-and-twenty, as I was then, and in my circumstances, had a great mind to be drowned? The captain himself said we were in danger.

Cleo. But neither he nor any body else discovered half so much fear and anxiety as you did.

Hor. There was nobody there, yourself excepted, that had half a quarter so much to lose as I had: besides, they are used to the sea; storms are familiar to them. I had never been at sea before, but that fine afternoon we crossed from Dover to Calais.

Cleo. Want of knowledge or experience may make men apprehend danger where there is none; but real dangers, when they are known to be such, try the natural courage of

all men; whether they have been uſed to them or not: ſailors are as unwilling to loſe their lives as other people.

Hor. I am not aſhamed to own, that I am a great coward at ſea: give me *terra firma*, and then—

Cleo. Six or ſeven months after you fought that duel, I remember you had the ſmall-pox; you was then very much afraid of dying.

Hor. Not without a cauſe.

Cleo. I heard your phyſicians ſay, that the violent apprehenſion you was under, hindered your ſleep, increaſed your fever, and was as miſchievous to you as the diſtemper itſelf.

Hor. That was a terrible time; I am glad it is over: I had a ſiſter died of it. Before I had it, I was in perpetual dread of it, and many times to hear it named only has made me uneaſy.

Cleo. Natural courage is a general armour againſt the fear of death, whatever ſhape that appears in. *Si fractus illabatur orbis.* It ſupports a man in tempeſtuous ſeas, and in a burning fever, whilſt he is in his ſenſes, as well as in a ſiege before a town, or in a duel with ſeconds.

Hor. What! you are going to ſhow me, that I have no courage.

Cleo. Far from it; it would be ridiculous to doubt a man's bravery, that has ſhown it in ſuch an extraordinary manner as you have done more than once: what I queſtion, is the epithet you joined to it at firſt, the word *natural*; for there is a great difference between that and *artificial* courage.

Hor. That is a chicane I will not enter into: but I am not of your opinion, as to what you ſaid before. A gentleman is not required to ſhow his bravery, but where his honour is concerned; and if he dares to fight for his king, his friend, his miſtreſs, and every thing where his reputation is engaged, you ſhall think of him what you pleaſe for the reſt. Beſides, that in ſickneſs and other dangers, as well as afflictions, where the hand of God is plainly to be ſeen, courage and intrepidity are impious as well as impertinent. Undauntedneſs in chaſtiſements is a kind of rebellion: it is waging war with Heaven, which none but atheiſts and freethinkers would be guilty of; it is only they that can glory in impenitence, and talk of dying hard. All others that have any ſenſe of religion, deſire to repent before they go out of the world: the beſt of us do not always live, as we could wiſh to die.

Cleo. I am very glad to hear you are ſo religious: but do not you perceive yet, how inconſiſtent you are with yourſelf: how can a man ſincerely wiſh to repent, that wilfully plunges himſelf into a mortal ſin, and an action where he runs a greater and more immediate hazard of his life, than he could have done in almoſt any other, without force or neceſſity?

Hor. I have over and over owned to you that duelling is a ſin; and, unleſs a man is forced to it by neceſſity, I believe, a mortal one: but this was not my caſe, and therefore I hope God will forgive me: let them look to it that make a ſport of it. But when a man comes to an action with the utmoſt reluctancy, and what he does it not poſſibly to be avoided, I think he then may juſtly be ſaid to be forced to it, and to act from neceſſity. You may blame the rigorous laws of honour, and the tyranny of cuſtom, but a man that will live in the world muſt, and is bound to obey them. Would not you do it yourſelf?

Cleo. Do not aſk me what I would do: the queſtion is, what every body ought to do. Can a man believe the Bible, and at the ſame time apprehend a tyrant more crafty or malicious, more unrelenting or inhuman than the devil, or a miſchief worſe than hell, and pains either more exquiſite or more durable than torments unſpeakable and yet everlaſting? You do not anſwer. What evil is it? Think of it, and tell me what diſmal thing it is you apprehend, ſhould you neglect thoſe laws, and deſpiſe that tyrant: what calamity could befall you? Let me know the worſt that can be feared.

Hor. Would you be poſted for a coward?

Cleo. For what? For not daring to violate all human and divine laws?

Hor. Strictly ſpeaking you are in the right, it is unanſwerable; but who will conſider things in that light?

Cleo. All good Chriſtians.

Hor. Where are they then? For all mankind in general would deſpiſe and laugh at a man, who ſhould move thoſe ſcruples. I have heard and ſeen clergymen themſelves in company ſhow their contempt of poltrons, whatever they might talk or recommend in the pulpit. Entirely to quit the world, and at once to renounce the converſation of all perſons that are valuable in it, is a terrible thing to reſolve upon. Would you become a town and table-talk? Could you ſubmit to be the jeſt and ſcorn of public-houſes, ſtage-coaches, and market-places? Is not this the certain fate of a

man, who ſhould refuſe to fight, or bear an affront without reſentment? be juſt, Cleomenes; is it to be avoided? Muſt he not be made a common laughing-ſtock, be pointed at in the ſtreets, and ſerve for diverſion to the very children; to link-boys and hackney-coachmen? Is it a thought to be born with patience?

Cleo. How come you now to have ſuch an anxious regard for what may be the opinion of the vulgar, whom at other times you ſo heartily deſpiſe?

Hor. All this is reaſoning, and you know the thing will not bear it: how can you be ſo cruel?

Cleo. How can you be ſo backward in diſcovering and owning the paſſion, that is ſo conſpicuouſly the occaſion of all this, the palpable and only cauſe of the uneaſineſs we feel at the thoughts of being deſpiſed?

Hor. I am not ſenſible of any; and I declare to you, that I feel nothing that moves me to ſpeak as I do, but the ſenſe and principle of honour within me.

Cleo. Do you think that the loweſt of the mob, and the ſcum of the people, are poſſeſſed of any part of this principle?

Hor. No, indeed.

Cleo. Or that among the higheſt quality, infants can be affected with it before they are two years old?

Hor. Ridiculous.

Cleo. If neither of theſe are affected with it, then honour ſhould be either adventitious, and acquired by culture; or, if contained in the blood of thoſe that are nobly born, imperceptible until the years of diſcretion; and neither of them can be ſaid of the principle, the palpable cauſe I ſpeak of. For we plainly ſee on the one hand, that ſcorn and ridicule are intollerable to the pooreſt wretches, and that there is no beggar ſo mean or miſerable, that contempt will never offend him: on the other, that human creatures are ſo early influenced by the ſenſe of ſhame; that children, by being laughed at and made a jeſt of, may be ſet a crying before they can well ſpeak or go. Whatever, therefore, this mighty principle is, it is born with us, and belongs to our nature: are you unacquainted with the proper, genuine, homely name of it?

Hor. I know you call it pride. I will not diſpute with you about principles and origins of things; but that high value which men of honour ſet upon themſelves as ſuch, and

which is no more than what is due to the dignity of our nature, when well cultivated, is the foundation of their character, and a ſupport to them in all difficulties, that is of great uſe to the ſociety. The deſire, likewiſe, of being thought well of, and the love of praiſe and even of glory are commendable qualities, that are beneficial to the public. The truth of this is manifeſt in the reverſe; all ſhameleſs people that are below infamy, and matter not what is ſaid or thought of them, theſe, we ſee nobody can truſt; they ſtick at nothing, and if they can but avoid death, pain, and penal laws, are always ready to execute all manner of miſchief, their ſelfiſhneſs or any brutal appetite ſhall prompt them to, without regard to the opinion of others: ſuch are juſtly called men of no principles, becauſe they have nothing of any ſtrength within, that can either ſpur them on to brave and virtuous actions, or reſtrain them from villany and baſeneſs.

Cleo. The firſt part of your aſſertion is very true, when that high value, that deſire, and that love are kept within the bounds of reaſon: But, in the ſecond, there is a miſtake; thoſe whom we call ſhameleſs, are not more deſtitute of pride, than their betters. Remember what I have ſaid of education, and the power of it; you may add inclinations, knowledge, and circumſtances; for, as men differ in all theſe, ſo they are differently influenced and wrought upon by all the paſſions. There is nothing that ſome men may not be taught to be aſhamed of. The ſame paſſion that makes the well-bred man, and prudent officer, value and ſecretly admire themſelves for the honour and fidelity they diſplay, may make the rake and ſcoundrel brag of their vices, and boaſt of their impudence.

Hor. I cannot comprehend, how a man of honour, and one that has none, ſhould both act from the ſame principle.

Cleo. This is not more ſtrange, than that ſelf-love may make a man deſtroy himſelf, yet nothing is more true; and it is as certain, that ſome men indulge their pride in being ſhameleſs. To underſtand human nature, requires ſtudy and application, as well as penetration and ſagacity. All paſſions and inſtincts in general, were given to all animals for ſome wiſe end, tending to the preſervation and happineſs of themſelves, or their ſpecies: It is our duty to hinder them from being detrimental or offenſive to any part of the ſociety; but why ſhould we be aſhamed of having them? The inſtinct of high value, which every individual has for him-

ſelf, is a very uſeful paſſion: but a paſſion it is, and though I could demonſtrate, that we ſhould be miſerable creatures without it, yet, when it is exceſſive, it often is the cauſe of endleſs miſchiefs.

Hor. But in well-bred people it never is exceſſive.

Cleo. You mean the exceſs of it never appears outwardly: But we ought never to judge of its height or ſtrength from what we can diſcover of the paſſion itſelf, but from the effects it produces: It often is moſt ſuperlative, where it is moſt concealed; and nothing increaſes and influences it more, than what is called a refined education, and a continual commerce with the *beau monde:* The only thing that can ſubdue, or any ways curb it, is a ſtrict adherence to the Chriſtian religion.

Hor. Why do you ſo much inſiſt upon it, that this principle, this value men ſet upon themſelves, is a paſſion? And why will you chooſe to call it pride rather than honour?

Cleo. For very good reaſons. Fixing this principle in human nature, in the firſt place, takes away all ambiguity: Who is a man of honour, and who is not, is often a diſputable point; and, among thoſe that are allowed to be ſuch, the ſeveral degrees of ſtrictneſs, in complying with the rules of it, make great difference in the principle itſelf. But a paſſion that is born with us is unalterable, and part of our frame, whether it exerts itſelf or not: The eſſence of it is the ſame, which way ſoever it is taught to turn. Honour is the undoubted offspring of pride, but the ſame cauſe produces not always the ſame effect. All the vulgar, children, ſavages, and many others that are not affected with any ſenſe of honour, have all of them pride, as is evident from the ſymptoms. Secondly, it helps us to explain the phenomena that occur in quarrels and affronts, and the behaviour of men of honour on theſe occaſions, which cannot be accounted for any other way. But what moves me to it moſt of all, is the prodigious force and exorbitant power of this principle of ſelf eſteem, where it has been long gratified and encouraged. You remember the concern you was under, when you had that duel upon your hands, and the great reluctancy you felt in doing what you did; you knew it to be a crime, and, at the ſame time, had a ſtrong averſion to it; what ſecret power was it that ſubdued your will, and gained the victory over that great reluctancy you felt againſt it? You call it honour, and the too ſtrict, though

unavoidable adherence to the rules of it: But men never commit violence upon themſelves, but in ſtruggling with the paſſions that are innate and natural to them. Honour is acquired, and the rules of it are taught: Nothing adventitious, that ſome are poſſeſſed, and others deſtitute of, could raiſe ſuch inteſtine wars and dire commotions within us; and therefore, whatever is the cauſe that can thus divide us againſt ourſelves, and, as it were, rend human nature in twain, muſt be part of us; and, to ſpeak without diſguiſe, the ſtruggle in your breaſt was between the fear of ſhame and the fear of death: had this latter not been ſo conſiderable, your ſtruggle would have been leſs: Still the firſt conquered, becauſe it was ſtrongeſt; but if your fear of ſhame had been inferior to that of death, you would have reaſoned otherwiſe, and found out ſome means or other to have avoided fighting.

Hor. This is a ſtrange anatomy of human nature.

Cleo. Yet, for want of making uſe of it, the ſubject we are upon is not rightly underſtood by many; and men have diſcourſed very inconſiſtently on duelling. A divine who wrote a dialogue to explode that practice, ſaid, that thoſe who were guilty of it, had miſtaken notions of, and went by falſe rules of honour; for which my friend juſtly ridiculed him, ſaying, You may as well deny, that it is the faſhion what you ſee every body wear, as to ſay, that demanding and giving ſatisfaction, is againſt the laws of true honour. Had that man underſtood human nature, he could not have committed ſuch a blunder: But when once he took it for granted, that honour is a juſt and good principle, without inquiring into the cauſe of it among the paſſions, it is impoſſible he ſhould have accounted for duelling, in a Chriſtian pretending to act from ſuch a principle; and therefore, in another place, with the ſame juſtice, he ſaid, that a man who had accepted a challenge was not qualified to make his will, becauſe he was not *compos mentis:* He might, with greater ſhow of reaſon, have ſaid, that he was bewitched.

Hor. Why ſo?

Cleo. Becauſe people out of their wits, as they think at random, ſo commonly they act and talk incoherently; but when a man of known ſobriety, and who ſhows no manner of diſcompoſure, diſcourſes and behaves himſelf in every thing, as he is uſed to do; and, moreover, reaſons on points of great nicety with the utmoſt accuracy, it is impoſſible

we ſhould take him to be either a fool or a madman; and when ſuch a perſon, in an affair of the higheſt importance, acts ſo diametrically againſt his intereſt, that a child can ſee it, and with deliberation purſues his own deſtruction, thoſe who believe that there are malignant ſpirits of that power, would rather imagine that he was led away by ſome enchantment, and over-ruled by the enemy of mankind, than they would fancy a palpable abſurdity: But even the ſuppoſition of that is not ſufficient to ſolve the difficulty, without the help of that ſtrange anatomy. For what ſpell or witchcraft is there, by the deluſion of which a man of underſtanding ſhall, keeping his ſenſes, miſtake an imaginary duty for an unavoidable neceſſity to break all real obligations? But let us wave all ties of religion, as well as human laws, and the perſon we ſpeak of to be a profeſſed Epicure, that has no thoughts of futurity; what violent power of darkneſs is it, that can force and compel a peaceable quiet man, neither inured to hardſhip, nor valiant by nature, to quit his beloved eaſe and ſecurity; and ſeemingly by choice go fight in cold blood for his life, with this comfortable reflection, that nothing forfeits it ſo certainly as the entire defeat of his enemy?

Hor. As to the law and the puniſhment, perſons of quality have little to fear of that.

Cleo. You cannot ſay that in France, nor the Seven Provinces. But men of honour, that are of much lower ranks, decline duelling no more than thoſe of the higheſt quality. How many examples have we, even here, of gallant men, that have ſuffered for it either by exile or the hangman! A man of honour muſt fear nothing: Do but conſider every obſtacle which this principle of ſelf-eſteem has conquered at one time or other; and then tell me whether it muſt not be ſomething more than magic, by the faſcination of which a man of taſte and judgment, in health and vigour, as well as the flower of his age, can be tempted, and actually drawn from the embraces of a wife he loves, and the endearments of hopeful children, from polite converſation and the charms of friendſhip, from the faireſt poſſeſſions and the happy enjoyment of all worldly pleaſures, to an unwarrantable combat, of which the victor muſt be expoſed either to an ignominious death, or perpetual baniſhment.

Hor. When things are ſet in this light, I confeſs it is very

unaccountable: but will your ſyſtem explain this; can you make it clear yourſelf?

Cleo. Immediately, as the ſun: If you will but obſerve two things, that muſt neceſſarily follow, and are manifeſt from what I have demonſtrated already. The firſt is, that the fear of ſhame, in general, is a matter of caprice, that varies with modes and cuſtoms, and may be fixed on different objects, according to the different leſſons we have received, and the precepts we are imbued with; and that this is the reaſon, why this fear of ſhame, as it is either well or ill placed, ſometimes produces very good effects, and at others is the cauſe of the moſt enormous crimes. Secondly, that, though ſhame is a real paſſion, the evil to be feared from it is altogether imaginary, and has no exiſtence but in our own reflection on the opinion of others.

Hor. But there are real and ſubſtantial miſchiefs which a man may draw upon himſelf, by miſbehaving in point of honour; it may ruin his fortune, and all hopes of preferment: An officer may be broken for putting up an affront: No body will ſerve with a coward, and who will employ him?

Cleo. What you urge is altogether out of the queſtion; at leaſt it was in your own caſe; you had nothing to dread or apprehend but the bare opinion of men. Beſides, when the fear of ſhame is ſuperior to that of death, it is likewiſe ſuperior to, and outweighs all other conſiderations; as has been ſufficiently proved: But when the fear of ſhame is not violent enough to curb the fear of death, nothing elſe can; and whenever the fear of death is ſtronger than that of ſhame, there is no conſideration that will make a man fight in cold blood, or comply with any of the laws of honour, where life is at ſtake. Therefore, whoever acts from the fear of ſhame as a motive, in ſending and accepting of challenges, muſt be ſenſible, on the one hand, that the miſchiefs he apprehends, ſhould he diſobey the tyrant, can only be the offspring of his own thoughts; and, on the other, that if he could be perſuaded anywiſe to leſſen the great eſteem and high value he ſets upon himſelf, his dread of ſhame would likewiſe palpably diminiſh. From all which, it is moſt evident, that the grand cauſe of this diſtraction, the powerful enchanter we are ſeeking after, is pride, exceſs of pride, that higheſt pitch of ſelf-eſteem, to which ſome men may be wound up by an artful education, and the perpetual flatteries beſtowed upon our ſpecies, and the excellencies of our nature. This is the

ſorcerer, that is able to divert all other paſſions from their natural objects, and make a rational creature aſhamed of what is moſt agreeable to his inclination, as well as his duty; both which the duelliſt owns, that he has knowingly acted againſt.

Hor. What a wonderful machine, what an heterogenous compound is man! You have almoſt conquered me.

Cleo. I aim at no victory, all I wiſh for is to do you ſervice, in undeceiving you.

Hor. What is the reaſon that, in the ſame perſon, the fear of death ſhould be ſo glaringly conſpicuous in ſickneſs, or a ſtorm, and ſo entirely well hid in a duel, and all military engagements? Pray, ſolve that too.

Cleo. I will as well as I can: On all emergencies, where reputation is thought to be concerned, the fear of ſhame is effectually rouſed in men of honour, and immediately their pride ruſhes in to their aſſiſtance, and ſummons all their ſtrength to fortify and ſupport them in concealing the fear of death; by which extraordinary efforts, the latter, that is the fear of death, is altogether ſtifled, or, at leaſt, kept out of ſight, and remains undiſcovered. But in all other perils, in which they do not think their honour engaged, their pride lies dormant. And thus the fear of death, being checked by nothing, appears without diſguiſe. That this is the true reaſon, is manifeſt from the different behaviour that is obſerved in men of honour, according as they are either pretenders to Chriſtianity, or tainted with irreligion; for there are of both ſorts; and you ſhall ſee, moſt commonly at leaſt, that your *eſprits forts*, and thoſe who would be thought to diſbelieve a future ſtate (I ſpeak of men of honour), ſhow the greateſt calmneſs and intrepidity in the ſame dangers, where the pretended believers among them, appear to be the moſt ruffled and puſillanimous.

Hor. But why pretended believers? at that rate there are no Chriſtians among the men of honour.

Cleo. I do not ſee how they can be real believers.

Hor. Why ſo?

Cleo. For the ſame reaſon that a Roman Catholic cannot be a good ſubject, always to be depended upon, in a Proteſtant, or indeed any other country, but the dominions of his Holineſs. No ſovereign can confide with ſafety in a man's allegiance, who owns and pays homage to another ſuperior power upon earth. I am ſure you underſtand me.

Hor. Too well.

Cleo. You may yoke a knight with a prebendary, and put them together into the ſame ſtall; but honour, and the Chriſtian religion, make no couple, *nec in unâ ſede morantur*, any more than majeſty and love. Look back on your own conduct, and you ſhall find, that what you ſaid of the hand of God was only a ſhift, an evaſion you made to ſerve your then preſent purpoſe. On another occaſion, you had ſaid yeſterday yourſelf, that Providence ſuperintends and governs every thing without exception; you muſt, therefore, have known, that the hand of God is as much to be ſeen in one common accident in life, and in one misfortune, as it is in another, that is not more extraordinary. A ſevere fit of ſickneſs may be leſs fatal, than a ſlight ſkirmiſh between two hoſtile parties; and, among men of honour, there is often as much danger in a quarrel about nothing, as there can be in the moſt violent ſtorm. It is impoſſible, therefore, that a man of ſenſe, who has a ſolid principle to go by, ſhould, in one ſort of danger, think it impiety not to ſhow fear, and in another be aſhamed to be thought to have any. Do but conſider your own inconſiſtency with yourſelf. At one time, to juſtify your fear of death, when pride is abſent, you become religious on a ſudden, and your conſcience then is ſo tenderly ſcrupulous, that, to be undaunted under chaſtiſements from the Almighty, ſeems no leſs to you than waging war with Heaven; and, at another, when honour calls, you dare not knowingly and willingly break the moſt poſitive command of God, but likewiſe to own, that the greateſt calamity which, in your opinion, can befal you, is, that the world ſhould believe, or but ſuſpect of you, that you had any ſcruple about it. I defy the wit of man to carry the affront to the Divine Majeſty higher. Barely to deny his being, is not half ſo daring, as it is to do this after you have owned him to exiſt. No Atheiſm——

Hor. Hold, Cleomenes; I can no longer reſiſt the force of truth, and I am reſolved to be better acquainted with myſelf for the future. Let me become your pupil.

Cleo. Do not banter me, Horatio; I do not pretend to inſtruct a man of your knowledge; but if you will take my advice, ſearch into yourſelf with care and boldneſs, and, at your leiſure, peruſe the book I recommended.

Hor. I promiſe you I will, and ſhall be glad to accept of the handſome preſent I refuſed: Pray, ſend a ſervant with it to-morrow morning.

Cleo. It is a trifle. You had better let one of yours go with me now; I ſhall drive home directly.

Hor. I underſtand your ſcruple. It ſhall be as you pleaſe.

THE THIRD

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

HORATIO AND CLEOMENES.

HORATIO.

I THANK you for your book.

Cleo. Your acceptance of it I acknowledge as a great favour.

Hor. I confeſs, that once I thought nobody could have perſuaded me to read it; but you managed me very ſkilfully, and nothing could have convinced me ſo well as the inſtance of duelling: The argument, *à majori ad minus*, ſtruck me, without your mentioning it. A paſſion that can ſubdue the fear of death, may blind a man's underſtanding, and do almoſt every thing elſe.

Cleo. It is incredible what ſtrange, various, unaccountable, and contradictory forms we may be ſhaped into by a paſſion, that is not to be gratified without being concealed, and never enjoyed with greater ecſtacy than when we are moſt fully perſuaded, that it is well hid: and therefore, there is no benevolence or good nature, no amiable quality or ſocial virtue, that may not be counterfeited by it; and, in ſhort, no atchievement, good or bad, that the human body or mind are capable of, which it may not ſeem to perform. As to its blinding and infatuating the perſons poſſeſſed with it to a high degree, there is no doubt of it: for what ſtrength of reaſon, I pray, what judgment or penetration, has the greateſt genius, if he pretends to any religion, to boaſt of, after he has owned himſelf to have been more terrified by groundleſs

apprehenſions, and an imaginary evil from vain impotent men, whom he has never injured, than he was alarmed with the juſt fears of a real puniſhment from an all-wiſe and omnipotent God, whom he has highly offended?

Hor. But your friend makes no ſuch religious reflections: he actually ſpeaks in favour of duelling.

Cleo. What, becauſe he would have the laws againſt it as ſevere as poſſible, and nobody pardoned, without exception, that offends that way?

Hor. That indeed ſeems to diſcourage it; but he ſhows the neceſſity of keeping up that cuſtom, to poliſh and brighten ſociety in general.

Cleo. Do not you ſee the irony there?

Hor. No, indeed: he plainly demonſtrates the uſefulneſs of it, gives as good reaſons as it is poſſible to invent, and ſhows how much converſation would ſuffer, if that practice was aboliſhed.

Cleo. Can you think a man ſerious on a ſubject, when he leaves it in the manner he does?

Hor. I do not remember that.

Cleo. Here is the book: I will look for the paſſage—— Pray, read this.

Hor. It is ſtrange, that a nation ſhould grudge to ſee, perhaps, half a dozen men ſacrificed in a twelvemonth, to obtain ſo valuable a bleſſing, as the politeneſs of manners, the pleaſure of converſation, and the happineſs of company in general, that is often ſo willing to expoſe, and ſometimes loſes as many thouſands in a few hours, without knowing whether it will do any good or not. This, indeed, ſeems to be ſaid with a ſneer: but in what goes before he is very ſerious.

Cleo. He is ſo, when he ſays that the practice of duelling, that is the keeping up of the faſhion of it, contributes to the politeneſs of manners and pleaſure of converſation, and this is very true; but that politeneſs itſelf, and that pleaſure, are the things he laughs at and expoſes throughout his book.

Hor. But who knows, what to make of a man, who recommends a thing very ſeriouſly in one page, and ridicules it in the next?

Cleo. It is his opinion, that there is no ſolid principle to go by but the Chriſtian religion, and that few embrace it with ſincerity: always look upon him in this view, and you will never find him inconſiſtent with himſelf. Whenever at firſt

ſight he ſeems to be ſo, look again, and upon nearer inquiry you will find, that he is only pointing at, or labouring to detect the inconſiſtency of others with the principles they pretend to.

Hor. He ſeems to have nothing leſs at heart than religion.

Cleo. That is true, and if he had appeared otherwiſe, he would never have been read by the people whom he deſigned his book for, the modern deiſts and all the *beau monde:* It is thoſe he wants to come at. To the firſt he ſets forth the origin and inſufficiency of virtue, and their own inſincerity in the practice of it: to the reſt he ſhows the folly of vice and pleaſure, the vanity of worldly greatneſs, and the hypocriſy of all thoſe divines, who, pretending to preach the goſpel, give and take allowances that are inconſiſtent with, and quite contrary to the precepts of it.

Hor. But this is not the opinion the world has of the book; it is commonly imagined, that it is wrote for the encouragement of vice, and to debauch the nation.

Cleo. Have you found any ſuch thing in it?

Hor. To ſpeak my conſcience, I muſt confeſs, I have not: vice is expoſed in it, and laughed at; but it ridicules war and martial courage, as well as honour and every thing elſe.

Cleo. Pardon me, religion is ridiculed in no part of it.

Hor. But if it is a good book, why then are ſo many of the clergy ſo much againſt it as they are?

Cleo. For the reaſon I have given you: my friend has expoſed their lives, but he has done it in ſuch a manner, that nobody can ſay he has wronged them, or treated them harſhly. People are never more vexed, than when the thing that offends them, is what they muſt not complain of: they give the book an ill name becauſe they are angry; but it is not their intereſt, to tell you the the true reaſon why they are ſo. I could draw you a parallel caſe that would clear up this matter, if you would have patience to hear me, which, as you are a great admirer of operas, I can hardly expect.

Hor. Any thing to be informed.

Cleo. I always had ſuch an averſion to eunuchs, as no fine ſinging or acting of any of them has yet been able to conquer; when I hear a feminine voice, I look for a petticoat; and I perfectly loath the ſight of thoſe ſexleſs animals. Suppoſe that a man with the ſame diſlike to them had wit at will, and a mind to laſh that abominable piece of luxury, by which men are taught in cold blood to ſpoil males for diver-

ſion, and out of wantonneſs to make waſte of their own ſpecies. In order to this, we will ſay, he takes a handle from the operation itſelf; he deſcribes and treats it in the moſt inoffenſive manner; then ſhows the narrow bounds of human knowledge, and the ſmall aſſiſtance we can have, either from diſſection or philoſophy, or any part of the mathematics, to trace and penetrate into the cauſe *a priori*, why this deſtroying of manhood ſhould have that ſurpriſing effect upon the voice; and afterwards demonſtrates, how ſure we are *a poſteriori*, that it has a conſiderable influence, not only on the pharinx, the glands and muſcles of the throat, but likewiſe the windpipe, and the lungs themſelves, and in ſhort on the whole maſs of blood, conſequently all the juices of the body, and every fibre in it. He might ſay likewiſe, that no honey, no preparations of ſugar, raiſins, or ſpermaceti; no emulſions, lozenges or other medicines, cooling or balſamic; no bleeding, no temperance or choice in eatables; no abſtinence from women, from wine, and every thing that is hot, ſharp or ſpirituous, were of that efficacy to preſerve, ſweeten, and ſtrengthen the voice; he might inſiſt upon it, that nothing could do this ſo effectually as caſtration. For a blind to his main ſcope, and to amuſe his readers, he might ſpeak of this practice, as made uſe of for other purpoſes; that it had been inflicted as a ſolemn puniſhment for analogous crimes; that others had voluntarily ſubmitted to it, to preſerve health and prolong life; whilſt the Romans, by Cæſar's teſtimony, thought it more cruel than death, *morte gravius*. How it had been uſed ſometimes by way of revenge; and then ſay ſomething in pity of poor Abelard; at other times for precaution; and then relate the ſtory of Combabus and Stratonice: with ſcraps from Martial, Juvenal, and other poets, he might interlard it, and from a thouſand pleaſant things that have been ſaid on the ſubject, he might pick out the moſt diverting to embelliſh the whole. His deſign being ſatire, he would blame our fondneſs for theſe caſtrati, and ridicule the age in which a brave Engliſh nobleman and a general officer, ſerves his country at the hazard of his life, a whole twelvemonth, for leſs pay than an Italian no-man of ſcoundrel extraction receives, for now and then ſinging a ſong in great ſafety, during only the winter-ſeaſon. He would laugh at the careſſes and the court that are made to them by perſons of the firſt quality, who proſtitute their familiarity with theſe moſt abject wretches, and

misplace the honour and civilities only due to their equals, on things that are no part of the creation, and owe their being to the surgeon; animals so contemptible, that they can curse their maker without ingratitude. If he should call this book, the Eunuch is the Man; as soon as I heard the title, before I saw the book, I should understand by it, that eunuchs were now esteemed, that they were in fashion and in the public favour, and considering that a eunuch is in reality not a man, I should think it was a banter upon eunuchs, or a satire against those, who had a greater value for them than they deserved. But if the gentlemen of the academy of music, displeased at the freedom they were treated with, should take it ill, that a paultry scribbler should interfere and pretend to censure their diversion, as well as they might; if they should be very angry, and study to do him a mischief, and accordingly, not having much to say in behalf of eunuchs, not touch upon any thing the author had said against their pleasure, but represent him to the world as an advocate for castration, and endeavour to draw the public odium upon him by quotations taken from him proper for that purpose, it would not be difficult to raise a clamour against the author, or find a grand jury to present his book.

Hor. The simile holds very well as to the injustice of the accusation, and the insincerity of the complaint; but is it as true, that luxury will render a nation flourishing, and that private vices are public benefits, as that castration preserves and strengthens the voice?

Cleo. With the restrictions my friend requires, I believe it is, and the cases are exactly alike. Nothing is more effectual to preserve, mend, and strengthen a fine voice in youth than castration: the question is not, whether this is true, but whether it is eligible; whether a fine voice is an equivalent for the loss, and whether a man would prefer the satisfaction of singing, and the advantages that may accrue from it, to the comforts of marriage, and the pleasure of posterity, of which enjoyments it destroys the possibility. In like manner, my friend demonstrates, in the first place, that the national happiness which the generality wish and pray for, is wealth and power, glory and worldly greatness; to live in ease, in affluence and splendour at home, and to be feared, courted, and esteemed abroad: in the second, that such a felicity is not to be attained to without avarice, profuseness, pride, envy, ambition, and other vices. The latter being

made evident beyond contradiction, the queſtion is not, whether it is true, but whether this happineſs is worth having at the rate it is only to be had at, and whether any thing ought to be wiſhed for, which a nation cannot enjoy, unleſs the generality of them are vicious. This he offers to the conſideration of Chriſtians, and men who pretend to have renounced the world, with all the pomp and vanity of it.

Hor. How does it appear that the author addreſſes himſelf to ſuch?

Cleo. From his writing it in Engliſh, and publiſhing it in London. But have you read it through yet?

Hor. Twice: there are many things I like very well, but I am not pleaſed with the whole.

Cleo. What objection have you againſt it?

Hor. It has diminiſhed the pleaſure I had in reading a much better book. Lord Shaftſbury is my favourite author: I can take delight in enthuſiaſm; but the charms of it ceaſe as ſoon as I am told what it is I enjoy. Since we are ſuch odd creatures, why ſhould we not make the moſt of it?

Cleo. I thought you was reſolved to be better acquainted with yourſelf, and to ſearch into your heart with care and boldneſs.

Hor. That is a cruel thing; I tried it three times ſince I ſaw you laſt, till it put me into a ſweat, and then I was forced to leave off.

Cleo. You ſhould try again, and uſe yourſelf by degrees to think abſtractly, and then the book will be a great help to you.

Hor. To confound me it will: it makes a jeſt of all politeneſs and good manners.

Cleo. Excuſe me, Sir, it only tells us, what they are.

Hor. It tells us, that all good manners conſiſt in flattering the pride of others, and concealing our own. Is not that a horrid thing?

Cleo. But is it not true?

Hor. As ſoon as I had read that paſſage, it ſtruck me: down I laid the book, and tried in above fifty inſtances, ſometimes of civility, and ſometimes of ill manners, whether it would anſwer or not, and I profeſs that it held good in every one.

Cleo. And ſo it would if you tried till doomſday,

Hor. But is not that provoking? I would give a hundred

uineas with all my heart, that I did not know it. I cannot ndure to ſee ſo much of my own nakedneſs.

Cleo. I never met with ſuch an open enmity to truth in a an of honour before.

Hor. You ſhall be as ſevere upon me as you pleaſe; what ſay is fact. But ſince I am got in ſo far, I muſt go through ith it now: there are fifty things that I want to be inform-d about.

Cleo. Name them, pray; if I can be of any ſervice to you, ſhall reckon it as a great honour; I am perfectly well ac-uainted with the author's ſentiments.

Hor. I have twenty queſtions to aſk about pride, and I do ot know where to begin. There is another thing I do not underſtand; which is, that there can be no virtue without ſelf-denial.

Cleo. This was the opinion of all the ancients. Lord Shaftſbury was the firſt that maintained the contrary.

Hor. But are there no perſons in the world that are good by choice?

Cleo. Yes; but then they are directed in that choice by reaſon and experience, and not by nature, I mean, not by untaught nature: but there is an ambiguity in the word good which I would avoid; let us ſtick to that of virtuous, and then I affirm, that no action is ſuch, which does not ſuppoſe and point at ſome conqueſt or other, ſome victory great or ſmall over untaught nature; otherwiſe the epithet is improper.

Hor. But if by the help of a careful education, this victory is obtained, when we are young, may we not be virtuous afterwards voluntarily and with pleaſure?

Cleo. Yes, if it really was obtained: but how ſhall we be ſure of this, and what reaſon have we to believe that it ever was? when it is evident, that from our infancy, inſtead of endeavouring to conquer our appetites, we have always been taught, and have taken pains ourſelves to conceal them; and we are conſcious within, that whatever alterations have been made in our manners and our circumſtances, the paſſions themſelves always remained? The ſyſtem that virtue requires to ſelf-denial, is, as my friend has juſtly obſerved, a vaſt inlet to hypocriſy: it will, on all accounts, furniſh men with a more obvious handle, and a greater opportunity of counterfeiting the love of ſociety, and regard to the public, than ever they could have received from the contrary doctrine,

viz. that there is is no merit but in the conqueſt of the paſſions, nor any virtue without apparent ſelf-denial. Let us aſk thoſe that have had long experience, and are well ſkilled in human affairs, whether they have found the generality of men ſuch impartial judges of themſelves, as never to think better of their own worth than it deſerved, or ſo candid in the acknowledgment of their hidden faults and ſlips, they could never be convinced of, that there is no fear they ſhould ever ſtifle or deny them. Where is the man that has at no time covered his failings, and ſcreened himſelf with falſe appearances, or never pretended to act from principles of ſocial virtue, and his regard to others, when he knew in his heart that his greateſt care had been to oblige himſelf? The beſt of us ſometimes receive applauſe without undeceiving thoſe who give it; though, at the ſame time, we are conſcious that the actions, for which we ſuffer ourſelves to be thought well of, are the reſult of a powerful frailty in our nature, that has often been prejudicial to us, and which we have wiſhed a thouſand times in vain, that we could have conquered. The ſame motives may produce very different actions, as men differ in temper and circumſtances. Perſons of an eaſy fortune may appear virtuous, from the ſame turn of mind that would ſhow their frailty if they were poor. If we would know the world, we muſt look into it. You take no delight in the occurrences of low life; but if we always remain among perſons of quality, and extend our inquiries no farther, the tranſactions there will not furniſh us with a ſufficient knowledge of every thing that belongs to our nature. There are, among the middling people, men of low circumſtances, tolerably well educated, that ſet out with the ſame ſtock of virtues and vices, and though equally qualified, meet with very different ſucceſs; viſibly owing to the difference in their temper. Let us take a view of two perſons bred to the ſame buſineſs, that have nothing but their parts and the world before them, launching out with the ſame helps and diſadvantages: let there be no difference between them, but in their temper; the one active, and the other indolent. The latter will never get an eſtate by his own induſtry, though his profeſſion be gainful, and himſelf maſter of it. Chance, or ſome uncommon accident, may be the occaſion of great alterations in him, but without that he will hardly ever raiſe himſelf to mediocrity. Unleſs his pride affects him in an extraordinary manner, he muſt always be

poor, and nothing but ſome ſhare of vanity can hinder him from being deſpicably ſo. If he be a man of ſenſe, he will be ſtrictly honeſt, and a middling ſtock of covetouſneſs will never divert him from it. In the active ſtirring man, that is eaſily reconciled to the buſtle of the world, we ſhall diſcover quite different ſymptoms, under the ſame circumſtances; and a very little avarice will egg him on to purſue his aim with eagerneſs and aſſiduity: ſmall ſcruples are no oppoſition to him; where ſincerity will not ſerve, he uſes artifice; and in compaſſing his ends, the greateſt uſe he will make of his good ſenſe will be, to preſerve as much as is poſſible, the appearance of honeſty; when his intereſt obliges him to deviate from it. To get wealth, or even a livelihood by arts and ſciences, it is not ſufficient to underſtand them: it is a duty incumbent on all men, who have their maintainance to ſeek, to make known and forward themſelves in the world, as far as decency allows of, without bragging of themſelves, or doing prejudice to others: here the indolent man is very deficient and wanting to himſelf; but ſeldom will own his fault, and often blames the public for not making uſe of him, and encouraging that merit, which they never were acquainted with, and himſelf perhaps took pleaſure to conceal; and though you convince him of his error, and that he has neglected even the moſt warrantable methods of ſoliciting employment, he will endeavour to colour over his frailty with the appearance of virtue; and what is altogether owing to his too eaſy temper, and an exceſſive fondneſs for the calmneſs of his mind, he will aſcribe to his modeſty and the great averſion he has to impudence and boaſting. The man of a contrary temper truſts not to his merit only, or the ſetting it off to the beſt advantage; he takes pains to heighten it in the opinion of others, and make his abilities ſeem greater than he knows them to be. As it is counted folly for a man to proclaim his own excellencies, and ſpeak magnificently of himſelf, ſo his chief buſineſs is to ſeek acquaintance, and make friends on purpoſe to do it for him: all other paſſions he ſacrifices to his ambition; he laughs at diſappointments, is inured to refuſals, and no repulſe diſmays him: this renders the whole man always flexible to his intereſt; he can defraud his body of neceſſaries, and allow no tranquillity to his mind; and counterfeit, if it will ſerve his turn, temperance, chaſtity, compaſſion, and piety itſelf, without one grain of virtue or religion: his endeavours to

advance his fortune *per fas et nefas* are always reſtleſs, and have no bounds, but where he is obliged to act openly, and has reaſon to fear the cenſure of the world. It is very diverting to ſee how, in the different perſons I ſpeak of, natural temper will warp and model the very paſſions to its own bias: pride, for example, has not the ſame, but almoſt a quite contrary effect on the one to what it has on the other: the ſtirring active man it makes in love with finery, clothes, furniture, equipages, building, and every thing his ſuperiors enjoy: the other it renders ſullen, and perhaps moroſe; and if he has wit, prone to ſatire, though he be otherwiſe a goood-natured man. Self-love, in every individual, ever bears itſelf in ſoothing and flattering the darling inclination; always turning from us the diſmal ſide of the proſpect; and the indolent man in ſuch circumſtances, finding nothing pleaſing without, turns his view inward upon himſelf; and there, looking on every thing with great indulgence, admires and takes delight in his own parts, whether natural or acquired: hence he is eaſily induced to deſpiſe all others who have not the ſame good qualifications, eſpecially the powerful, and wealthy, whom yet he never hates or envies with any violence; becauſe that would ruffle his temper. All things that are difficult he looks upon as impoſſible, which makes him deſpair of meliorating his condition; and as he has no poſſeſſions, and his gettings will but juſt maintain him in a low ſtation of life, ſo his good ſenſe, if he would enjoy ſo much as the appearance of happineſs, muſt neceſſarily put him upon two things: to be frugal, and pretend to have no value for riches; for, by neglecting either, he muſt be blown up, and his frailty unavoidably diſcovered.

Hor. I am pleaſed with your obſervations, and the knowledge you diſplay of mankind; but pray, is not the frugality you now ſpeak of a virtue?

Cleo. I think not.

Hor. Where there is but a ſmall income, frugality is built upon reaſon; and in this caſe there is an apparent ſelf-denial, without which an indolent man that has no value for money cannot be frugal; and we ſee indolent men, that have no regard for wealth, reduced to beggary, as it often happens, it is moſt commonly for want of this virtue.

Cleo. I told you before, that the indolent man, ſetting out as he did, would be poor; and that nothing but ſome ſhare of vanity could hinder him from being deſpicably ſo.

A ſtrong fear of ſhame may gain ſo much upon the indolence of a man of ſenſe, that he will beſtir himſelf ſufficiently to eſcape contempt; but it will hardly make him do any more; therefore he embraces frugality, as being inſtrumental and aſſiſting to him in procuring his *ſummum bonum*, the darling quiet of his eaſy mind; whereas, the active man, with the ſame ſhare of vanity, would do any thing rather than ſubmit to the ſame frugality, unleſs his avarice forced him to it. Frugality is no virtue, when it is impoſed upon us by any of the paſſions, and the contempt of riches is ſeldom ſincere. I have known men of plentiful eſtates, that, on account of poſterity, or other warrantable views of employing their money, were ſaving, and more penurious, than they would have been, if their wealth had been greater: but I never yet found a frugal man, without avarice or neceſſity. And again, there are innumerable ſpendthrifts, laviſh and extravagant to a high degree, who ſeem not to have the leaſt regard to money, whilſt they have any to fling away: but theſe wretches are the leaſt capable of bearing poverty of any, and the money once gone, hourly diſcover how uneaſy, impatient, and miſerable they are without it. But what ſeveral in all ages have made pretence to, the contempt of riches, is more ſcarce than is commonly imagined. To ſee a man of a very good eſtate, in health and ſtrength of body and mind, one that has no reaſon to complain of the world or fortune, actually deſpiſe both, and embrace a voluntary poverty, for a laudable purpoſe, is a great rarity. I know but one in all antiquity, to whom all this may be applied with ſtrictneſs of truth.

Hor. Who is that, pray?

Cleo. Anaxagoras of Clazomene in Ionia: He was very rich, of noble extraction, and admired for his great capacity: he divided and gave away his eſtate among his relations, and refuſed to meddle with the adminiſtration of public affairs that was offered him, for no other reaſon, than that he might have leiſure for contemplation of the works of nature, and the ſtudy of philoſophy.

Hor. To me it ſeems to be more difficult to be virtuous without money, than with: it is ſenſeleſs for a man to be poor, when he can help it, and if I ſaw any body chooſe it, when he might as lawfully be rich, I would think him to be diſtracted.

Cleo. But you would not think him ſo, if you ſaw him ſell his eſtate, and give the money to the poor: you know where that was required.

Hor. It is not required of us.

Cleo. Perhaps not: but what ſay you to renouncing the world, and the ſolemn promiſe we have made of it?

Hor. In a literal ſenſe that is impoſſible, unleſs we go out of it; and therefore I do not think, that to renounce the world ſignifies any more, than not to comply with the vicious, wicked part of it.

Cleo. I did not expect a more rigid conſtruction from you, though it is certain, that wealth and power are great ſnares, and ſtrong impediments to all Chriſtian virtue: but the gerality of mankind, that have any thing to loſe, are of your opinion; and let us bar ſaints and madmen, we ſhall find every where, that thoſe who pretend to undervalue, and are always haranguing againſt wealth, are generally poor and indolent. But who can blame them? They act in their own defence; nobody that could help it would ever be laughed at; for it muſt be owned, that of all the hardſhips of poverty, it is that which is the moſt intolerable.

> Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in ſe,
> Quam quod ridiculos homines faciat.——

In the very ſatisfaction that is enjoyed by thoſe who excel in, or are poſſeſſed of things valuable, there is interwoven a ſpice of contempt for others, that are deſtitute of them, which nothing keeps from public view, but a mixture of pity and good manners. Whoever denies this, let them conſult within, and examine whether it is not the ſame with happineſs, as what Seneca ſays of the reverſe, *nemo eſt miſer niſi comparatus.* The contempt and ridicule I ſpeak of, is, without doubt, what all men of ſenſe and education endeavour to avoid or diſappoint. Now, look upon the behaviour of the two contrary tempers before us, and mind how differently they ſet about this taſk, every one ſuitably to his own inclination. The man of action, you ſee, leaves no ſtone unturned to acquire *quod oportet habere:* but this is impoſſible for the indolent; he cannot ſtir; his idol ties him down hand and foot; and, therefore, the eaſieſt, and, indeed the only thing he has left, is to quarrel with the world, and find out arguments to depreciate what others value themſelves upon.

Hor. I now plainly ſee, how pride and good ſenſe muſt put an indolent man, that is poor, upon frugality; and likewiſe the reaſon, why they will make him affect to be content, and ſeem pleaſed with his low condition: for, if he will not be frugal, want and miſery are at the door: and if he ſhows any fondneſs for riches, or a more ample way of living, he loſes the only plea he has for his darling frailty, and immediately he will be aſked, why he does not exert himſelf in a better manner? and he will be continually told of the opportunities he neglects.

Cleo. It is evident, then, that the true reaſons, why men ſpeak againſt things, are not always writ upon their foreheads.

Hor. But after all this quiet eaſy temper, this indolence you talk of, is it not what, in plain Engliſh, we call lazineſs?

Cleo. Not at all; it implies no ſloth, or averſion to labour: an indolent man may be very diligent, though he cannot be induſtrious: he will take up with things below him, if they come in his way; he will work in a garret, or any where elſe, remote from public view, with patience and aſſiduity, but he knows not how to ſolicit and teaze others to employ him, or demand his due of a ſhuffling, deſigning maſter, that is either difficult of acceſs, or tenacious of his money: if he be a man of letters, he will ſtudy hard for a livelihood, but generally parts with his labours at a diſadvantage, and will knowingly ſell them at an under-rate to an obſcure man, who offers to purchaſe, rather than bear the inſults of haughty bookſellers, and be plagued with the ſordid language of the trade. An indolent man may, by chance, meet with a perſon of quality, that takes a fancy to him; but he will never get a patron by his own addreſs; neither will he ever be the better for it, when he has one, further than the unaſked-for bounty, and downright generoſity of his benefactor make him. As he ſpeaks for himſelf with reluctancy, and is always afraid of aſking favours, ſo, for benefits received, he ſhows no other gratitude, than what the natural emotions of his heart ſuggeſt to him. The ſtriving, active man ſtudies all the winning ways to ingratiate himſelf, and hunts after patrons with deſign and ſagacity: whilſt they are beneficial to him, he affects a perpetual ſenſe of thankfulneſs; but all his acknowledgments of paſt obligations, he turns into ſolicitations for freſh favours: his complaiſance may be engaging, and his flattery ingenious, but the heart is untouched: he has neither leiſure, nor the power to love his benefactors;

the eldeſt he has, he will always ſacrifice to a new one; and he has no other eſteem for the fortune, the greatneſs, or the credit of a patron, than as he can make them ſubſervient either to raiſe or maintain his own. From all this, and a little attention on human affairs, we may eaſily perceive, in the firſt place, that the man of action, and an enterpriſing temper, in following the dictates of his nature, muſt meet with more rubs and obſtacles infinitely, than the indolent, and a multitude of ſtrong temptations, to deviate from the rules of ſtrict virtue, which hardly ever come in the other's way; that, in many circumſtances, he will be forced to commit ſuch actions, for which, all his ſkill and prudence notwithſtanding, he will, by ſome body or other, deſervedly be thought to be an ill man; and that to end with a tolerable reputation, after a long courſe of life, he muſt have had a great deal of good fortune, as well as cunning. Secondly, that the indolent man may indulge his inclinations, and be as ſenſual as his circumſtances may let him, with little offence or diſturbance to his neighbour; that the exceſſive value he ſets upon the tranquillity of his mind, and the grand averſion he has to part with it, muſt prove a ſtrong curb to every paſſion that comes uppermoſt; none of which, by this means, can ever affect him in any high degree, and conſequently, that the corruption of his heart remaining, he may, with little art and no great trouble, acquire many valuable qualities, that ſhall have all the appearances of ſocial virtues, whilſt nothing extraordinary befals him. As to his contempt of the world, the indolent man perhaps will ſcorn to make his court, and cringe to a haughty favourite, that will browbeat him at firſt; but he will run with joy to a rich nobleman, that he is ſure will receive him with kindneſs and humanity: With him he will partake, without reluctancy, of all the elegant comforts of life that are offered, the moſt expenſive not excepted. Would you try him further, confer upon him honour and wealth in abundance. If this change in his fortune ſtirs up no vice that lay dormant before, as it may by rendering him either covetous or extravagant, he will ſoon conform himſelf to the faſhionable world: Perhaps he will be a kind maſter, an indulgent father, a benevolent neighbour, munificent to merit that pleaſes him, a patron to virtue, and a wellwiſher to his country; but for the reſt, he will take all the pleaſure he is capable of enjoying; ſtifle no paſſion he can calmly gratify, and, in the midſt of a luxuri-

it plenty, laugh heartily at frugality, and the contempt of ches and greatneſs he profeſſed in his poverty; and cheerlly own the futility of thoſe pretences.

Hor. I am convinced, that, in the opinion of virtue's reiring ſelf-denial, there is greater certainty, and hypocrites ive leſs latitude than in the contrary ſyſtem.

Cleo. Whoever follows his own inclinations, be they never kind, beneficent, or human, never quarrels with any vice, it what is claſhing with his temperament and nature; whereas thoſe who act from a principle of virtue, take always reaſon for their guide, and combat, without exception, every paſſion that hinders them from their duty! The indolent man will never deny a juſt debt; but, if it be large, he will not give himſelf the trouble which, poor as he is, he might, and ought to take to diſcharge it, or, at leaſt, ſatisfy his creditors, unleſs he is often dunned, or threatened to be ſued for it. He will not be a litigious neighbour, nor make miſchief among his acquaintance; but he will never ſerve his friend or his country, at the expence of his quiet. He will not be rapacious, oppreſs the poor, or commit vile actions for lucre; but then he will never exert himſelf, and be at the pains another would take on all opportunities, to maintain a large family, make proviſion for children, and promote his kindred and relations; and his darling frailty will incapacitate him from doing a thouſand things for the benefit of the ſociety, which, with the ſame parts and opportunities, he might, and would have done, had he been of another temper.

Hor. Your obſervations are very curious, and, as far as I can judge from what I have ſeen myſelf, very juſt and natural.

Cleo. Every body knows that there is no virtue ſo often counterfeited as charity, and yet ſo little regard have the generality of men to truth, that how groſs and bare-faced ſoever the deceit is in pretences of this nature, the world never fails of being angry with, and hating thoſe who detect or take notice of the fraud. It is poſſible, that, with blind fortune on his ſide, a mean ſhopkeeper, by driving a trade prejudicial to his country on the one hand, and grinding, on all occaſions, the face of the poor on the other, may accumulate great wealth; which, in proceſs of time, by continual ſcraping, and ſordid ſaving, may be raiſed into an exorbitant, an unheard-of eſtate for a tradeſman. Should ſuch a

one, when old and decrepit, lay out the greateſt part of his immenſe riches in the building, or largely endowing an hoſpital, and I was thoroughly acquainted with his temper and manners, I could have no opinion of his virtue, though he parted with the money, whilſt he was yet alive; more eſpecially, if I was aſſured, that, in his laſt will, he had been highly unjuſt, and had not only left unrewarded ſeveral, whom he had great obligations to, but likewiſe defrauded others, to whom, in his conſcience, he knew that he was, and would die actually indebted. I deſire you to tell me what name, knowing all I have ſaid to be true, you would give to this extraordinary gift, this mighty donation!

Hor. I am of opinion, than when an action of our neighbour may admit of different conſtructions, it is our duty to ſide with, and embrace the moſt favourable.

Cleo. The moſt favourable conſtructions with all my heart: But what is that to the purpoſe, when all the ſtraining in the world cannot make it a good one? I do not mean the thing itſelf, but the principle it came from, the inward motive of the mind that put him upon performing it; for it is that which, in a free agent, I call the action: And, therefore, call it what you pleaſe, and judge as charitably of it as you can, what can you ſay of it?

Hor. He might have had ſeveral motives, which I do not pretend to determine; but it is an admirable contrivance of being extremely beneficial to all poſterity in this land, a noble proviſion that will perpetually relieve, and be an unſpeakable comfort to a multitude of miſerable people; and it is not only a prodigious, but likewiſe a well-concerted bounty that was wanting, and for which, in after ages, thouſands of poor wretches will have reaſon to bleſs his memory, when every body elſe ſhall have neglected them.

Cleo. All that I have nothing againſt; and if you would add more, I ſhall not diſpute it with you, as long as you confine your praiſes to the endowment itſelf, and the benefit the public is like to receive from it. But to aſcribe it to, or ſuggeſt that it was derived from a public ſpirit in the man, a generous ſenſe of humanity and benevolence to his kind, a liberal heart, or any other virtue or good quality, which it is manifeſt the donor was an utter ſtranger to, is the utmoſt abſurdity in an intelligent creature, and can proceed from no other cauſe than either a wilful wronging of his own underſtanding, or elſe ignorance and folly.

Hor. I am perſuaded, that many actions are put off for virtuous, that are not ſo; and that according as men differ in natural temper, and turn of mind, ſo they are differently influenced by the ſame paſſions: I believe likewiſe, that theſe laſt are born with us, and belong to our nature; that ſome of them are in us, or at leaſt the ſeeds of them, before we perceive them: but ſince they are in every individual, how comes it that pride is more predominant in ſome than it is in others? For from what you have demonſtrated already, it muſt follow, that one perſon is more affected with the paſſion within than another; I mean, that one man has actually a greater ſhare of pride than another, as well among the artful that are dexterous in concealing it, as among the ill-bred that openly ſhow it.

Cleo. What belongs to our nature, all men may juſtly be ſaid to have actually or virtually in them at their birth; and whatever is not born with us, either the thing itſelf, or that which afterwards produces it, cannot be ſaid to belong to our nature: but as we differ in our faces and ſtature, ſo we do in other things, that are more remote from ſight: but all theſe depend only upon the different frame, the inward formation of either the ſolids or the fluids; and there are vices of complexion, that are peculiar, ſome to the pale and phlegmatic, others to the ſanguine and choleric: ſome are more luſtful, others more fearful in their nature, than the generality are: but I believe of man, generally ſpeaking, what my friend has obſerved of other creatures, that the beſt of the kind, I mean the beſt formed within, ſuch as have the fineſt natural parts, are born with the greateſt aptitude to be proud; but I am convinced, that the difference there is in men, as to the degrees of their pride, is more owing to circumſtances and education, than any thing in their formation. Where paſſions are moſt gratified and leaſt controuled, the indulgence makes them ſtronger; whereas thoſe perſons, that have been kept under, and whoſe thoughts have never been at liberty to rove beyond the firſt neceſſaries of life; ſuch as have not been ſuffered, or had no opportunity to gratify this paſſion, have commonly the leaſt ſhare of it. But whatever portion of pride a man may feel in his heart, the quicker his parts are, the better his underſtanding is; and the more experience he has, the more plainly he will perceive the averſion which all men have to thoſe that diſcover their pride: and the ſooner perſons are imbued with good manners, the ſooner they grow

perfect in concealing that paſſion. Men of mean birth and education, that have been kept in great ſubjection, and conſequently had no great opportunities to exert their pride, if ever they come to command others, have a ſort of revenge mixed with that paſſion, which makes it often very miſchievous, eſpecially in places where they have no ſuperiors or equals, before whom they are obliged to conceal the odious paſſion.

Hor. Do you think women have more pride from nature than men?

Cleo. I believe not: but they have a great deal more from education.

Hor. I do not ſee the reaſon: for among the better ſort, the ſons, eſpecially the eldeſt, have as many ornaments and fine things given them from their infancy, to ſtir up their pride, as the daughters.

Cleo. But among people equally well-educated, the ladies have more flattery beſtowed upon them, than the gentlemen, and it begins ſooner.

Hor. But why ſhould pride be more encouraged in women than in men?

Cleo. For the ſame reaſon, that it is encouraged in ſoldiers, more than it is in other people; to increaſe their fear of ſhame, which makes them always mindful of their honour.

Hor. But to keep both to their reſpective duties, why muſt a lady have more pride than a gentleman?

Cleo. Becauſe the lady is in the greateſt danger of ſtraying from it: ſhe has a paſſion within, that may begin to affect her at twelve or thirteen, and perhaps ſooner, and ſhe has all the temptations of the men to withſtand beſides: ſhe has all the artillery of our ſex to fear; a ſeducer of uncommon addreſs and reſiſtleſs charms, may court her to what nature prompts and ſolicits her to do; he may add great promiſes, actual bribes; this may be done in the dark, and when nobody is by to diſſuade her. Gentlemen very ſeldom have occaſion to ſhow their courage before they are ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, and rarely ſo ſoon: they are not put to the trial, till, by converſing with men of honour, they are confirmed in their pride: in the affair of a quarrel they have their friends to conſult, and theſe are ſo many witneſſes of their behaviour, that awe them to their duty, and in a manner oblige them to obey the laws of honour: all theſe things conſpire to increaſe their fear of ſhame; and if they can but

render that ſuperior to the fear of death, their buſineſs is done; they have no pleaſure to expect from breaking the rules of honour, nor any crafty tempter that ſolicits them to be cowards. That pride which is the cauſe of honour in men, only regards their courage; and if they can but appear to be brave, and will but follow the faſhionable rules of manly honour, they may indulge all other appetites, and brag of incontinence without reproach: the pride likewiſe that produces honour in women, has no other object than their chaſtity; and whilſt they keep that jewel entire, they can apprehend no ſhame: tenderneſs and delicacy are a compliment to them; and there is no fear of danger ſo ridiculous, but they may own it with oſtentation. But notwithſtanding the weakneſs of their frame, and the ſoftneſs in which women are generally educated, if overcome by chance they have ſinned in private, what real hazards will they not run, what torments will they not ſuffle, and what crimes will they not commit, to hide from the world that frailty, which they were taught to be moſt aſhamed of!

Hor. It is certain, that we ſeldom hear of public proſtitutes, and ſuch as have loſt their ſhame, that they murder their infants, though they are otherwiſe the moſt abandoned wretches: I took notice of this in the Fable of the Bees, and it is very remarkable.

Cleo. It contains a plain demonſtration, that the ſame paſſion may produce either a palpable good or a palpable evil in the ſame perſon, according as ſelf-love and his preſent circumſtances ſhall direct; and that the ſame fear of ſhame, that makes men ſometimes appear ſo highly virtuous, may at others oblige them to commit the moſt heinous crimes: that, therefore, honour is not founded upon any principle, either of real virtue or true religion, muſt be obvious to all that will but mind what ſort of people they are, that are the greateſt votaries of that idol, and the different duties it requires in the two ſexes: in the firſt place, the worſhippers of honour are the vain and voluptuous, the ſtrict obſervers of modes and faſhions, that take delight in pomp and luxury, and enjoy as much of the world as they are able: in the ſecond, the word itſelf, I mean the ſenſe of it, is ſo whimſical, and there is ſuch a prodigious difference in the ſignification of it, according as the attribute is differently applied, either to a man or to a woman, that neither of them ſhall forfeit

their honour, though each ſhould be guilty, and openly boaſt of what would be the others greateſt ſhame.

Hor. I am ſorry that I cannot charge you with injuſtice: but it is very ſtrange; that to encourage and induſtriouſly increaſe pride in a refined education, ſhould be the moſt proper means to make men ſolicitous in concealing the outward appearances of it.

Cleo. Yet nothing is more true; but where pride is ſo much indulged, and yet to be ſo carefully kept from all human view, as it is in perſons of honour of both ſexes, it would be impoſſible for mortal ſtrength to endure the reſtraint, if men could not be taught to play the paſſion againſt itſelf, and were not allowed to change the natural home-bred ſymptoms of it, for artificial foreign ones.

Hor. By playing the paſſion againſt itſelf, I know you mean placing a ſecret pride in concealing the barefaced ſigns of it: but I do not rightly underſtand what you mean by changing the ſymptoms of it.

Cleo. When a man exults in his pride, and gives a looſe to that paſſion, the marks of it are as viſible in his countenance, his mien, his gait and behaviour, as they are in a prancing horſe, or a ſtrutting turkey-cock. Theſe are all very odious; every one feeling the ſame principle within, which is the cauſe of thoſe ſymptoms; and man being endued with ſpeech, all the open expreſſions the ſame paſſion can ſuggeſt to him, muſt for the ſame reaſon be equally diſpleaſing: theſe, therefore, have in all ſocieties been ſtrictly prohibited by common conſent, in the very infancy of good manners; and men have been taught, in the room of them, to ſubſtitute other ſymptoms, equally evident with the firſt, but leſs offenſive, and more beneficial to others.

Hor. Which are they?

Cleo. Fine clothes, and other ornaments about them, the cleanlineſs obſerved about their perſons, the ſubmiſſion that is required of ſervants, coſtly equipages, furniture, buildings, titles of honour, and every thing that men can acquire to make themſelves eſteemed by others, without diſcovering any of the ſymptoms that are forbid: upon a ſatiety of enjoying theſe, they are allowed likewiſe to have the vapours, and be whimſical, though otherwiſe they are known to be in health and of good ſenſe.

Hor. But ſince the pride of others is diſpleaſing to us in every ſhape, and theſe latter ſymptoms, you ſay, are equally evident with the firſt, what is got by the change?

Cleo. A great deal: when pride is deſignedly expreſſed in looks and geſtures, either in a wild or tame man, it is known by all human creatures that ſee it; it is the ſame, when vented in words, by every body that underſtands the language they are ſpoken in. Theſe are marks and tokens that are all the world over the ſame: nobody ſhows them, but to have them ſeen and underſtood, and few perſons ever diſplay them without deſigning that offence to others, which they never fail to give: whereas, the other ſymptoms may be denied to be what they are; and many pretences, that they are derived from other motives, may be made for them, which the ſame good manners teach us never to refute, nor eaſily to diſbelieve: in the very excuſes that are made, there is a condeſcenſion that ſatisfies and pleaſes us. In thoſe that are altogether deſtitute of the opportunities to diſplay the ſymptoms of pride that are allowed of, the leaſt portion of that paſſion is a troubleſome, though often an unknown gueſt; for in them it is eaſily turned into envy and malice, and on the leaſt provocation, it ſallies out in thoſe diſguiſes, and is often the cauſe of cruelty; and there never was a miſchief committed by mobs or multitudes, which this paſſion had not a hand in: whereas, the more room men have to vent and gratify the paſſion in the warrantable ways, the more eaſy it is for them to ſtifle the odious part of pride, and ſeem to be wholly free from it.

Hor. I ſee very well, that real virtues requires a conqueſt over untaught nature, and that the Chriſtian religion demands a ſtill ſtricter ſelf-denial: it likewiſe is evident, that to make ourſelves acceptable to an omniſcient Power, nothing is more neceſſary than ſincerity, and that the heart ſhould be pure. But ſetting aſide ſacred matters, and a future ſtate, do not you think that this complaiſance and eaſy conſtruction of one another's actions, do a great deal of good upon earth; and do not you believe that good manners and politeneſs make men more happy, and their lives more comfortable in this world, than any thing elſe could make them without thoſe arts?

Cleo. If you will ſet aſide what ought to employ our firſt care, and be our greateſt concern; and men will have no value for that felicity and peace of mind, which can only ariſe

from a conſciouſneſs of being good, it is certain, that in great nation, and among a flouriſhing people, whoſe higl wiſhes ſeem to be eaſe and luxury, the upper part could r without thoſe arts, enjoy ſo much of the world as that c afford; and that none ſtand more in need of them than voluptuous men of parts, that will join worldly prudence ſenſuality, and make it their chief ſtudy to refine upon pl ſure.

Hor. When I had the honour of your company at my houſe, you ſaid that nobody knew when or where, nor in what king's or emperor's reign the laws of honour were enacted; pray, can you inform me when or which way, what we call good manners or politeneſs came into the world? what moraliſt or politician was it, that could teach men to be proud of hiding their pride?

Cleo. The reſtleſs induſtry of man to ſupply his wants, and his conſtant endeavours to meliorate his condition upon earth, have produced and brought to perfection many uſeful arts and ſciences, of which the beginnings are of uncertain eras, and to which we can aſſign no other cauſes, than human ſagacity in general, and the joint labour of many ages, in which men have always employed themſelves in ſtudying and contriving ways and means to ſooth their various appetites, and make the beſt of their infirmities. Whence had we the firſt rudiments of architecture; how came ſculpture and painting to be what they have been theſe many hundred years; and who taught every nation the reſpective languages they ſpeak now. When I have a mind to dive into the origin of any maxim or political invention, for the uſe of ſociety in general, I do not trouble my head with inquiring after the time or country in which it was firſt heard of, nor what others have wrote or ſaid about it; but I go directly to the fountain head, human nature itſelf, and look for the frailty or defect in man, that is remedied or ſupplied by that invention: when things are very obſcure, I ſometimes make uſe of conjectures to find my way.

Hor. Do you argue, or pretend to prove any thing from thoſe conjectures?

Cleo. No; I never reaſon but from the plain obſervations which every body may make on man, the phenomena that appear in the leſſer world.

Hor. You have, without doubt, thought on this ſubject

before now; would you communicate to me ſome of your gueſſes?

Cleo. With abundance of pleaſure.

Hor. You will give me leave, now and then, when things are not clear to me, to put in a word for information's ſake.

Cleo. I deſire you would: you will oblige me with it. That ſelf-love was given to all animals, at leaſt, the moſt perfect, for ſelf-preſervation, is not diſputed; but as no creature can love what it diſlikes, it is neceſſary, moreover, that every one ſhould have a real liking to its own being, ſuperior to what they have to any other. I am of opinion, begging pardon for the novelty, that if this liking was not always permanent, the love which all creatures have for themſelves, could not be ſo unalterable as we ſee it is.

Hor. What reaſon have you to ſuppoſe this liking, which creatures have for themſelves, to be diſtinct from ſelf-love; ſince the one plainly comprehends the other?

Cleo. I will endeavour to explain myſelf better. I fancy, that to increaſe the care in creatures to preſerve themſelves, nature has given them an inſtinct, by which every individual values itſelf above its real worth; this in us, I mean in man, ſeems to be accompanied with a diffidence, ariſing from a conſciouſneſs, or at leaſt an apprehenſion, that we do overvalue ourſelves: it is that makes us ſo fond of the approbation, liking, and aſſent of others; becauſe they ſtrengthen and confirm us in the good opinion we have of ourſelves. The reaſons why this ſelf-liking, give me leave to call it ſo, is not plainly to be ſeen in all animals that are of the ſame degree of perfection, are many. Some want ornaments, and conſequently the means to expreſs it; others are too ſtupid and liſtleſs: it is to be conſidered likewiſe, that creatures, which are always in the ſame circumſtances, and meet with little variation in their way of living, have neither opportunity nor temptation to ſhow it; that the more mettle and livelineſs creatures have, the more viſible this liking is; and that in thoſe of the ſame kind, the greater ſpirit they are of, and the more they excel in the perfections of their ſpecies, the fonder they are of ſhowing it: in moſt birds it is evident, eſpecially in thoſe that have extraordinary finery to diſplay: in a horſe it is more conſpicuous than in any other irrational creature: it is moſt apparent in the ſwifteſt, the ſtrongeſt, the moſt healthy and vigorous; and may be increaſed in that animal by additional ornaments, and the preſence of

man, whom he knows, to clean, take care of, and delight in him. It is not improbable, that this great liking which creatures have for their own individuals, is the principle on which the love to their ſpecies is built: cows and ſheep, too dull and lifeleſs to make any demonſtration of this liking, yet herd and feed together, each with his own ſpecies; becauſe no others are ſo like themſelves: by this they ſeem to know likewiſe, that they have the ſame intereſt, and the ſame enemies; cows have often been ſeen to join in a common defence againſt wolves: birds of a feather flock together; and I dare ſay, that the ſcreechowl likes her own note better than that of the nightingale.

Hor. Montain ſeems to have been ſomewhat of your opinion, when he fancied, that if brutes were to paint the Deity, they would all draw him of their own ſpecies. But what you call ſelf-liking is evidently pride.

Cleo. I believe it is, or at leaſt the cauſe of it. I believe, moreover, that many creatures ſhow this liking, when, for want of underſtanding them, we do not perceive it: When a cat waſhes her face, and a dog licks himſelf clean, they adorn themſelves as much as it is in their power. Man himſelf, in a a ſavage ſtate, feeding on nuts and acorns, and deſtitute of all outward ornaments, would have infinitely leſs temptation, as well as opportunity, of ſhowing this liking of himſelf, than he has when civilized; yet if a hundred males of the firſt, all equally free, were together, within leſs than half an hour, this liking in queſtion, though their bellies were full, would appear in the deſire of ſuperiority, that would be ſhown among them; and the moſt vigorous, either in ſtrength or underſtanding, or both, would be the firſt that would diſplay it: If, as ſuppoſed, they were all untaught, this would breed contention, and there would certainly be war before there could be any agreement among them; unleſs one of them had ſome one or more viſible excellencies above the reſt. I ſaid males, and their bellies full; becauſe, if they had women among them, or wanted food, their quarrel might begin on another account.

Hor. This is thinking abſtractly indeed: but do you think that two or three hundred ſingle ſavages, men and women, that never had been under any ſubjection, and were above twenty years of age, could ever eſtabliſh a ſociety, and be united into one body, if, without being acquainted with one another, they ſhould meet by chance!

Cleo. No more, I believe, than ſo many horſes: but ſocieties never were made that way. It is poſſible that ſeveral families of ſavages might unite, and the heads of them agree upon ſome ſort of government or other, for their common good: but among them it is certain likewiſe, that, though ſuperiority was tollerably well ſettled, and every male had females enough, ſtrength and proweſs in this uncivilized ſtate would be infinitely more valued than underſtanding: I mean in the men; for the women will always prize themſelves for what they ſee the men admire in them: Hence it would follow, that the women would value themſelves, and envy one another for being handſome; and that the ugly and deformed, and all thoſe that were leaſt favoured by nature, would be the firſt, that would fly to art and additional ornaments: ſeeng that this made them more agreeable to the men, it would ſoon be followed by the reſt, and in a little time they would ſtrive to outdo one another, as much as their circumſtances would allow of; and it is poſſible, that a woman, with a very handſome noſe, might envy her neighbour with a much worſe, for having a ring through it.

Hor. You take great delight in dwelling on the behaviour of ſavages; what relation has this to politeneſs?

Cleo. The ſeeds of it are lodged in this ſelf-love and ſelf-liking, which I have ſpoke of, as will ſoon appear, if we would conſider what would be the conſequence of them in the affair of ſelf-preſervation, and a creature endued with underſtanding, ſpeech, and riſibility. Self-love would firſt make it ſcrape together every thing it wanted for ſuſtenance, provide againſt the injuries of the air, and do every thing to make itſelf and young ones ſecure. Self-liking would make it ſeek for opportunities, by geſtures, looks, and ſounds, to diſplay the value it has for itſelf, ſuperior to what it has for others; an untaught man would deſire every body that came near him, to agree with him in the opinion of his ſuperior worth, and be angry, as far as his fear would let him, with all that ſhould refuſe it: he would be highly delighted with, and love every body whom he thought to have a good opinion of him, eſpecially thoſe, that, by words or geſtures, ſhould own it to his face: whenever he met with any viſible marks in others of inferiority to himſelf, he would laugh, and do the ſame at their misfortunes, as far as his own pity

would give him leave, and he would inſult every body that would let him.

Hor. This ſelf-liking, you ſay, was given to creatures for ſelf-preſervation: I ſhould think rather that it is hurtful to men, becauſe it muſt make them odious to one another; and I cannot ſee what benefit they can recive from it, either in a ſavage or a civilized ſtate: is there any inſtance of its doing any good?

Cleo. I wonder to hear you aſk that queſtion. Have you forgot the many virtues which I have demonſtrated, may be counterfeited to gain applauſe, and the good qualities a man of ſenſe in great fortune may acquire, by the ſole help and inſtigation of his pride?

Hor. I beg your pardon: yet what you ſay only regards man in the ſociety, and after he has been perfectly well educated: what advantage is it to him as a ſingle creature? Self-love I can plainly ſee, induces him to labour for his maintenance and ſafety, and makes him fond of every thing which he imagines to tend to his preſervation; but what good does the ſelf-liking to him?

Cleo. If I ſhould tell you, that the inward pleaſure and ſatisfaction a man receives from the gratification of that paſſion, is a cordial that contributes to his health, you would laugh at me, and think it far fetched.

Hor. Perhaps not; but I would ſet againſt it the many ſharp vexations and heart-breaking ſorrows, that men ſuffer on the ſcore of this paſſion, from diſgraces, diſappointments, and other misfortunes, which, I believe, have ſent millions to their graves much ſooner than they would have gone, if their pride had leſs affected them.

Cleo. I have nothing againſt what you ſay: but this is no proof that the paſſion itſelf was not given to man for ſelf-preſervation; and it only lays open to us the precariouſneſs of ſublunary happineſs, and the wretched condition of mortals. There is nothing created that is always a bleſſing; the rain and ſunſhine themſelves, to which all earthly comforts are owing, have been the cauſes of innumerable calamities. All animals of prey, and thouſand others, hunt after food with the hazard of their lives, and the greater part of them periſh in their purſuits after ſuſtenance. Plenty itſelf is not leſs fatal to ſome, than want is to others; and of our own ſpecies, every opulent nation has had great numbers, that in full ſafety from all other dangers, have deſtroyed themſelves

by exceſſes of eating and drinking: yet nothing is more certain, than that hunger and thirſt were given to creatures, to make them ſolicitous after, and crave thoſe neceſſaries, without which it would be impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt.

Hor. Still I can ſee no advantage accruing from their ſelf-liking to man, conſidered as a ſingle creature, which can induce me to believe, that nature ſhould have given it us for ſelf-preſervation. What you have alleged is obſcure; can you name a benefit every individual perſon receives from that principle within him, that is manifeſt, and clearly to be underſtood?

Cleo. Since it has been in diſgrace, and every body diſowns the paſſion, it ſeldom is ſeen in its proper colours, and diſguiſes itſelf in a thouſand different ſhapes: we are often affected with it, when we have not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it; but it ſeems to be that which continually furniſhes us with that reliſh we have for life, even when it is not worth having. Whilſt men are pleaſed, ſelf-liking has every moment a conſiderable ſhare, though unknown, in procuring the ſatisfaction they enjoy. It is ſo neceſſary to the well-being of thoſe that have been uſed to indulge it, that they can taſte no pleaſure without it; and ſuch is the deference, and the ſubmiſſive veneration they pay to it, that they are deaf to the loudeſt calls of nature, and will rebuke the ſtrongeſt appetites that ſhould pretend to be gratified at the expence of that paſſion. It doubles our happineſs in proſperity, and buoys us up againſt the frowns of adverſe fortune. It is the mother of hopes, and the end as well as the foundation of our beſt wiſhes: it is the ſtrongeſt armour againſt deſpair; and as long as we can like any ways our ſituation, either in regard to preſent circumſtances, or the proſpect before us, we take care of ourſelves; and no man can reſolve upon ſuicide, whilſt ſelf-liking laſts: but as ſoon as that is over, all our hopes are extinct, and we can form no wiſhes but for the diſſolution of our frame; till at laſt our being becomes ſo intolerable to us, that ſelf-love prompts us to make an end of it, and ſeek refuge in death.

Hor. You mean ſelf-hatred; for you have ſaid yourſelf, that a creature cannot love what it diſlikes.

Cleo. If you turn the proſpect, you are in the right: but this only proves to us what I have often hinted at, that man is made up of contrarieties; otherwiſe nothing ſeems to be more certain, than that whoever kills himſelf by choice, muſt

do it to avoid ſomething, which he dreads more than that death which he chooſes. Therefore, how abſurd ſoever a perſon's reaſoning may be, there is in all ſuicide a palpable intention of kindneſs to one's ſelf.

Hor. I muſt own that your obſervations are entertaining. I am very well pleaſed with your diſcourſe, and I ſee an agreeable glimmering of probability that runs through it; but you have ſaid nothing that comes up to a half proof on the ſide of your conjecture, if it be ſeriouſly conſidered.

Cleo. I told you before that I would lay no ſtreſs upon, nor draw any concluſions from it: but whatever nature's deſign was in beſtowing this ſelf-liking on creatures, and whether it has been given to other animals beſides ourſelves or not, it is certain, that in our own ſpecies every individual perſon likes himſelf better than he does any other.

Hor. It may be ſo, generally ſpeaking: but that it is not univerſally true, I can aſſure you, from my own experience; for I have often wiſhed myſelf to be Count Theodati, whom you knew at Rome.

Cleo. He was a very fine perſon indeed, and extremely well accompliſhed; and therefore you wiſhed to be ſuch another, which is all you could mean. Celia has a very handſome face, fine eyes, fine teeth; but ſhe has red hair, and is ill made: therefore ſhe wiſhes for Chloe's hair and Belinda's ſhape; but ſhe would ſtill remain Celia.

Hor. But I wiſhed that I might have been that perſon, that very Theodati.

Cleo. That is impoſſible.

Hor. What, is it impoſſible to wiſh it?

Cleo. Yes, to wiſh it; unleſs you wiſhed for annihilation at the ſame time. It is that ſelf we wiſh well to; and therefore we cannot wiſh for any change in ourſelves, but with a proviſo, that τὸ ſelf, that part of us that wiſhes, ſhould ſtill remain: for take away that conſciouſneſs you had of yourſelf whilſt you was wiſhing, and tell me, pray, what part of you it is that could be the better for the alteration you wiſhed for?

Hor. I believe you are in the right. No man can wiſh but to enjoy ſomething, which no part of that ſame man could do, if he was entirely another.

Cleo. That *he* itſelf, the perſon wiſhing, muſt be deſtroyed before the change could be entire.

Hor. But when ſhall we come to the origin of politeneſs?

Cleo. We are at it now, and we need not look for it any further than in the ſelf-liking, which I have demonſtrated every individual man to be poſſeſſed of. Do but conſider theſe two things: Firſt, that from the nature of that paſſion, it muſt follow, that all untaught men will ever be hateful to one another in converſation, where neither intereſt nor ſuperiority are conſidered: for, if of two equals, one only values himſelf more by half, than he does the other, though that other ſhould value the firſt equally with himſelf, they would both be diſſatisfied, if their thoughts were known to each other; but if both valued themſelves more by half, than they did each other, the difference between them would ſtill be greater, and a declaration of their ſentiments would render them both inſufferable to each other; which, among uncivilized men, would happen every moment, becauſe, without a mixture of art and trouble, the outward ſymptoms of that paſſion are not to be ſtifled. The ſecond thing I would have you conſider, is, the effect which, in all human probability, this inconveniency, ariſing from ſelf-liking, would have upon creatures endued with a great ſhare of underſtanding, that are fond of their eaſe to the laſt degree, and as induſtrious to procure it. Theſe two things, I ſay, do but duly weigh, and you ſhall find that the diſturbance and uneaſineſs that muſt be cauſed by ſelf-liking, whatever ſtrugglings and unſucceſsful trials to remedy them might precede, muſt neceſſarily produce, at long run, what we call good manners and politeneſs.

Hor. I underſtand you, I believe. Every body in this undiſciplined ſtate, being affected with the high value he has for himſelf, and diſplaying the moſt natural ſymptoms which you have deſcribed, they would all be offended at the barefaced pride of their neighbours: and it is impoſſible that this ſhould continue long among rational creatures, but the repeated experience of the uneaſineſs they received from ſuch behaviour, would make ſome of them reflect on the cauſe of it; which, in tract of time, would make them find out, that their own barefaced pride, muſt be as offenſive to others, as that of others is to themſelves.

Cleo. What you ſay is certainly the philoſophical reaſon of the alterations that are made in the behaviour of men, by their being civilized: but all this is done without reflection; and men by degrees, and great length of time, fall as it were into theſe things ſpontaneouſly.

Hor. How is that poſſible, when it muſt coſt them trouble, and there is a palpable ſelf-denial to be ſeen in the reſtraint they put upon themſelves?

Cleo. In the purſuit of ſelf-preſervation, men diſcover a reſtleſs endeavour to make themſelves eaſy, which inſenſibly teaches them to avoid miſchief on all emergencies: and when human creatures once ſubmit to government, and are uſed to live under the reſtraint of laws, it is incredible how many uſeful cautions, ſhifts, and ſtratagems they will learn to practiſe by experience and imitation, from converſing together, without being aware of the natural cauſes that oblige them to act as they do, viz. the paſſions within, that, unknown to themſelves, govern their will and direct their behaviour.

Hor. You will make men as mere machines as Cartes does brutes.

Cleo. I have no ſuch deſign: but I am of opinion, that men find out the uſe of their limbs by inſtinct, as much as brutes do the uſe of theirs; and that, without knowing any thing of geometry or arithmetic, even children may learn to peform actions that ſeem to beſpeak great ſkill in mechanics, and a conſiderable depth of thought and ingenuity in the contrivance beſides.

Hor. What actions are they which you judge this from?

Cleo. The advantageous poſtures which they will chooſe in reſiſting force, in pulling, puſhing, or otherwiſe removing weight; from their ſleight and dexterity in throwing ſtones, and other projectiles; and the ſtupenduous cunning made uſe of in leaping.

Hor. What ſtupenduous cunning, I pray?

Cleo. When men would leap or jump a great way, you know, they take a run before they throw themſelves off the ground. It is certain, that, by this means, they jump farther, and with greater force than they could do otherwiſe: the reaſon likewiſe is very plain. The body partakes of, and is moved by two motions; and the velocity, impreſſed upon it by leaping, muſt be added to ſo much, as it retained of the velocity it was put into by running: Whereas, the body of a perſon who takes this leap, as he is ſtanding ſtill, has no other motion, than what is received from the muſcular ſtrength exerted in the act of leaping. See a thouſand boys, as well as men, jump, and they will make uſe of this ſtratagem; but you will not find one of them that does it knowingly for that reaſon. What I have ſaid of that ſtratagem

made uſe of in leaping, I deſire you would apply to the doctrine of good manners, which is taught and practiſed by millions, who never thought on the origin of politeneſs, or ſo much as knew the real benefit it is of to ſociety. The moſt crafty and deſigning will every where be the firſt; that, for intereſt-ſake, will learn to conceal this paſſion of pride, and, in a little time, nobody will ſhow the leaſt ſymptom of it, whilſt he is aſking favours, or ſtands in need of help.

Hor. That rational creatures ſhould do all this, without thinking or knowing what they are about, is inconceivable. Bodily motion is one thing, and the exerciſe of the underſtanding is another; and therefore agreeable poſtures, a graceful mien, an eaſy carriage, and a genteel outward behaviour, in general, may be learned and contracted perhaps without much thought; but good manners are to be obſerved every where, in ſpeaking, writing, and ordering actions to be performed by others.

Cleo. To men who never turned their thoughts that way, it certainly is almoſt inconceivable to what prodigious height, from next to nothing, ſome arts may be, and have been raiſed by human induſtry and application, by the uninterrupted labour and joint experience of many ages, though none but men of ordinary capacity ſhould ever be employed in them. What a noble, as well as beautiful, what a glorious machine is a firſt rate man of war when ſhe is under ſail, well rigged, and well manned! As in bulk and weight it is vaſtly ſuperior to any other moveable body of human invention, ſo there is no other that has an equal variety of differently ſurpriſing contrivances to boaſt of. There are many ſets of hands in the nation, that, not wanting proper materials, would be able in leſs than half a-year, to produce, fit out, and navigate a firſt rate: yet it is certain, that this taſk would be impracticable, if it was not divided and ſubdivided into a great variety of different labours; and it is as certain, that none of theſe labours require any other, than working men of ordinary capacities.

Hor. What would you infer from this?

Cleo. That we often aſcribe to the excellency of man's genius, and the depth of his penetration, what is in reality owing to length of time, and the experience of many generations, all of them very little differing from one another in natural parts and ſagacity. And to know what it muſt have coſt to bring that art of making ſhips for different purpoſes,

to the perfection in which it is now, we are only to consider, in the first place, that many considerable improvements have been made in it within these fifty years and less; and, in the second, that the inhabitants of this island did build, and make use of ships eighteen hundred years ago, and that, from that time to this, they have never been without.

Hor. Which altogether make a strong proof of the slow progress that art has made to be what it is.

Cleo. The Chevalier Reneau has wrote a book, in which he shows the mechanism of sailing, and accounts mathematically for every thing that belongs to the working and steering of a ship. I am persuaded, that neither the first inventors of ships and sailing, or those who have made improvements since in any part of them, ever dreamed of those reasons, any more than now the rudest and most illiterate of the vulgar do, when they are made sailors, which time and practice will do in spite of their teeth. We have thousands of them that were first hauled on board, and detained against their wills, and yet, in less than three years time, knew every rope and every pully in the ship, and without the least scrap of mathematics, had learned the management as well as use of them, much better than the greatest mathematician could have done in all his lifetime, if he had never been at sea. The book I mentioned, among other curious things, demonstrates what angle the rudder must make with the keel, to render its influence upon the ship the most powerful. This has its merit; but a lad of fifteen, who has served a year of his time on board of a hoy, knows every thing that is useful in this demonstration, practically. Seeing the poop always answering the motion of the helm, he only minds the latter, without making the least reflection on the rudder, until in a year or two more his knowledge in sailing, and capacity of steering his vessel, become so habitual to him, that he guides her, as he does his own body, by instinct, though he is half asleep, or thinking on quite another thing.

Hor. If, as you said, and which I now believe to be true, the people who first invented, and afterwards improved upon ships and sailing, never dreamed of those reasons of Monsieur Reneau, it is impossible that they should have acted from them, as motives that induced them *à priori*, to put their inventions and improvements in practice, with knowledge and design, which, I suppose, is what you intended to prove.

Cleo. It is; and I verily believe, not only that the raw beginners, who made the firſt eſſays in either art, good manners as well as ſailing, were ignorant of the true cauſe; the real foundation thoſe arts are built upon in nature; but likewiſe that, even now both arts are brought to great perfection, the greateſt part of thoſe that are moſt expert, and daily making improvements in them, know as little of the *rationale* of them, as their predeceſſors did at firſt: though I believe, at the ſame time, Monſieur Reneau's reaſons to be very juſt, and yours as good as his; that is, I believe, that there is as much truth and ſolidity in your accounting for the origin of good manners, as there is in his for the management of ſhips. They are very ſeldom the ſame ſort of people, thoſe that invent arts and improvements in them, and thoſe that inquire into the reaſon of things: this latter is moſt commonly practiſed by ſuch as are idle and indolent, that are fond of retirement, hate buſineſs, and take delight in ſpeculation; whereas, none ſucceed oftener in the firſt, than active, ſtirring, and laborious men, ſuch as will put their hand to the plough, try experiments, and give all their attention to what they are about.

Hor. It is commonly imagined, that ſpeculative men are beſt at invention of all ſorts.

Cleo. Yet it is a miſtake. Soap-boiling, grain-drying, and other trades and myſteries, are, from mean beginnings, brought to great perfection; but the many improvements that can be remembered to have been made in them, have, for the generality, been owing to perſons, who either were brought up to, or had long practiſed, and been converſant in thoſe trades, and not to great proficients in chemiſtry, or other parts of philoſophy, whom one would naturally expect thoſe things from. In ſome of theſe arts, eſpecially grain or ſcarlet-dying, there are proceſſes really aſtoniſhing; and, by the mixture of various ingredients, by fire and fermentation, ſeveral operations are performed, which the moſt ſagacious naturaliſt cannot account for by any ſyſtem yet known; a certain ſign that they were not invented by reaſoning *à priori*. When once the generality begin to conceal the high value they have for themſelves, men muſt become more tolerable to one another. Now, new improvements muſt be made every day, until ſome of them grow impudent enough, not only to deny the high value they have for themſelves, but likewiſe to pretend that they have greater

value for others, than they have for themſelves. This will bring in complaiſance; and now flattery will ruſh in upon them like a torrent. As ſoon as they are arrived at this pitch of inſincerity, they will find the benefit of it, and teach it their children. The paſſion of ſhame is ſo general, and ſo early diſcovered in all human creatures, that no nation can be ſo ſtupid, as to be long without obſerving and making uſe of it accordingly. The ſame may be ſaid of the credulity of infants, which is very inviting to many good purpoſes. The knowledge of parents is communicated to their offſpring, and every one's experience in life being added to what he learned in his youth, every generation after this muſt be better taught than the preceding; by which means, in two or three centuries, good manners muſt be brought to great perfection.

Hor. When they are thus far advanced, it is eaſy to conceive the reſt: For improvements, I ſuppoſe, are made in good manners, as they are in all other arts and ſciences. But to commence from ſavages, men, I believe, would make but a ſmall progreſs in good manners the firſt three hundred years. The Romans, who had a much better beginning, had been a nation above ſix centuries, and were almoſt maſters of the world, before they could be ſaid to be a polite people. What I am moſt aſtoniſhed at, and which I am now convinced of, is, that the baſis of all this machinery is pride. Another thing I wonder at, is, that you choſe to ſpeak of a nation that entered upon good manners before they had any notions of virtue or religion, which, I believe, there never was in the world.

Cleo. Pardon me, Horatio; I have nowhere inſinuated that they had none, but I had no reaſon to mention them. In the firſt place, you aſked my opinion concerning the uſe of politeneſs in this world, abſtract from the conſiderations of a future ſtate: Secondly, the art of good manners has nothing to do with virtue or religion, though it ſeldom claſhes with either. It is a ſcience that is ever built on the ſame ſteady principle in our nature, whatever the age or the climate may be in which it is practiſed.

Hor. How can any thing be ſaid not to claſh with virtue or religion, that has nothing to do with either, and conſequently diſclaims both?

Cleo. This, I confeſs, ſeems to be a paradox; yet it is true. The doctrine of good manners teaches men to ſpeak well of

all virtues, but requires no more of them in any age or country, than the outward appearance of thoſe in faſhion. And as to ſacred matters, it is every where ſatisfied with ſeeming conformity in outward worſhip; for all the religions in the univerſe are equally agreeable to good manners, where they are national; and pray what opinion muſt we ſay a teacher to be of, to whom all opinions are probably alike? All the precepts of good manners throughout the world have the ſame tendency, and are no more than the various methods of making ourſelves acceptable to others, with as little prejudice to ourſelves as is poſſible: by which artifice we aſſiſt one another in the enjoyments of life, and refining upon pleaſure; and every individual perſon is rendered more happy by it in the fruition of all the good things he can purchaſe, than he could have been without ſuch behaviour. I mean happy, in the ſenſe of the voluptuous. Let us look back on old Greece, the Roman empire, or the great eaſtern nations that flouriſhed before them, and we ſhall find, that luxury and politeneſs ever grew up together, and were never enjoyed aſunder; that comfort and delight upon earth have always employed the wiſhes of the *beau monde;* and that, as their chief ſtudy and greateſt ſolicitude, to outward appearance, have ever been directed to obtain happineſs in this world, ſo what would become of them in the next, ſeems, to the naked eye, always to have been the leaſt of their concern.

Hor. I thank you for your lecture: you have ſatisfied me in ſeveral things, which I had intended to aſk: But you have ſaid ſome others, that I muſt have time to conſider; after which I am reſolved to wait upon you again; for I begin to believe, that, concerning the knowledge of ourſelves, moſt books are either very defective or very deceitful.

Cleo. There is not a more copious, nor a more faithful volume than human nature, to thoſe who will diligently peruſe it; and I ſincerely believe, that I have diſcovered nothing to you, which, if you had thought of it with attention, you would not have found out yourſelf. But I ſhall never be better pleaſed with myſelf, than when I can contribute to any entertainment you ſhall think diverting.

THE FOURTH

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

HORATIO AND CLEOMENES.

CLEOMENES.

Your ſervant.

Hor. What ſay you now, Cleomenes; is it not this without ceremony?

Cleo. You are very obliging.

Hor. When they told me where you was, I would ſuffer nobody to tell you who it was that wanted you, or to come up with me.

Cleo. This is friendly, indeed!

Hor. You ſee what a proficient I am: In a little time you will teach me to lay aſide all good manners.

Cleo. You make a fine tutor of me.

Hor. You will pardon me, I know: this ſtudy of yours is a very pretty place.

Cleo. I like it, becauſe the ſun never enters it.

Hor. A very pretty room!

Cleo. Shall we ſit down in it? It is the cooleſt room in the houſe.

Hor. With all my heart.

Cleo. I was in hopes to have ſeen you before now: you have taken a long time to conſider.

Hor. Juſt eight days?

Cleo. Have you thought on the novelty I ſtarted?

Hor. I have, and think it not void of probability; for that there are no innate ideas, and men come into the world without any knowledge at all, I am convinced of, and therefore it is evident to me, that all arts and ſciences muſt once have had a beginning in ſomebody's brain, whatever oblivion

that may now be loſt in. I have thought twenty times ſince I ſaw you laſt, on the origin of good manners, and what a pleaſant ſcene it would be to a man who is tolerably well verſed in the world, to ſee among a rude nation thoſe firſt eſſays they made of concealing their pride from one another.

Cleo. You ſee by this, that it is chiefly the novelty of things that ſtrikes, as well in begetting our averſion, as in gaining our approbation; and that we may look upon many indifferently, when they come to be familiar to us, though they were ſhocking when they were new. You are now diverting yourſelf with a truth, which eight days ago you would have given an hundred guineas not to have known.

Hor. I begin to believe there is nothing ſo abſurd, that it would appear to us to be ſuch, if we had been accuſtomed to it very young.

Cleo. In a tolerable education, we are ſo induſtriouſly and ſo aſſiduouſly inſtructed, from our moſt early infancy, in the ceremonies of bowing, and pulling off hats, and other rules of behaviour, that even before we are men we hardly look upon a mannerly deportment as a thing acquired, or think converſation to be a ſcience. Thouſand things are called eaſy and natural in poſtures and motions, as well as ſpeaking and writing, that have cauſed infinite pains to others as well as ourſelves, and which we know to be the product of art. What awkward lumps have I known, which the dancing-maſter has put limbs to!

Hor. Yeſterday morning as I ſat muſing by myſelf, an expreſſion of yours which I did not ſo much reflect upon at firſt, when I heard it, came into my head, and made me ſmile. Speaking of the rudiments of good manners in an infant nation, when they once entered upon concealing their pride, you ſaid, that improvements would be made every day, "till ſome of them grew impudent enough, not only to "deny the high value they had for themſelves, but likewiſe to pretend that they had greater value for others than "they had for themſelves."

Cleo. It is certain, that this every where muſt have been the forerunner of flattery.

Hor. When you talk of flattery and impudence, what do you think of the firſt man that had the face to tell his equal, that he was his humble ſervant?

Cleo. If that had been a new compliment, I ſhould have wondered much more at the ſimplicity of the proud man that ſwallowed, than I would have done at the impudence of the knave that made it.

Hor. It certainly once was new: which pray do you believe more ancient, pulling off the hat, or ſaying, your humble ſervant?

Cleo. They are both of them Gothic and modern.

Hor. I believe pulling off the hat was firſt, it being the emblem of liberty.

Cleo. I do not think ſo: for he who pulled of his hat the firſt time, could not have been underſtood, if ſaying your ſervant had not been practiſed: and to ſhow reſpect, a man as well might have pulled off one of his ſhoes, as his hat; if ſaying, your ſervant, had not been an eſtabliſhed and well-known compliment.

Hor. So he might, as you ſay, and had a better authority for the firſt, than he could have for the latter.

Cleo. And to this day, taking of the hat is a dumb ſhow of a known civility in words: Mind now the power of cuſtom, and imbibed notions. We both laugh at this Gothic abſurdity, and are well aſſured, that it muſt have had its origin from the baſeſt flattery; yet neither of us, walking with our hats on, could meet an acquaintance with whom we are not very familiar, without ſhowing this piece of civility; nay, it it would be a pain to us not to do it. But we have no reaſon to think, that the compliment of ſaying, your ſervant, began among equals; but rather that, flatterers having given it to princes, it grew afterwards more common: for all thoſe poſtures and flexions of body and limbs, had in all probability their riſe from the adulation that was paid to conquerors and tyrants; who, having every body to fear, were always alarmed at the leaſt ſhadow of oppoſition, and never better pleaſed than with ſubmiſſive and defenceleſs poſtures: and you ſee, that they have all a tendency that way; they promiſe ſecurity, and are ſilent endeavours to eaſe and rid them, not only of their fears, but likewiſe every ſuſpicion of harm approaching them: ſuch as lying proſtrate on our faces, touching the ground with our heads, kneeling, bowing low, laying our hands upon our breaſts, or holding them behind us, folding our arms together, and all the cringes that can be made to demonſtrate that we neither indulge our eaſe, nor ſtand upon our guard. Theſe are evident ſigns and con-

vincing proofs to a ſuperior, that we have a mean opinion of ourſelves in reſpect to him, that we are at his mercy, and have no thought to reſiſt, much leſs to attack him; and therefore it is highly probable, that ſaying, your ſervant, and pulling off the hat, were at firſt demonſtrations of obedience to thoſe that claimed it.

Hor. Which in tract of time became more familiar, and were made uſe of reciprocally in the way of civility.

Cleo. I believe ſo; for as good manners increaſe, we ſee, that the higheſt compliments are made common, and new ones to ſuperiors invented inſtead of them.

Hor. So the word *grace*, which not long ago was a title, that none but our kings and queens were honoured with, is devolved upon archbiſhops and dukes.

Cleo. It was the ſame with *highneſs*, which is now given to the children, and even the grandchildren of kings.

Hor. The dignity that is annexed to the ſignification of the word *lord*, has been better preſerved with us, than in moſt countries: in Spaniſh, Italian, high and low Dutch, it is proſtituted to almoſt every body.

Cleo. It has had better fate in France; where likewiſe the word *fire* has loſt nothing of its majeſty, and is only uſed to the monarch: whereas, with us, it is a compliment of addreſs, that may be made to a cobler, as well as to a king.

Hor. Whatever alterations may be made in the ſenſe of words, by time; yet, as the world grows more poliſhed, flattery becomes leſs barefaced, and the deſign of it upon man's pride is better diſguiſed than it was formerly. To praiſe a man to his face, was very common among the ancients: conſidering humility to be a virtue particularly required of Chriſtians, I have often wondered how the fathers of the church could ſuffer thoſe acclamations and applauſes, that were made to them whilſt they were preaching; and which, though ſome of them ſpoke againſt them, many of them appear to have been extremely fond of.

Cleo. Human nature is always the ſame; where men exert themſelves to the utmoſt, and take uncommon pains, that ſpend and waſte the ſpirits, thoſe applauſes are very reviving: the fathers who ſpoke againſt them, ſpoke chiefly againſt the abuſe of them.

Hor. It muſt have been very odd to hear people bawling out, as often the greateſt part of an audience did, *Sophos, divinitus, non poteſt melius, mirabiliter, acriter, ingenioſe:* they

told the preachers likewiſe that they were orthodox, and ſometimes called them, *apoſtolus decimus tertius*.

Cleo. Theſe words at the end of a period might have paſſed, but the repetitions of them were often ſo loud and ſo general, and the noiſe they made with their hands and feet, ſo diſturbing in and out of ſeaſon, that they could not hear a quarter of the the ſermon; yet ſeveral fathers owned that it was highly delightful, and ſoothing human frailty.

Hor. The behaviour at churches is more decent, as it is now.

Cleo. Since paganiſm has been quite extinct in the old weſtern world, the zeal of Chriſtians is much diminiſhed from what it was, when they had many oppoſers: the want of fervency had a great hand in aboliſhing that faſhion.

Hor. But whether it was the faſhion or not, it muſt always have been ſhocking.

Cleo. Do you think, that the repeated acclamations, the clapping, ſtamping, and the moſt extravagant tokens of applauſe, that are now uſed at our ſeveral theatres, were ever ſhocking to a favourite actor; or that the huzzas of the mob, or the hideous ſhouts of ſoldiers, were ever ſhocking to perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, to whoſe honour they were made?

Hor. I have known princes that were very much tired with them.

Cleo. When they had too much of them; but never at firſt. In working a machine, we ought to have regard to the ſtrength of its frame: limited creatures are not ſuſceptible of infinite delight; therefore we ſee, that a pleaſure protracted beyond its due bounds becomes a pain: but where the cuſtom of the country is not broken in upon, no noiſe, that is palpably made in our praiſe, and which we may hear with decency, can ever be ungrateful, if it do not outlaſt a reaſonable time; but there is no cordial ſo ſovereign, that it may not become offenſive, by being taken to exceſs.

Hor. And the ſweeter and more delicious liquors are, the ſooner they become fulſome, and the leſs fit they are to ſit by.

Cleo. Your ſimile is not amiſs; and the ſame acclamations that are raviſhing to a man at firſt, and perhaps continue to give him an unſpeakable delight for eight or nine minutes, may become more moderately pleaſing, indifferent, cloying, troubleſome, and even ſo offenſive as to create pain, all in

leſs than three hours, if they were to continue ſo long without intermiſſion.

Hor. There muſt be great witchcraft in ſounds, that they ſhould have ſuch different effects upon us, as we often ſee they have.

Cleo. The pleaſure we receive from acclamations, is not in the hearing; but proceeds from the opinion we form of the cauſe that produces thoſe ſounds, the approbation of others. At the theatres all over Italy you have heard, that, when the whole audience demands ſilence and attention, which there is an eſtabliſhed mark of benevolence and applauſe, the noiſe they make comes very near, and is hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from our hiſſing, which with us is the plaineſt token of diſlike and contempt: and without doubt the cat-calls to affront Fauſtina were far more agreeable to Cozzoni, than the moſt artful ſounds ſhe ever heard from her triumphant rival.

Hor. That was abominable!

Cleo. The Turks ſhow their reſpects to their ſovereigns by a profound ſilence, which is ſtrictly kept throughout the ſeraglio, and ſtill more religiouſly obſerved the nearer you come to the Sultan's apartment.

Hor. This latter is certainly the politer way of gratifying one's pride.

Cleo. All that depends upon mode and cuſtom.

Hor. But the offerings that are made to a man's pride in ſilence, may be enjoyed without the loſs of his hearing, which the other cannot.

Cleo. That is a trifle, in the gratification of that paſſion: we never enjoy higher pleaſure, from the appetite we would indulge, than when we feel nothing from any other.

Hor. But ſilence expreſſes greater homage, and deeper veneration, than noiſe.

Cleo. It is good to ſooth the pride of a drone; but an active man loves to have that paſſion rouſed, and as it were kept awake, whilſt it is gratified; and approbation from noiſe is more unqueſtionable than the other: however, I will not determine between them; much may be ſaid on both ſides. The Greeks and Romans uſed ſounds, to ſtir up men to noble actions, with great ſucceſs; and the ſilence obſerved among the Ottomans has kept them very well in the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion which their ſovereigns require of them: perhaps the one does better where abſolute power is lodged in one perſon, and the other where there is ſome ſhow of liberty.

Both are proper tools to flatter the pride of man, when they are underſtood and made uſe of as ſuch. I have known a very brave man uſed to the ſhouts of war, and highly delighted with loud applauſe, be very angry with his butler, for making a little rattling with his plates.

Hor. An old aunt of mine the other day turned away a very clever fellow, for not walking upon his toes; and I muſt own myſelf, that the ſtamping of footmen, and all unmannerly loudneſs of ſervants, are very offenſive to me; though I never entered into the reaſon of it before now. In our laſt converſation, when you deſcribed the ſymptoms of ſelf-liking, and what the behaviour would be of an uncivilized man, you named laughing: I know it is one of the characteriſtics of our ſpecies; pray do you take that to be likewiſe the reſult of pride?

Cleo. Hobbes is of that opinion, and in moſt inſtances it might be derived from thence; but there are ſome phenomena not to be explained by that hypotheſis; therefore I would chooſe to ſay, that laughter is a mechanical motion, which we are naturally thrown into when we are unaccountably pleaſed. When our pride is feelingly gratified; when we hear or ſee any thing which we admire or approve of; or when we are indulging any other paſſion or appetite, and the reaſon why we are pleaſed ſeems to be juſt and worthy, we are then far from laughing: but when things or actions are odd and out of the way, and happen to pleaſe us when we can give no juſt reaſon why they ſhould do ſo, it is then, generally ſpeaking, that they make us laugh.

Hor. I would rather ſide with what you ſaid was Hobbes's opinion: for the things we commonly laugh at are ſuch as are ſome way or other mortifying, unbecoming, or prejudicial to others.

Cleo. But what will you ſay to tickling, which will make an infant laugh that is deaf and blind?

Hor. Can you account for that by your ſyſtem?

Cleo. Not to my ſatisfaction; but I will tell you what might be ſaid for it. We know by experience, that the ſmoother, the ſofter, and the more ſenſible the ſkin is, the more tickliſh perſons are, generally ſpeaking: we know likewiſe, that things rough, ſharp, and hard, when they touch the ſkin, are diſpleaſing to us, even before they give pain; and that, on the contrary, every thing applied to the ſkin that is ſoft and ſmooth, and not otherwiſe offenſive, is de-

lightful. It is poſſible that gentle touches being impreſſed on ſeveral nervous filaments at once, every one of them producing a pleaſing ſenſation, may create that confuſed pleaſure which is the occaſion of laughter.

Hor. But how came you to think of mechanic motion, in the pleaſure of a free agent?

Cleo. Whatever free agency we may pretend to in the forming of ideas, the effect of them upon the body is independent of the will. Nothing is more directly oppoſite to laughing than frowning: the one draws wrinkles on the forehead, knits the brows, and keeps the mouth ſhut: the other does quite the reverſe; *exporrigere frontem*, you know, is a Latin phraſe for being merry. In ſighing, the muſcles of the belly and breaſt are pulled inward, and the diaphragm is pulled upward more than ordinary; and we ſeem to endeavour, though in vain, to ſqueeze and compreſs the heart, whilſt we draw in our breath in a forcible manner; and when, in that ſqueezing poſture, we have taken in as much air as we can contain, we throw it out with the ſame violence we ſucked it in with, and at the ſame time give a ſudden relaxation to all the muſcles we employed before. Nature certainly deſigned this for ſomething in the labour for ſelf-preſervation which ſhe forces upon us. How mechanically do all creatures that can make any ſound, cry out, and complain in great afflictions, as well as pain and imminent danger! In great torments, the efforts of nature are ſo violent that way, that, to diſappoint her, and prevent the diſcovery of what we feel by ſounds, and which ſhe bids us make, we are forced to draw our mouth into a purſe, or elſe ſuck in our breath, bite our lips, or ſqueeze them cloſe together, and uſe the moſt effectual means to hinder the air from coming out. In grief we ſigh, in mirth we laugh: in the latter little ſtreſs is laid upon the reſpiration, and this is performed with leſs regularity than it is at any other time; all the muſcles without, and every thing within feel looſe, and ſeem to have no other motion than what is communicated to them by the convulſive ſhakes of laughter.

Hor. I have ſeen people laugh till they loſt all their ſtrength.

Cleo How much is all this the reverſe of what we obſerve in ſighing! When pain or depth of woe make us cry out, the mouth is drawn round, or at leaſt into an oval; the lips are thruſted forward without touching each other, and the

tongue is pulled in, which is the reaſon that all nations, when they exclaim, cry, Oh!

Hor. Why pray!

Cleo. Becauſe whilſt the mouth, lips, and tongue, remain in thoſe poſtures, they can ſound no other vowel, and no conſonant at all. In laughing, the lips are pulled back, and ſtrained to draw the mouth in its fulleſt length.

Hor. I would not have you lay a great ſtreſs upon that, for it is the ſame in weeping, which is an undoubted ſign of ſorrow.

Cleo. In great afflictions, where the heart is oppreſſed, and anxieties which we endeavour to reſiſt, few people can weep; but when they do, it removes the oppreſſion, and ſenſibly relieves them: for then their reſiſtance is gone; and weeping in diſtreſs is not ſo much a ſign of ſorrow as it is an indication that we can bear our ſorrow no longer; and therefore it is counted unmanly to weep, becauſe it ſeems to give up our ſtrength, and is a kind of yielding to our grief. But the action of weeping itſelf is not more peculiar to grief than it is to joy in adult people; and there are men who ſhow great fortitude in afflictions, and bear the greateſt misfortunes with dry eyes, that will cry heartily at a moving ſcene in a play. Some are eaſily wrought upon by one thing, others are ſooner affected with another; but whatever touches us ſo forcibly, as to overwhelm the mind, prompts us to weep, and is the mechanical cauſe of tears; and therefore, beſides grief, joy, and pity, there are other things no way relating to ourſelves, that may have this effect upon us; ſuch as the relations of ſurpriſing events and ſudden turns of Providence in behalf of merit; inſtances of heroiſm, of generoſity; in love, in friendſhip in an enemy; or the hearing or reading of noble thoughts and ſentiments of humanity; more eſpecially if theſe things are conveyed to us ſuddenly, in an agreeable manner, and unlooked for, as well as lively expreſſions. We ſhall obſerve, likewiſe, that none are more ſubject to this frailty of ſhedding tears on ſuch foreign accounts, than perſons of ingenuity and quick apprehenſion; and thoſe among them that are moſt benevolent, generous, and open-hearted; whereas, the dull and ſtupid, the cruel, ſelfiſh, and deſigning, are very ſeldom troubled with it. Weeping, therefore, in earneſt, is always a ſure and involuntary demonſtration that ſomething ſtrikes and overcomes the mind, whatever that be which affects it. We find likewiſe, that outward violence,

as ſharp winds and ſmoke, the effluvia of onions, and other volatile ſalts, &c. have the ſame effect upon the external fibres of the lachrymal ducts and glands that are expoſed, which the ſudden ſwelling and preſſure of the ſpirits has upon thoſe within. The Divine Wiſdom is in nothing more conſpicuous than in the infinite variety of living creatures of different conſtruction; every part of them being contrived with ſtupendous ſkill, and fitted with the utmoſt accuracy for the different purpoſes they were deſigned for. The human body, above all, is a moſt aſtoniſhing maſter piece of art: the anatomiſt may have a perfect knowledge of all the bones and their ligaments, the muſcles and their tendons, and be able to diſſect every nerve and every membrane with great exactneſs; the naturaliſt, likewiſe, may dive a great way into the inward economy, and different ſymptoms of health and ſickneſs: they may all approve of, and admire the curious machine; but no man can have a tolerable idea of the contrivance, the art, and the beauty of the workmanſhip itſelf, even in thoſe things he can ſee, without being likewiſe verſed in geometry and mechanics.

Hor. How long is it ago that mathematics were brought into phyſic? that art, I have heard, is brought to great certainty by them.

Cleo. What you ſpeak of is quite another thing. Mathematics never had, nor ever can have, any thing to do with phyſic, if you mean by it the art of curing the ſick. The ſtructure and motions of the body, may perhaps be mechanically accounted for, and all fluids are under the laws of hydroſtatics; but we can have no help from any part of the mechanics in the diſcovery of things, infinitely remote from ſight, and entirely unknown as to their ſhapes and bulks. Phyſicians, with the reſt of mankind, are wholly ignorant of the firſt principles and conſtituent parts of things, in which all the virtues and properties of them conſiſt; and this, as well of the blood and other juices of the body, as the ſimples, and conſequently all the medicines they make uſe of. There is no art that has leſs certainty than theirs, and the moſt valuable knowledge in it ariſes from obſervation, and is ſuch, as a man of parts and application, who has fitted himſelf for that ſtudy, can only be poſſeſſed of after a long and judicious experience. But the pretence to mathematics, or the uſefulneſs of it in the cure of diſeaſes, is a cheat, and as arrant a piece of quackery as a ſtage and a Merry-Andrew.

Hor. But since there is so much skill displayed in the bones, muscles, and grosser parts, is it not reasonable to think, that there is no less art bestowed on those that are beyond the reach of our senses?

Cleo. I nowise doubt it: Microscopes have opened a new world to us, and I am far from thinking, that nature should leave off her work where we can trace her no further. I am persuaded that our thoughts, and the affections of the mind, have a more certain and more mechanical influence upon several parts of the body than has been hitherto or, in all human probability, ever will be discovered. The visible effect they have on the eyes and muscles of the face, must show the least attentive the reason I have for this assertion. When in mens company we are upon our guard, and would preserve our dignity, the lips are shut and the jaws meet; the muscles of the mouth are gently braced, and the rest all over the face are kept firmly in their places: turn away from these into another room, where you meet with a fine young lady that is affable and easy; immediately, before you think on it, your countenance will be strangely altered; and without being conscious of having done any thing to your face, you will have quite another look; and every body that has observed you, will discover in it more sweetness and less severity than you had the moment before. When we suffer the lower jaw to sink down, the mouth opens a little: if in this posture we look straight before us, without fixing our eyes on any thing, we may imitate the countenance of a natural; by dropping, as it were, our features, and laying no stress on any muscle of the face. Infants, before they have learned to swallow their spittle, generally keep their mouths open, and are always drivelling: in them, before they show any understanding, and whilst it is yet very confused, the muscles of the face are, as it were, relaxed, the lower jaw falls down, and the fibres of the lips are unbraced; at least, these phenomena we observe in them, during that time, more often than we do afterwards. In extreme old age, when people begin to doat, those symptoms return; and in most idiots they continue to be observed, as long as they live: Hence it is that we say, that a man wants a slabbering-bib, when he behaves very sillily, or talks like a natural fool. When we reflect on all this, on the one hand, and consider on the other, that none are less prone to anger than idiots, and no creatures are less affected with pride, I would ask,

whether there is not ſome degree of ſelf-liking, that mechanically influences, and ſeems to aſſiſt us in the decent wearing of our faces.

Hor. I cannot reſolve you; what I know very well is, that by theſe conjectures on the mechaniſm of man, I find my underſtanding very little informed: I wonder how we came upon the ſubject.

Cleo. You inquired into the origin of riſibility, which nobody can give an account of, with any certainty; and in ſuch caſes every body is at liberty to make gueſſes, ſo they draw no concluſions from them to the prejudice of any thing better eſtabliſhed. But the chief deſign I had in giving you theſe indigeſted thoughts, was to hint to you, how really myſterious the works of nature are; I mean, how replete they are every where, with a power glaringly conſpicuous, and yet incomprehenſible beyond all human reach; in order to demonſtrate, that more uſeful knowledge may be acquired from unwearied obſervation, judicious experience, and arguing from facts *a poſteriori*, than from the haughty attempts of entering into firſt cauſes, and reaſoning *a priori*. I do not believe there is a man in the world of that ſagacity, if he was wholly unacquainted with the nature of a ſpring-watch, that he would ever find out by dint of penetration the cauſe of its motion, if he was never to ſee the inſide: but every middling capacity may be certain, by ſeeing only the outſide, that its pointing at the hour, and keeping to time, proceed from the exactneſs of ſome curious workmanſhip that is hid; and that the motion of the hands, what number of reſorts ſoever it is communicated by, is originally owing to ſomething elſe that firſt moves within. In the ſame manner we are ſure, that as the effects of thought upon the body are palpable, ſeveral motions are produced by it, by contact, and conſequently mechanically: but the parts, the inſtruments which that operation is performed with, are ſo immenſely far remote from our ſenſes, and the ſwiftneſs of the action is ſo prodigious, that it infinitely ſurpaſſes our capacity to trace them.

Hor. But is not thinking the buſineſs of the ſoul? What has mechaniſm to do with that?

Cleo. The ſoul, whilſt in the body, cannot be ſaid to think, otherwiſe than an architect is ſaid to build a houſe, where the carpenters, bricklayers, &c. do the work, which he chalks out and ſuperintends.

Hor. Which part of the brain do you think the ſoul to be more immediately lodged in; or do you take it to be diffuſed through the whole?

Cleo. I know nothing of it more than what I have told you already.

Hor. I plainly feel that this operation of thinking is a labour, or at leaſt ſomething that is tranſacting in my head, and not in my leg nor my arm: what inſight or real knowledge have we from anatomy concerning it?

Cleo. None at all *a priori:* the moſt conſummate anatomiſt knows no more of it than a butcher's apprentice. We may admire the curious duplicate of coats, and cloſe embroidery of veins and arteries that environ the brain: but when diſſecting it we have viewed the ſeveral pairs of nerves, with their origin, and taken notice of ſome glands of various ſhapes and ſizes, which differing from the brain in ſubſtance, could not but ruſh in view; when theſe, I ſay, have been taken notice of, and diſtinguiſhed by different names, ſome of them not very pertinent, and leſs polite, the beſt naturaliſt muſt acknowledge, that even of theſe large viſible parts there are but few, the nerves and blood-veſſels excepted, at the uſe of which he can give any tolerable gueſſes: but as to the myſterious ſtructure of the brain itſelf, and the more abſtruſe economy of it, that he knows nothing; but that the whole ſeems to be a medullary ſubſtance, compactly treaſured up in infinite millions of imperceptible cells, that, diſpoſed in an unconceivable order, are cluſtered together in a perplexing variety of folds and windings. He will add, perhaps, that it is reaſonable to think this to be the capacious exchequer of human knowledge, in which the faithful ſenſes depoſite the vaſt treaſure of images, conſtantly, as through their organs they receive them; that it is the office in which the ſpirits are ſeparated from the blood, and afterwards ſublimed and volatilized into particles hardly corporeal; and that the moſt minute of theſe are always, either ſearching for, or variouſly diſpoſing the images retained, and ſhooting through the infinite meanders of that wonderful ſubſtance, employ themſelves, without ceaſing, in that inexplicable performance, the contemplation of which fills the moſt exalted genius with amazement.

Hor. Theſe are very airy conjectures; but nothing of all this can be proved: The ſmallneſs of the parts, you will ſay, is the reaſon; but if greater improvements were made in op-

tic glaſſes, and microſcopes could be invented that magnifi-ed objects three or four millions of times more than they do now, then certainly thoſe minute particles, ſo immenſely re-mote from the ſenſes you ſpeak of, might be obſerved, if that which does the work is corporeal at all.

Cleo. That ſuch improvements are impoſſible, is demon-ſtrable; but if it was not, even then we could have little help from anatomy. The brain of an animal cannot be looked and ſearched into whilſt it is alive. Should you take the main ſpring out of a watch, and leave the barrel that con-tained it ſtanding empty, it would be impoſſible to find out what it had been that made it exert itſelf, whilſt it ſhowed the time. We might examine all the wheels, and every other part belonging either to the movement or the motion, and, perhaps, find out the uſe of them, in relation to the turning of the hands; but the firſt cauſe of this labour would remain a myſtery for ever.

Hor. The main ſpring in us is the ſoul, which is immate-rial and immortal: but what is that to other creatures that have a brain like ours, and no ſuch immortal ſubſtance diſ-tinct from body? Do not you believe that dogs and horſes think?

Cleo. I believe they do, though in a degree of perfection far inferior to us.

Hor. What is it that ſuperintends thought in them? where muſt we look for it? which is the main ſpring?

Cleo. I can anſwer you no otherwiſe, than life.

Hor. What is life?

Cleo. Every body underſtands the meaning of the word, though, perhaps, nobody knows the principle of life, that part which gives motion to all the reſt.

Hor. Where men are certain that the truth of a thing is not to be known, they will always differ, and endeavour to impoſe upon one another.

Cleo. Whilſt there are fools and knaves, they will; but I have not impoſed upon you: what I ſaid of the labour of the brain, I told you, was a conjecture, which I recommend no farther to you than you ſhall think it probable. You ought to expect no demonſtration of a thing, that from its nature can admit of none. When the breath is gone, and the cir-culation ceaſed, the inſide of an animal is vaſtly different from what it was whilſt the lungs played, and the blood and juices were in full motion through every part of it. You

have ſeen thoſe engines that raiſe water by the help of fire; the ſteam you know, is that which forces it up; it is as impoſſible to ſee the volatile particles that perform the labour of the brain, when the creature is dead, as in the engine it would be to ſee the ſteam (which yet does all the work), when the fire is out and the water cold. Yet if this engine was ſhown to a man when it was not at work, and it was explained to him, which way it raiſed the water, it would be a ſtrange incredulity, or great dullneſs of apprehenſion, not to believe it; if he knew perfectly well, that by heat, liquids may be rarified into vapour.

Her. But do not you think there is a difference in ſouls; and are they all equally good or equally bad?

Cleo. We have ſome tolerable ideas of matter and motion; or, at leaſt, of what we mean by them, and therefore we may form ideas of things corporeal, though they are beyond the reach of our ſenſes; and we can conceive any portion of matter a thouſand times leſs than our eyes, even by the help of the beſt microſcopes, are able to ſee it: but the ſoul is altogether incomprehenſible, and we can determine but little about it, that is not revealed to us. I believe that the difference of capacities in men, depends upon, and is entirely owing to the difference there is between them, either in the fabric itſelf, that is, the greater or leſſer exactneſs in the compoſure of their frame, or elſe in the uſe that is made of it. The brain of a child, newly born, is *charte blanche;* and, as you have hinted very juſtly, we have no ideas, which we are not obliged for to our ſenſes. I make no queſtion, but that in this rummaging of the ſpirits through the brain, in hunting after, joining, ſeparating, changing, and compounding of ideas with inconceivable ſwiftneſs, under the ſuperintendency of the ſoul, the action of thinking conſiſts. The beſt thing, therefore, we can do to infants after the firſt month, beſides feeding and keeping them from harm, is to make them take in ideas, beginning by the two moſt uſeful ſenſes, the ſight and hearing; and diſpoſe them to ſet about this labour of the brain, and by our example encourage them to imitate us in thinking; which, on their ſide, is very poorly performed at firſt. Therefore the more an infant in health is talked to and jumbled about, the better it is for it, at leaſt, for the firſt two years; and for its attendance in this early education, to the wiſeſt matron in the world, I would prefer an active young wench, whoſe tongue never ſtands

ſtill, that ſhould run about, and never ceaſe diverting and playing with it whilſt it was awake; and where people can afford it, two or three of them, to relieve one another when they are tired, are better than one.

Hor. Then you think children reap great benefit from the nonſenſical chat of nurſes?

Cleo. It is of ineſtimable uſe to them, and teaches them to think, as well as ſpeak, much ſooner and better, than with equal aptitude of parts they would do without. The buſineſs is to make them exert thoſe faculties, and keep infants continually employed about them; for the time which is loſt then, is never to be retrieved.

Hor. Yet we ſeldom remember any thing of what we ſaw or heard, before we were two years old: then what would be loſt, if children ſhould not hear all that impertinence?

Cleo. As iron is to be hammered whilſt it is hot and ductile, ſo children are to be taught when they are young: as the fleſh and every tube and membrane about them, are then tenderer, and will yield ſooner to ſlight impreſſions, than afterwards; ſo many of their bones are but cartilages, and the brain itſelf is much ſofter, and in a manner fluid. This is the reaſon, that it cannot ſo well retain the images it receives, as it does afterwards, when the ſubſtance of it comes to be of a better conſiſtence. But as the firſt images are loſt, ſo they are continually ſucceeded by new ones; and the brain at firſt ſerves as a ſlate to cypher, or a ſampler to work upon. What infants ſhould chiefly learn, is the performance itſelf, the exerciſe of thinking, and to contract a habit of diſpoſing, and with eaſe and agility managing the images retained, to the purpoſe intended; which is never attained better than whilſt the matter is yielding, and the organs are moſt flexible and ſupple. So they but exerciſe themſelves in thinking and ſpeaking, it is no matter what they think on, or what they ſay, that is inoffenſive. In ſprightly infants, we ſoon ſee by their eyes the efforts they are making to imitate us, before they are able; and that they try at this exercise of the brain, and make eſſays to think, as well as they do to hammer out words, we may know from the incoherence of their actions, and the ſtrange abſurdities they utter: but as there are more degrees of thinking well, than there are of ſpeaking plain, the firſt is of the greateſt conſequence.

Hor. I wonder you ſhould talk of teaching, and lay ſo great a ſtreſs on a thing that comes ſo naturally to us, as

thinking: no action is performed with greater velocity by every body: as quick as thought, is a proverb, and in less than a moment a stupid peasant may remove his ideas from London to Japan, as easily as the greatest wit.

Cleo. Yet there is nothing, in which men differ so immensely from one another, as they do in the exercise of this faculty: the differences between them in height, bulk, strength, and beauty, are trifling in comparison to that which I speak of; and there is nothing in the world more valuable, or more plainly perceptible in persons, than a happy dexterity of thinking. Two men may have equal knowledge, and yet the one shall speak as well off-hand, as the other can after two hours study.

Hor. I take it for granted, that no man would study two hours for a speech, if he knew how to make it in less; and therefore I cannot see what reason you have to suppose two such persons to be of equal knowledge.

Cleo. There is a double meaning in the word *knowing*, which you seem not to attend to. There is a great difference between knowing a violin when you see it, and knowing how to play upon it. The knowledge I speak of is of the first sort; and if you consider it in that sense, you must be of my opinion; for no study can fetch any thing out of the brain that is not there. Suppose you conceive a short epistle in three minutes, which another, who can make letters and join them together as fast as yourself, is yet an hour about, though both of you write the same thing, it is plain to me, that the slow person knows as much as you do; at least it does not appear that he knows less. He has received the same images, but he cannot come at them, or at least not dispose them in that order, so soon as yourself. When we see two exercises of equal goodness, either in prose or verse, if the one is made *ex tempore*, and we are sure of it, and the other has cost two days labour, the author of the first is a person of finer natural parts than the other, though their knowledge, for ought we know, is the same. You see, then, the difference between knowledge, as it signifies the treasure of images received, and knowledge, or rather skill, to find out those images when we want them, and work them readily to our purpose,

Hor. When we know a thing, and cannot readily think of it, or bring it to mind, I thought that was the fault of the memory.

Cleo. So it may be in part: but there are men of prodigious reading, that have likewiſe great memories, who judge ill, and ſeldom ſay any thing *a propos*, or ſay it when it is too late. Among the *belluones librorum*, the cormorants of books, there are wretched reaſoners, that have canine appetites, and no digeſtion. What numbers of learned fools do we not meet with in large libraries; from whoſe works it is evident, that knowledge muſt have lain in their heads, as furniture at an upholder's; and the treaſure of the brain was a burden to them inſtead of an ornament! All this proceeds from a defect in the faculty of thinking; an unſkilfulneſs, and want of aptitude in managing, to the beſt advantage, the ideas we have received. We ſee others, on the contrary, that have very fine ſenſe, and no literature at all. The generality of women are quicker of invention, and more ready at repartee, than the men, with equal helps of education; and it is ſurpriſing to ſee, what a conſiderable figure ſome of them make in converſation, when we conſider the ſmall opportunities they have had of acquiring knowledge.

Hor. But ſound judgment is a great rarity among them.

Cleo. Only for want of practice, application, and aſſiduity. Thinking on abſtruſe matters, is not their province in life; and as the ſtations they are commonly placed in find them other employment; but there is no labour of the brain which women are not as capable of performing, at leaſt as well as the men, with the ſame aſſiſtance, if they ſet about, and perſevere in it: ſound judgment is no more than the reſult of that labour: he that uſes himſelf to take things to pieces, to compare them together, to conſider them abſtractly and impartially; that is, he who of two propoſitions he is to examine ſeems not to care which is true; he that lays the whole ſtreſs of his mind on every part alike, and puts the ſame thing in all the views it can be ſeen in: he, I ſay, that employs himſelf moſt often in this exerciſe, is moſt likely *cæteris paribus* to acquire what we call a ſound judgment. The workmanſhip in the make of women ſeems to be more elegant, and better finiſhed: the features are more delicate, the voice is ſweeter, the whole outſide of them is more curiouſly wove, than they are in men; and the difference in the ſkin between theirs and ours is the ſame, as there is between fine cloth and coarſe. There is no reaſon to imagine, that nature ſhould have been more neglectful of them out of ſight, than ſhe has where we can trace her; and

not have taken the ſame care of them in the formation, of the brain, as to the nicety of the ſtructure, and ſuperior accuracy in the fabric, which is ſo viſible in the reſt of their frame.

Hor. Beauty is their attribute, as ſtrength is ours.

Cleo. How minute ſoever thoſe particles of the brain are, that contain the ſeveral images, and are aſſiſting in the operation of thinking, there muſt be a difference in the juſtneſs, the ſymmetry, and exactneſs of them between one perſon and another, as well as there is in the groſſer parts: what the women excel us in, then, is the goodneſs of the inſtrument, either in the harmony or pliableneſs of the organs, which muſt be very material in the art of thinking, and is the only thing that deſerves the name of natural parts, ſince the aptitude I have ſpoke of, depending upon exerciſe, is notoriouſly acquired.

Hor. As the workmanſhip in the brain is rather more curious in women than it is in men, ſo, in ſheep and oxen, dogs and horſes, I ſuppoſe it is infinitely coarſer.

Cleo. We have no reaſon to think otherwiſe.

Hor. But after all, that ſelf, that part of us that wills and wiſhes, that chooſes one thing rather than another, muſt be incorporeal: For if it is matter, it muſt either be one ſingle particle, which I can almoſt feel it is not, or a combination of many, which is more than inconceivable.

Cleo. I do not deny what you ſay; and that the principle of thought and action is inexplicable in all creatures I have hinted already: But its being incorporeal does not mend the matter, as to the difficulty of explaining or conceiving it. That there muſt be a mutual contact between this principle, whatever it is, and the body itſelf, is what we are certain of *a poſteriori;* and a reciprocal action upon each other, between an immaterial ſubſtance and matter, is as incomprehenſible to human capacity, as that thought ſhould be the reſult of matter and motion.

Hor. Though many other animals ſeem to be endued with thought, there is no creature we are acquainted with, beſides man, that ſhows or ſeems to feel a conſciouſneſs of his thinking.

Cleo. It is not eaſy to determine what inſtincts, properties, or capacities other creatures are either poſſeſſed or deſtitute of, when thoſe qualifications fall not under our ſenſes: But it is highly probable, that the principal and moſt neceſſary

parts of the machine are leſs elaborate in animals, that attain to all the perfection they are capable of in three, four, five, or ſix years at furtheſt, than they are in a creature that hardly comes to maturity, its full growth and ſtrength in five and twenty. The conſciouſneſs of a man of fifty, that he is the ſame man that did ſuch a thing at twenty, and was once the boy that had ſuch and ſuch maſters, depends wholly upon the memory, and can never be traced to the bottom: I mean, that no man remembers any thing of himſelf, or what was tranſacted before he was two years old, when he was but a novice in the art of thinking, and the brain was not yet of a due conſiſtence to retain long the images it received: But this remembrance, how far ſoever it may reach, gives us no greater ſurety of ourſelves, than we ſhould have of another that had been brought up with us, and never above a week or a month out of ſight. A mother, when her ſon is thirty years old, has more reaſon to know that he is the ſame whom ſhe brought into the world than himſelf; and ſuch a one, who daily minds her ſon, and remembers the alterations of his features from time to time, is more certain of him that he was not changed in the cradle, than ſhe can be of herſelf. So that all we can know of this conſciouſneſs, is, that it conſiſts in, or is the reſult of the running and rummaging of the ſpirits through all the mazes of the brain, and their looking there for facts concerning ourſelves: He that has loſt his memory, though otherwiſe in perfect health, cannot think better than a fool, and is no more conſcious that he is the ſame he was a-year ago, than he is of a man whom he has known but a fortnight. There are ſeveral degrees of loſing our memory; but he who has entirely loſt it becomes, *ipſo facto*, an idiot.

Hor. I am conſcious of having been the occaſion of our rambling a great way from the ſubject we were upon, but I do not repent of it: What you have ſaid of the economy of the brain, and the mechanical influence of thought upon the groſſer parts, is a noble theme for contemplation on the infinite unutterable wiſdom with which the various inſtincts are ſo viſibly planted in all animals, to fit them for the reſpective purpoſes they were deſigned for; and every appetite is ſo wonderfully interwove with the very ſubſtance of their frame. Nothing could be more ſeaſonable, after you had ſhowed me the origin of politeneſs, and in the management of ſelf-liking, ſet forth the excellency of our ſpecies

beyond all other animals ſo conſpicuouſly in the ſuperlative docility and indefatigable induſtry, by which all multitudes are capable of drawing innumerable benefits, as well for the eaſe and comfort, as the welfare and ſafety of congregate bodies, from a moſt ſtubborn and an unconquerable paſſion, which, in its nature, ſeems to be deſtructive to ſociableneſs and ſociety, and never fails, in untaught men, to render them inſufferable to one another.

Cleo. By the ſame method of reaſoning from facts *à poſteriori*, that has laid open to us the nature and uſefulneſs of ſelf-liking, all the reſt of the paſſions may eaſily be accounted for, and become intelligible. It is evident, that the neceſſaries of life ſtand not every where ready diſhed up before all creatures; therefore they have inſtincts that prompt them to look out for thoſe neceſſaries, and teach them how to come at them. The zeal and alacrity to gratify their appetites, is always proportioned to the ſtrength, and the degree of force with which thoſe inſtincts work upon every creature: But, conſidering the diſpoſition of things upon earth, and the multiplicity of animals that have all their own wants to ſupply, it muſt be obvious, that theſe attempts of creatures, to obey the different calls of nature, will be often oppoſed and fruſtrated, and that, in many animals, they would ſeldom meet with ſucceſs, if every individual was not endued with a paſſion, that, ſummoning all his ſtrength, inſpired him with a tranſporting eagerneſs to overcome the obſtacles that hinder him in his great work of ſelf-preſervation. The paſſion I deſcribe is called anger. How a creature poſſeſſed of this paſſion and ſelf-liking, when he ſees others enjoy what he wants, ſhould be affected with envy, can likewiſe be no myſtery. After labour, the moſt ſavage, and the moſt induſtrious creature ſeeks reſt: Hence we learn, that all of them are furniſhed, more or leſs, with a love of eaſe: Exerting their ſtrength tires them; and the loſs of ſpirits, experience teaches us, is beſt repaired by food and ſleep. We ſee that creatures, who, in their way of living, muſt meet with the greateſt oppoſition, have the greateſt ſhare of anger, and are born with offenſive arms. If this anger was to employ a creature always, without conſideration of the danger he expoſed himſelf to, he would ſoon be deſtroyed: For this reaſon, they are all endued with fear; and the lion himſelf turns tail, if the hunters are armed, and too numerous. From what we obſerve in the behaviour of brutes, we have reaſon to think,

that among the more perfect animals, those of the same species have a capacity, on many occasions, to make their wants known to one another; and we are sure of several, not only that they understand one another, but likewise that they may be made to understand us. In comparing our species with that of other animals, when we consider the make of man, and the qualifications that are obvious in him, his superior capacity in the faculties of thinking and reflecting beyond other creatures, his being capable of learning to speak, and the usefulness of his hands and fingers, there is no room to doubt, that he is more fit for society than any other animal we know.

Hor. Since you wholly reject my Lord Shaftsbury's system, I wish you would give me your opinion at large concerning society, and the sociableness of man; and I will hearken to you with great attention.

Cleo. The cause of sociableness in man, that is, his fitness for society, is no such abstruse matter: A person of middling capacity, that has some experience, and a tolerable knowledge of human nature, may soon find it out, if his desire of knowing the truth be sincere, and he will look for it without prepossession; but most people that have treated on this subject, had a turn to serve, and a cause in view, which they were resolved to maintain. It is very unworthy of a philosopher to say, as Hobbes did, that man is born unfit for society, and allege no better reason for it, than the incapacity that infants come into the world with; but some of his adversaries have as far overshot the mark, when they asserted, that every thing which man can attain to, ought to be esteemed as a cause of his fitness for society.

Hor. But is there in the mind of man a natural affection, that prompts him to love his species beyond what other animals have for theirs; or, are we born with hatred and aversion, that makes us wolves and bears to one another?

Cleo. I believe neither. From what appears to us in human affairs, and the works of nature, we have more reason to imagine, that the desire, as well as aptness of man to associate, do not proceed from his love to others, than we have to believe that a mutual affection of the planets to one another, superior to what they feel to stars more remote, is not the true cause why they keep always moving together in the same solar system.

Hor. You do not believe that the ſtars have any love for one another, I am ſure: Then why more reaſon?

Cleo. Becauſe there are no phenomena plainly to contradict this love of the planets; and we meet with thouſands every day to convince us, that man centres every thing in himſelf, and neither loves nor hates, but for his own ſake. Every individual is a little world by itſelf, and all creatures, as far as their underſtanding and abilities will let them, endeavour to make that ſelf happy: This, in all of them, is the continual labour, and ſeems to be the whole deſign of life. Hence it follows, that in the choice of things, men muſt be determined by the perception they have of happineſs; and no perſon can commit, or ſet about an action, which, at that then preſent time, ſeems not to be the beſt to him.

Hor. What will you then ſay to, *video meliora proboque, deteriora ſequor?*

Cleo. That only ſhows the turpitude of our inclinations. But men may ſay what they pleaſe: Every motion in a free agent, which he does not approve of, is either convulſive, or it is not his; I ſpeak of thoſe that are ſubject to the will. When two things are left to a perſon's choice, it is a demonſtration that he thinks that moſt eligible which he chooſes, how contradictory, impertinent, or pernicious ſoever his reaſon for chooſing it may be: Without this, there could be no voluntary ſuicide; and it would be injuſtice to puniſh men for their crimes.

Hor. I believe every body endeavours to be pleaſed; but it is inconceivable that creatures of the ſame ſpecies ſhould differ ſo much from one another, as men do in their notions of pleaſure; and that ſome of them ſhould take delight in what is the greateſt averſion to others: All aim at happineſs; but the queſtion is, Where is it to be found?

Cleo. It is with complete felicity in this world, as it is with the philoſopher's ſtone: Both have been ſought after many different ways, by wiſe men as well as fools, though neither of them has been obtained hitherto: But in ſearching after either, diligent inquirers have often ſtumbled by chance on uſeful diſcoveries of things they did not look for, and which human ſagacity, labouring with deſign *à priori*, never would have detected. Multitudes of our ſpecies may, in any habitable part of the globe, aſſiſt one another in a common defence, and be raiſed into a politic body, in which men ſhall live comfortably together for many centuries, without being

acquainted with a thouſand things, that if known, would every one of them be inſtrumental to render the happineſs of the public more complete, according to the common notions men have of happineſs. In one part of the world, we have found great and flouriſhing nations that knew nothing of ſhips; and in others, traffic by ſea had been in uſe above two thouſand years, and navigation had received innumerable improvements, before they knew how to ſail by the help of the loadſtone: It would be ridiculous to allege this piece of knowledge, either as a reaſon why man firſt choſe to go to ſea, or as an argument to prove his natural capacity for maritime affairs. To raiſe a garden, it is neceſſary that we ſhould have a ſoil and a climate fit for that purpoſe. When we have theſe, we want nothing beſides patience, but the ſeeds of vegetables and proper culture. Fine walks and canals, ſtatues, ſummer-houſes, fountains, and caſcades, are great improvements on the delights of nature; but they are not eſſential to the exiſtence of a garden. All nations muſt have had mean beginnings; and it is in thoſe, the infancy of them, that the ſociableneſs of man is as conſpicuous as it can be ever after. Man is called a ſociable creature chiefly for two reaſons: Firſt, becauſe it is commonly imagined that he is naturally more fond and deſirous of ſociety, than any other creature. Secondly, becauſe it is manifeſt, that aſſociating in men turns to better account than it poſſibly could do in other animals, if they were to attempt it.

Hor. But why do you ſay of the firſt, that it is commonly imagined; is it not true then?

Cleo. I have a very good reaſon for this caution. All men born in ſociety, are certainly more deſirous of it than any other animal; but whether man be naturally ſo, that is a queſtion: But, if he was, it is no excellency, nothing to brag of: The love man has for his eaſe and ſecurity, and his perpetual deſire of meliorating his condition, muſt be ſufficient motives to make him fond of ſociety, concerning the neceſſitous and helpleſs condition of his nature.

Hor. Do not you fall into the ſame error, which, you ſay, Hobbes has been guilty of, when you talk of man's neceſſitous and helpleſs condition?

Cleo. Not at all; I ſpeak of men and women full grown; and the more extenſive their knowledge is, the higher their quality, and the greater their poſſeſſions are, the more neceſſitous and helpleſs they are in their nature. A nobleman of

twenty-five or thirty thouſand pounds a-year, that has three or four coaches and ſix, and above fifty people to ſerve him, is in his perſon conſidered ſingly, abſtract from what he poſſeſſes, more neceſſitous than an obſcure man that has but fifty pounds a-year, and is uſed to walk a-foot; ſo a lady, who nevet ſtuck a pin in herſelf, and is dreſſed and undreſſed from head to foot like a jointed baby by her woman, and the aſſiſtance of another maid or two, is a more helpleſs creature than doll the diary-maid, who, all the winter long, dreſſes herſelf in the dark in leſs time than the other beſtows in placing of her patches.

Hor. But is the deſire of meliorating our condition which you named, ſo general, that no man is without it?

Cleo. Not one that can be called a ſociable creature; and I believe this to be as much a characteriſtic of our ſpecies as any can be named: For there is not a man in the world, educated in ſociety, who, if he could compaſs it by wiſhing, would not have ſomething added to, taken from, or altered in his perſon, poſſeſſions, circumſtances, or any part of the ſociety he belongs to. This is what is not to be perceived in any creature but man; whoſe great induſtry in ſupplying what he calls his wants, could never have been known ſo well as it is, if it had not been for the unreaſonableneſs, as well as multiplicity of his deſires. From all which, it is manifeſt, that the moſt civilized people ſtand moſt in need of ſociety, and conſequently, none leſs than ſavages. The ſecond reaſon for which I ſaid man was called ſociable, is, that aſſociating together turned to better account in our ſpecies than it would do in any other, if they were to try it. To find out the reaſon of this, we muſt ſearch into human nature for ſuch qualifications as we excel all other animals in, and which the generality of men are endued with, taught or untaught: But in doing this, we ſhould neglect nothing that is obſervable in them, from their moſt early youth to their extreme old age.

Hor. I cannot ſee why you uſe this precaution, of taking in the whole age of man; would it not be ſufficient to mind thoſe qualifications which he is poſſeſſed of, when he is come to the height of maturity, or his greateſt perfection?

Cleo. A conſiderable part of what is called docility in creatures, depends upon the pliableneſs of the parts, and their fitneſs to be moved with facility, which are either entirely loſt, or very much impaired, when they are full grown. There is

nothing in which our ſpecies ſo far ſurpaſſes all others, than in the capacity of acquiring the faculty of thinking and ſpeaking well: that this is a peculiar property belonging to our nature is very certain,, yet it is as manifeſt, that this capacity vaniſhes, when we come to maturity, if till then it has been neglected. The term of life likewiſe, that is commonly enjoyed by our ſpecies, being longer than it is in moſt other animals, we have a prerogative above them in point of time; and man has a greater opportunity of advancing in wiſdom, though not to be acquired but by his own experience, than a creature that lives but half his age, though it had the ſame capacity. A man of threeſcore, *cæteris paribus*, knows better what is to be embraced or avoided in life, than a man of thirty. What Mitio, in excuſing the follies of youth, ſaid to his brother Demea, in the Adelphi, *ad omnia alia Ætate ſapimus rectius*, holds among ſavages, as well as among philoſophers. It is the concurrence of theſe, with other properties, that together compoſe the ſociableneſs of man.

Hor. But why may not the love of our ſpecies be named, as one of theſe properties?

Cleo. Firſt, becauſe, as I have ſaid already, it does not appear, that we have it beyond other animals: ſecondly, becauſe it is out of the queſtion: for if we examine into the nature of all bodies politic, we ſhall find, that no dependance is ever had, or ſtreſs laid on any ſuch affection, either for the raiſing or maintaining of them.

Hor. But the epithet itſelf, the ſignification of the word, imports this love to one another; as is manifeſt from the contrary. One who loves ſolitude, is averſe to company, or of a ſingular, reſerved, and ſullen temper, is the very reverſe of a ſociable man.

Cleo. When we compare ſome men to others, the word, I own, is often uſed in that ſenſe: but when we ſpeak of a quality peculiar to our ſpecies, and ſay, that man is a ſociable creature, the word implies no more, than that in our nature we have a certain fitneſs, by which great multitudes of us cooperating, may be united and formed into one body; that endued with, and able to make uſe of, the ſtrength, ſkill and prudence of every individual, ſhall govern itſelf, and act on all emergencies, as if it was animated by one ſoul, and actuated by one will. I am willing to allow, that among the motives that prompt man to enter into ſociety, there is a deſire which he has naturally after company; but he has it for

his own ſake, in hopes of being the better for it; and he would never wiſh for either company or any thing elſe, but for ſome advantage or other he propoſes to himſelf from it. What I deny is, that man naturally has ſuch a deſire, out of a fondneſs of his ſpecies, ſuperior to what other animals have for theirs. It is a compliment which we commonly pay to ourſelves, but there is no more reality in it, than in our being one another's humble ſervants; and I inſiſt upon it, that this pretended love of our ſpecies, and natural affection we are ſaid to have for one another, beyond other animals, is neither inſtrumental to the erecting of ſocieties, nor ever truſted to in our prudent commerce with one another when aſſociated, any more than if it had no exiſtence. The undoubted baſis of all ſocieties is government: this truth, well examined into, will furniſh us with all the reaſons of man's excellency as to ſociableneſs. It is evident from it, that creatures, to be raiſed into a community, muſt, in the firſt place, be governable: This is a qualification that requires fear, and ſome degree of underſtanding; for a creature not ſuſceptible of fear, is never to be governed; and the more ſenſe and courage it has, the more refractory and untractable it will be, without the influence of that uſeful paſſion: and again, fear without underſtanding puts creatures only upon avoiding the danger dreaded, without conſidering what will become of themſelves afterwards: ſo wild birds will beat out their brains againſt the cage, before they will ſave their lives by eating. There is a great difference between being ſubmiſſive, and being governable; for he who barely ſubmits to another, only embraces what he diſlikes, to ſhun what he diſlikes more; and we may be very ſubmiſſive, and be of no uſe to the perſon we ſubmit to: but to be governable, implies an endeavour to pleaſe, and a willingneſs to exert ourſelves in behalf of the perſon that governs: but love beginning every where at home, no creature can labour for others, and be eaſy long, whilſt ſelf is wholly out of the queſtion: therefore a creature is then truly governable, when reconciled to ſubmiſſion, it has learned to conſtrue his ſervitude to his own advantage; and reſts ſatisfied with the account it finds for itſelf, in the labour it performs for others. Several kind of animals are, or may, with little trouble, be made thus governable; but there is not one creature ſo tame, that it can be made to ſerve its own ſpecies, but man; yet without this he could never have been made ſociable.

Hor. But was not man by nature deſigned for ſociety?

Cleo. We know from revelation that man was made for ſociety.

Hor. But if it had not been revealed, or you had been a Chineſe, or a Mexican, what would you anſwer me as a philoſopher?

Cleo. That nature had deſigned man for ſociety, as ſhe has made grapes for wine.

Hor. To make wine is an invention of man, as it is to preſs oil from olives and other vegetables, and to make ropes of hemp.

Cleo. And ſo it is to form a ſociety of independent multitudes; and there is nothing that requires greater ſkill.

Hor. But is not the ſociableneſs of man the work of nature, or rather of the author of nature, Divine Providence?

Cleo. Without doubt: But ſo is the innate virtue and peculiar aptitude of every thing; that grapes are fit to make wine, and barley and water to make other liquors, is the work of Providence; but it is human ſagacity that finds out the uſes we make of them: all the other capacities of man likewiſe, as well as his ſociableneſs, are evidently derived from God, who made him: every thing therefore that our induſtry can produce or compaſs, is originally owing to the Author of our being. But when we ſpeak of the works of nature, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of art, we mean ſuch as were brought forth without our concurrence. So nature, in due ſeaſon produces peaſe; but in England you cannot have them green in January, without art and uncommon induſtry. What nature deſigns, ſhe executes herſelf: there are creatures, of whom it is viſible, that nature has deſigned them for ſociety, as is moſt obvious in bees, to whom ſhe has given inſtincts for that purpoſe, as appears from the effects. We owe our being and every thing elſe to the great Author of the univerſe; but as ſocieties cannot ſubſiſt without his preſerving power, ſo they cannot exiſt without the concurrence of human wiſdom: all of them muſt have a dependance either on mutual compact, or the force of the ſtrong exerting itſelf upon the patience of the weak. The difference between the works of art, and thoſe of nature, is ſo immenſe, that it is impoſſible not to know them aſunder. Knowing, *a priori*, belongs to God only, and Divine Wiſdom acts with an original certainty, of which, what we call demonſtration, is but an imperfect borrowed copy. Amongſt

the works of nature, therefore, we ſee no trials nor eſſays; they are all complete, and ſuch as ſhe would have them, at the firſt production; and, where ſhe has not been interrupted, highly finiſhed, beyond the reach of our underſtanding, as well as ſenſes. Wretched man, on the contrary is ſure of nothing, his own exiſtence not excepted, but from reaſoning, *a poſteriori*. The conſequence of this is, that the works of art and human invention are all very lame and defective, and moſt of them pitifully mean at firſt: our knowledge is advanced by ſlow degrees, and ſome arts and ſciences require the experience of many ages, before they can be brought to any tolerable perfection. Have we any reaſon to imagine that the ſociety of bees, that ſent forth the firſt ſwarm, made worſe wax or honey than any of their poſterity have produced ſince? And again the laws of nature are fixed and unalterable: in all her orders and regulations there is a ſtibility, no where to be met with in things of human contrivance and approbation;

Quid placet aut odio eſt, quod non mutabile credas?

Is it probable, that amongſt the bees, there has ever been any other form of government than what every ſwarm ſubmits to now? What an infinite variety of ſpeculations, what ridiculous ſchemes have not been propoſed amongſt men, on the ſubject of government; what diſſentions in opinion, and what fatal quarrels has it not been the occaſion of! and which is the beſt form of it, is a queſtion to this day undecided. The projects, good and bad, that have been ſtated for the benefit, and more happy eſtabliſhment of ſociety, are innumerable; but how ſhort ſighted is our ſagacity, how fallible human judgment! What has ſeemed highly advantageous to mankind in one age, has often been found to be evidently detrimental by the ſucceeding; and even among contemporaries, what is revered in one country, is the abomination of another. What changes have ever bees made in their furniture or architecture? have they ever made cells that were not ſexangular, or added any tools to thoſe which nature furniſhed them with at the beginning? What mighty ſtructures have been raiſed, what prodigious works have been performed by the great nations of the world! Toward all theſe nature has only found materials: the quarry yields

marble, but it is the ſculptor that makes a ſtatue of it. To have the infinite variety of iron tools that have been invented, nature has given us nothing but the oar, which ſhe has hid in the bowels of the earth.

Hor. But the capacity of the workmen, the inventors of arts, and thoſe that improved them, has had a great ſhare in bringing thoſe labours to perfection; and their genius they had from nature.

Cleo. So far as it depended upon the make of their frame, the accuracy of the machine they had, and no further; but this I have allowed already; and if you remember what I have ſaid on this head, you will find, that the part which nature contributed toward the ſkill and patience of every ſingle perſon, that had a hand in thoſe works, was very inconſiderable.

Hor. If I have not miſunderſtood you, you would inſinuate two things: Firſt, that the fitneſs of man for ſociety, beyond other animals, is ſomething real; but that it is hardly perceptible in individuals, before great numbers of them are joined together, and artfully managed. Secondly, that this real ſomething, this ſociableneſs, is a compound that conſiſts in a concurrence of ſeveral things, and not in any one palpable quality, that man is endued with, and brutes are deſtitute of.

Cleo. You are perfectly right: every grape contains a ſmall quantity of juice, and when great heaps of them are ſqueezed together, they yield a liquor, which by ſkilful management may be made into wine: but if we conſider how neceſſary fermentation is to the vinoſity of the liquor, I mean, how eſſential is it to its being wine, it will be evident to us, that without great impropriety of ſpeech, it cannot be ſaid, that in every grape there is wine.

Hor. Vinoſity, ſo far as it is the effect of fermentation, is adventitious; and what none of the grapes could ever have received whilſt they remained ſingle; and, therefore, if you would compare the ſociableneſs of man to the vinoſity of wine, you muſt ſhow me, that in ſociety there is an equivalent for fermentation; I mean ſomething that individual perſons are not actually poſſeſſed of, whilſt they remain ſingle, and which likewiſe is palpably adventitious to multitudes when joined together; in the ſame manner as fermentation is to the juice of grapes, and as neceſſary and eſſential to the

completing of ſociety as that is, that ſame fermentation, to procure the vinoſity of wine.

Cleo. Such an equivalent is demonſtrable in mutual commerce: for if we examine every faculty and qualification, from and for which we judge and pronounce man to be a ſociable creature beyond other animals, we ſhall find, that a very conſiderable, if not the greateſt part of the attribute is acquired, and comes upon multitudes, from their converſing with one another. *Fabricando fabri ſimus.* Men become ſociable, by living together in ſociety. Natural affection prompts all mothers to take care of the offſpring they dare own; ſo far as to feed and keep them from harm, whilſt they are helpleſs: but where people are poor, and the women have no leiſure to indulge themſelves in the various expreſſions of their fondneſs for their infants, which fondling of them ever increaſes, they are often very remiſs in tending and playing with them; and the more healthy and quiet ſuch children are, the more they are neglected. This want of prattling to, and ſtirring up the ſpirits in babes, is often the principal cauſe of an invincible ſtupidity, as well as ignorance, when they are grown up; and we often aſcribe to natural incapacity, what is altogether owing to the neglect of this early inſtruction. We have ſo few examples of human creatures, that never converſed with their own ſpecies, that it is hard to gueſs, what man would be, entirely untaught; but we have good reaſon to believe, that the faculty of thinking would be very imperfect in ſuch a one, if we conſider, that the greateſt docility can be of no uſe to a creature, whilſt it has nothing to imitate, nor any body to teach it.

Hor. Philoſophers therefore are very wiſely employed, when they diſcourſe about the laws of nature; and pretend to determine what a man in the ſtate of nature would think, and which way he would reaſon concerning himſelf and the creation, uninſtructed.

Cleo. Thinking, and reaſoning juſtly, as Mr. Locke has rightly obſerved, require time and practice. Thoſe that have not uſed themſelves to thinking, but juſt on their preſent neceſſities, make poor work of it, when they try beyond that. In remote parts, and ſuch as are leaſt inhabited, we ſhall find our ſpecies come nearer the ſtate of nature, than it does in and near great cities and conſiderable towns, even in the moſt civilized nations. Among the moſt ignorant of ſuch people, you may learn the truth of my aſſertion; talk to them about

any thing, that requires abſtract thinking, and there is not one in fifty that will underſtand you, any more than a horſe would; and yet many of them are uſeful labourers, and cunning enough to tell lies and deceive. Man is a rational creature, but he is not endued with reaſon when he comes into the world; nor can he afterwards put it on when he pleaſes, at once, as he may a garment. Speech likewiſe is a characteriſtic of our ſpecies, but no man is born with it; and a dozen generations proceeding from two ſavages would not produce any tolerable language; nor have we reaſon to believe, that a man could be taught to ſpeak after five-and-twenty, if he had never heard others before that time.

Hor. The neceſſity of teaching, whilſt the organs are ſupple, and eaſily yield to impreſſion, which you have ſpoke of before, I believe is of great weight, both in ſpeaking and thinking; but could a dog, or a monkey, ever be taught to ſpeak?

Cleo. I believe not; but I do not think, that creatures of another ſpecies had ever the pains beſtowed upon them, that ſome children have, before they can pronounce one word. Another thing to be conſidered is, that though ſome animals perhaps live longer than we do, there is no ſpecies that remains young ſo long as ours; and beſides what we owe to the ſuperior aptitude to learn, which we have from the great accuracy of our frame and inward ſtructure, we are not a little indebted for our docility, to the ſlowneſs and long gradation of our increaſe, before we are full grown: the organs in other creatures grow ſtiff, before ours are come to half their perfection.

Hor. So that in the compliment we make to our ſpecies, of its being endued with ſpeech and ſociableneſs, there is no other reality, than that by care and induſtry men may be taught to ſpeak, and be made ſociable, if the diſcipline begins when they are very young.

Cleo. Not otherwiſe. A thouſand of our ſpecies all grown up, that is above five-and-twenty, could never be made ſociable, if they had been brought up wild, and were all ſtrangers to one another.

Hor. I believe they could not be civilized, if their education began ſo late.

Cleo. But I mean barely ſociable, as it is the epithet peculiar to man; that is, it would be impoſſible by art to govern them, any more than ſo many wild horſes, unleſs you had two

or three times that number to watch and keep them in awe. Therefore it is highly probable, that moſt ſocieties, and beginnings of nations, were formed in the manner Sir William Temple ſuppoſes it; but nothing near ſo faſt: and I wonder how a man of his unqueſtionable good ſenſe, could form an idea of juſtice, prudence, and wiſdom, in an untaught creature; or think of a civilized man, before there was any civil ſociety, and even before men had commenced to aſſociate.

Hor. I have read it, I am ſure, but I do not remember what it is you mean.

Cleo. He is juſt behind you; the third ſhelf from the bottom; the firſt volume: pray reach it me, it is worth your hearing.——It is in his Eſſay on Government. Here it is. "For if we conſider man multiplying his kind by the birth "of many children, and his cares by providing even neceſſa-"ry food for them, until they are able to do it for themſelves "(which happens much later to the generations of men, and "makes a much longer dependence of children upon pa-"rents, than we can obſerve among any other creatures); if "we conſider not only the cares, but the induſtry he is "forced to, for the neceſſary ſuſtenance of his helpleſs brood, "either in gathering the natural fruits, or raiſing thoſe "which are purchaſed with labour and toil: if he be forced "for ſupply of this ſtock, to catch the tamer creatures, and "hunt the wilder, ſometimes to exerciſe his courage in de-"fending his little family, and fighting with the ſtrong and "ſavage beaſts (that would prey upon him, as he does upon "the weak and mild): if we ſuppoſe him diſpoſing with diſ-"cretion and order, whatever he gets among his children, "according to each of their hunger or need; ſometimes lay-"ing up for to-morrow, what was more than enough for to-"day; at other times pinching himſelf, rather than ſuffering "any of them ſhould want.——

Hor. This man is no ſavage, or untaught creature; he is fit to be a juſtice of peace.

Cleo. Pray let me go on, I ſhall only read this paragraph: "And as each of them grows up, and able to ſhare in the "common ſupport, teaching them, both by leſſon and ex-"ample, what he is now to do, as the ſon of his family, and "what hereafter, as the father of another; inſtructing them "all, what qualities are good, and what are ill, for their "health and life, or common ſociety (which will certainly "comprehend whatever is generally eſteemed virtue or vice

" among men), cheriſhing and encouraging diſpoſitions to " the good, disfavouring and puniſhing thoſe to the ill: And " laſtly, among the various accidents of life, lifting up his " eyes to Heaven, when the earth affords him no relief; and " having recourſe to a higher and a greater nature, whenever " he finds the frailty of his own: we muſt needs conclude, " that the children of this man cannot fail of being bred up " with a great opinion of his wiſdom, his goodneſs his va- " lour, and his piety. And if they ſee conſtant plenty in " the family, they believe well of his fortune too."

Hor. Did this man ſpring out of the earth, I wonder, or did he drop from the ſky?

Cleo. There is no manner of abſurdity in ſuppoſing——.

Hor. The diſcuſſion of this would too far engage us: I am ſure, I have tired you already with my impertinence.

Cleo. You have pleaſed me extremely: the queſtions you have aſked have all been very pertinent, and ſuch as every man of ſenſe would make, that had not made it his buſineſs to think on theſe things. I read that paſſage on purpoſe to you, to make ſome uſe of it; but if you are weary of the ſubject, I will not treſpaſs upon your patience any longer.

Hor. You miſtake me; I begin to be fond of the ſubject: but before we talk of it any further, I have a mind to run over that Eſſay again; it is a great while ſince I read it: and after that I ſhall be glad to reſume the diſcourſe; the ſooner the better. I know you are a lover of fine fruit, if you will dine with me to-morrow, I will give you an ananas.

Cleo. I love your company ſo well, that I can refuſe no opportunity of enjoying it.

Hor. A revoir then.

Cleo. Your ſervant.

THE FIFTH

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

HORATIO AND CLEOMENES.

CLEOMENES.

It excels every thing; it is extremely rich without being luſcious, and I know nothing to which I can compare the taſte of it: to me it ſeems to be a collection of different fine flavours, that puts me in mind of ſeveral delicious fruits, which yet are all outdone by it.

Hor. I am glad it pleaſed you.

Cleo. The ſcent of it likewiſe is wonderfully reviving. As you was paring it, a fragrancy, I thought, perfumed the room that was perfectly cordial.

Hor. The inſide of the rhind has an oilineſs of no diſagreeable ſmell, that upon handling of it ſticks to ones fingers for a conſiderable time; for though now I have waſhed and wiped my hands, the flavour of it will not be entirely gone from them by to-morrow morning.

Cleo. This was the third I ever taſted of our own growth; the production of them in theſe northern climates, is no ſmall inſtance of human induſtry, and our improvements in gardening. It is very elegant to enjoy the wholeſome air of temperate regions, and at the ſame time be able to raiſe fruit to its higheſt maturity, that naturally requires the ſun of the Torrid Zone.

Hor. It is eaſy enough to procure heat, but the great art conſiſts in finding out, and regulating the degrees of it at pleaſure; without which it would be impoſſible to ripen an ananas here, and to compaſs this with that exactneſs, as it is done by the help of thermometers, was certainly a fine invention.

Cleo. I do not care to drink any more.

Hor. Juſt as you pleaſe; otherwiſe I was going to name a health, which would not have come *mal à propos.*

Cleo. Whoſe is that, pray?

Hor. I was thinking on the man to whom we are in a great meaſure obliged for the production and culture of the exotic, we were ſpeaking of, in this kingdom; Sir Matthew Decker, the firſt ananas or pine-apple, that was brought to perfection in England, grew in his garden at Richmond.

Cleo. With all my heart; let us finiſh with that; he is a beneficent, and, I believe, a very honeſt man.

Hor. It would not be eaſy to name another, who, with the ſame knowledge of the world, and capacity of getting money, is equally diſintereſted and inoffenſive.

Cleo. Have you conſidered the things we diſcourſed of yeſterday?

Hor. I have thought on nothing elſe ſince I ſaw you: This morning I went through the whole Eſſay, and with more attention than I did formerly: I like it very well; only that paſſage which you read yeſterday, and ſome others to the ſame purpoſe, I cannot reconcile with the account we have of man's origin from the Bible: Since all are deſcendants from Adam, and conſequently of Noah and his poſterity, how came ſavages into the world?

Cleo. The hiſtory of the world, as to very ancient times, is very imperfect: What devaſtations have been made by war, by peſtilence, and by famine; what diſtreſs ſome men have been drove to, and how ſtrangely our race has been diſperſed and ſcattered over the earth ſince the flood, we do not know.

Hor. But perſons that are well inſtructed themſelves, never fail of teaching their children; and we have no reaſon to think, that knowing, civilized men, as the ſons of Noah were, ſhould have neglected their offspring; but it is altogether incredible, as all are deſcendants from them, that ſucceeding generations, inſtead of increaſing in experience and wiſdom, ſhould learn backward, and ſtill more and more abandon their broods in ſuch a manner, as to degenerate at laſt to what you call the ſtate of nature.

Cleo. Whether you intend this as a ſarcaſm or not, I do not know; but you have raiſed no difficulty that can render the truth of the ſacred hiſtory ſuſpected. Holy writ has acquainted us with the miraculous origin of our ſpecies, and the ſmall remainder of it after the deluge: But it is far from

informing us of all the revolutions that have happened among mankind ſince: The Old Teſtament hardly touches upon any particulars that had no relation to the Jews; neither does Moſes pretend to give a full account of every thing that happened to, or was tranſacted by our firſt parents: He names none of Adam's daughters, and takes no notice of ſeveral things that muſt have happened in the beginning of the world, as is evident from Cain's building a city, and ſeveral other circumſtances; from which it is plain, that Moſes meddled with nothing but what was material, and to his purpoſe; which, in that part of his hiſtory, was to trace the deſcent of the Patriarchs, from the firſt man. But that there are ſavages is certain: Moſt nations of Europe have met with wild men and women in ſeveral parts of the world, that were ignorant of the uſe of letters, and among whom they could obſerve no rule or government.

Hor. That there are ſavages, I do not queſtion; and from the great number of ſlaves that are yearly fetched from Africa, it is manifeſt, that in ſome parts there muſt be vaſt ſwarms of people, that have not yet made a great hand of their ſociableneſs: But how to derive them from all the ſons of Noah, I own, is paſt my ſkill.

Cleo. You find it as difficult to account for the loſs of the many fine arts, and uſeful inventions of the ancients, which the world has certainly ſuſtained. But the fault I find with Sir William Temple, is in the character of his ſavage. Juſt reaſoning, and ſuch an orderly way of proceeding, as he makes him act in, are unnatural to a wild man: In ſuch a one, the paſſions muſt be boiſterous, and continually joſtling, and ſucceeding one another; no untaught man could have a regular way of thinking, or purſue any one deſign with ſteadineſs.

Hor. You have ſtrange notions of our ſpecies: But has not a man, by the time that he comes to maturity, ſome notions of right and wrong, that are natural?

Cleo. Before I anſwer your queſtion, I would have you conſider, that, among ſavages, there muſt be always a great difference as to the wildneſs or tameneſs of them. All creatures naturally love their offſpring whilſt they are helpleſs, and ſo does man: But in the ſavage ſtate, men are more liable to accidents and misfortunes than they are in ſociety, as to the rearing of their young ones; and, therefore, the children of ſavages muſt very often be put to their ſhifts, ſo as hardly

to remember, by the time that they are grown up, that they had any parents. If this happens too early, and they are dropt or loſt before they are four or five years of age, they muſt periſh; either die for want, or be devoured by beaſts of prey, unleſs ſome other creature takes care of them. Thoſe orphans that ſurvive, and become their own maſters very young, muſt, when they are come to maturity, be much wilder than others, that have lived many years under the tuition of parents.

Hor. But would not the wildeſt man you can imagine, have from nature ſome thoughts of juſtice and injuſtice?

Cleo. Such a one, I believe, would naturally, without much thinking in the caſe, take every thing to be his own that he could lay his hands on.

Hor. Then they would ſoon be undeceived, if two or three of them met together.

Cleo. That they would ſoon diſagree and quarrel, is highly probable; but I do not believe they ever would be undeceived.

Hor. At this rate, men could never be formed into an aggregate body: How came ſociety into the world?

Cleo. As I told you, from private families; but not without great difficulty, and the concurrence of many favourable accidents; and many generations may paſs before there is any likelihood of their being formed into a ſociety.

Hor. That men are formed into ſocieties, we ſee: But if they are all born with that falſe notion, and they can never be undeceived, which way do you account for it?

Cleo. My opinion concerning this matter, is this: Self-preſervation bids all creatures gratify their appetites, and that of propagating his kind never fails to affect a man in health, many years before he comes to his full growth. If a wild man and a wild woman ſhould meet very young, and live together for fifty years undiſturbed, in a mild wholeſome climate, where there is plenty of proviſions, they might ſee a prodigious number of deſcendants: For, in the wild ſtate of nature, man multiplies his kind much faſter, than can be allowed of in any regular ſociety: No male at fourteen would be long without a female, if he could get one; and no female of twelve would be refractory, if applied to, or remain long uncourted, if there were men.

Hor. Conſidering that conſanguinity would be no bar among theſe people, the progeny of two ſavages might ſoon amount

to hundreds: All this I can grant you; but as parents, no better qualified, could teach their children but little, it would be impoſſible for them to govern theſe ſons and daughters when they grew up, if none of them had any notions of right or wrong; and ſociety is as far off as ever; the falſe principle, which you ſay all men are born with, is an obſtacle never to be ſurmounted.

Cleo. From that falſe principle, as you call it, the right men naturally claim to every thing they can get, it muſt follow, that man will look upon his children as his property, and make ſuch uſe of them as is moſt conſiſtent with his intereſt.

Hor. What is the intereſt of a wild man that purſues nothing with ſteadineſs.

Cleo. The demand of the predominant paſſion for the time it laſts.

Hor. That may change every moment, and ſuch children would be miſerably managed.

Cleo. That is true; but ſtill managed they would be; I mean they would be kept under, and forced to do as they they were bid, at leaſt till they were ſtrong enough to reſiſt. Natural affection would prompt a wild man to love and cheriſh his child; it would make him provide food, and other neceſſaries for his ſon, till he was ten or twelve years old, or perhaps longer: But this affection is not the only paſſion he has to gratify; if his ſon provokes him by ſtubbornneſs, or doing otherwiſe than he would have him, this love is ſuſpended; and if his diſpleaſure be ſtrong enough to raiſe his anger, which is as natural to him as any other paſſion, it is ten to one but he will knock him down: If he hurts him very much, and the condition he has put his ſon in, moves his pity, his anger will ceaſe; and, natural affection returning, he will fondle him again, and be ſorry for what he has done. Now, if we conſider that all creatures hate and endeavour to avoid pain, and that benefits beget love in all that receive them, we ſhall find, that the conſequence of this management would be, that the ſavage child would learn to love and fear his father: Theſe two paſſions, together with the eſteem which we naturally have for every thing that far excels us, will ſeldom fail of producing that compound which we call reverence.

Hor. I have it now; you have opened my eyes, and I ſee the origin of ſociety, as plain as I do that table.

Cleo. I am afraid the proſpect is not ſo clear yet as you imagine.

Hor. Why ſo? The grand obſtacles are removed: Untaught men, it is true, when they are grown up, are never to be governed; and our ſubjection is never ſincere where the ſuperiority of the governor is not very apparent: But both theſe are obviated; the reverence we have for a perſon when we are young, is eaſily continued as long as we live; and where authority is once acknowledged, and that acknowledgment well eſtabliſhed, it cannot be a difficult matter to govern. If thus a man may keep up his authority over his children, he will do it ſtill with greater eaſe over his grand-children: For a child that has the leaſt reverence for his parents, will ſeldom refuſe homage to the perſon to whom he ſees his father pay it. Beſides, a man's pride would be a ſufficient motive for him to maintain the authority once gained; and, if ſome of his progeny proved refractory, he would leave no ſtone unturned, by the help of the reſt to reduce the diſobedient. The old man being dead, the authority from him would devolve upon the eldeſt of his children, and ſo on.

Cleo. I thought you would go on too faſt. If the wild man had underſtood the nature of things, and been endued with general knowledge, and a language ready made, as Adam was by miracle, what you ſay might have been eaſy; but an ignorant creature that knows nothing but what his own experience has taught him, is no more fit to govern than he is fit to teach the mathematics.

Hor. He would not have above one or two children to govern at firſt; and his experience would increaſe by degrees, as well as his family. This would require no ſuch conſummate knowledge.

Cleo. I do not ſay it would: An ordinary capacity of a man tolerably well educated, would be ſufficient to begin with; but a man who never had been taught to curb any of his paſſions, would be very unfit for ſuch a taſk. He would make his children, as ſoon as they were able, aſſiſt him in getting food, and teach them how and where to procure it. Savage children, as they got ſtrength, would endeavour to imitate every action they ſaw their parents do, and every ſound they heard them make; but all the inſtructions they received, would be confined to things immediately neceſſary. Savage parents would often take offence at their children, as they grew up, without a cauſe; and as theſe increaſed in

years, ſo natural affection would decreaſe in the other. The conſequence would be, that the children would often ſuffer for failings that were not their own. Savages would often diſcover faults in the conduct of what was paſt; but they would not be able to eſtabliſh rules for future behaviour, which they would approve of themſelves for any continuance; and want of foreſight would be an inexhauſtible fund for changes in their reſolutions. The ſavage's wife, as well as himſelf, would be highly pleaſed to ſee their daughters impregnated and bring forth; and they would both take great delight in their grand-children.

Hor. I thought, that in all creatures the natural affection of parents had been confined to their own young ones.

Cleo. It is ſo in all but man; there is no ſpecies but ours, that are ſo conceited of themſelves, as to imagine every thing to be theirs. The deſire of dominion is a never-failing conſequence of the pride that is common to all men; and which the brat of a ſavage is as much born with as the ſon of an emperor. This good opinion we have of ourſelves, makes men not only claim a right to their children, but likewiſe imagine, that they have a great ſhare of juriſdiction over their grandchildren. The young ones of other animals, as ſoon as they can help themſelves, are free; but the authority which parents pretend to have over their children, never ceaſes: How general and unreaſonable this eternal claim is naturally in the heart of man, we may learn from the laws; which, to prevent the uſurpation of parents, and reſcue children from their dominion, every civil ſociety is forced to make; limiting paternal authority to a certain term of years. Our ſavage pair would have a double title to their grand-children, from their undoubted property in each parent of them; and all the progeny being ſprung from their own ſons and daughters, without intermixture of foreign blood, they would look upon the whole race to be their natural vaſſals; and I am perſuaded, that the more knowledge and capacity of reaſoning this firſt couple acquired, the more juſt and unqueſtionable their ſovereignty over all their deſcendants would appear to them, though they ſhould live to ſee the fifth or ſixth generation.

Hor. Is it not ſtrange that nature ſhould ſend us all into the world with a viſible deſire after government, and no capacity for it at all?

Cleo. What ſeems ſtrange to you, is an undeniable inſtance of Divine Wiſdom. For, if all had not been born with this deſire, all muſt have been deſtitute of it; and multitudes could never have been formed into ſocieties, if ſome of them had not been poſſeſſed of this thirſt of dominion. Creatures may commit force upon themſelves, they may learn to warp their natural appetites, and divert them from their proper objects: but peculiar inſtincts, that belong to a whole ſpecies, are never to be acquired by art or diſcipline; and thoſe that are born without them, muſt remain deſtitute of them for ever. Ducks run to the water as ſoon as they are hatched; but you can never make a chicken ſwim any more than you can teach it to ſuck.

Hor. I underſtand you very well. If pride had not been innate to all men, none of them could ever have been ambitious: And as to the capacity of governing, experience ſhows us, that it is to be acquired; but how to bring ſociety into the world, I know no more than the wild man himſelf. What you have ſuggeſted to me of his unſkilfulneſs, and want of power to govern himſelf, has quite deſtroyed all the hopes I had conceived of ſociety from this family. But would religion have no influence upon them? Pray, how came that into the world?

Cleo. From God, by miracle.

Hor. Obſcurum per obſcurius. I do not underſtand miracles, that break in upon, and ſubvert the order of nature; and I have no notion of things that come to paſs, *en depit de bon ſens*, and are ſuch; that judging from ſound reaſon and known experience, all wiſe men would think themſelves mathematically ſure that they could never happen.

Cleo. It is certain, that by the word miracle, is meant an interpoſition of the Divine Power, when it deviates from the common courſe of nature.

Hor. As when matters, eaſily combuſtible, remain whole and untouched in the midſt of a fire fiercely burning, or lions in vigour, induſtriouſly kept hungry, forbear eating what they are moſt greedy after. Theſe miracles are ſtrange things.

Cleo. They are not pretended to be otherwiſe; the etymology of the word imports it; but it is almoſt as unaccountable, that men ſhould diſbelieve them, and pretend to be of a religion that is altogether built upon miracles.

Hor. But when I aſked you that general queſtion, why did you confine yourſelf to revealed religion?

Cleo. Becauſe nothing, in my opinion, deſerves the name of religion, that has not been revealed: The Jewiſh was the firſt that was national, and the Chriſtian the next.

Hor. But Abraham, Noah, and Adam himſelf, were no Jews, and yet they had religion.

Cleo. No other than what was revealed to them, God appeared to our firſt parents, and gave them commands immediately after he had created them: The ſame intercourſe was continued between the Supreme Being and the Patriarchs; but the father of Abraham was an idolater.

Hor. But the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans had religion, as well as the Jews.

Cleo. Their groſs idolatry, and abominable worſhip, I call ſuperſtition.

Hor. You may be as partial as you pleaſe, but they all called their worſhip religion, as well as we do ours. You ſay, man brings nothing with him, but his paſſions; and when I aſked you, how religion came into the world, I meant what is there in man's nature that is not acquired, from which he has a tendency to religion; what is it that diſpoſes him to it?

Cleo. Fear.

Hor. How! *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor:* Are you of that opinion.

Cleo. No man upon earth leſs: But that noted Epicurean axiom, which irreligious men are ſo fond of, is a very poor one; and it is ſilly, as well as impious to ſay, that fear made a God; you may as juſtly ſay, that fear made graſs, or the ſun and the moon: but when I am ſpeaking of ſavages, it is not claſhing either with good ſenſe, nor the Chriſtian religion, to aſſert, that, whilſt ſuch men are ignorant of the true Deity, and yet very defective in the art of thinking and reaſoning, fear is the paſſion that firſt gives them an opportunity of entertaining ſome glimmering notions of an inviſible Power; which afterwards, as by practice and experience they grow greater proficients, and become more perfect in the labour of the brain, and the exerciſe of their higheſt faculty, will infallibly lead them to the certain knowledge of an Infinite and Eternal Being; whoſe power and wiſdom will always appear the greater, and more ſtupendous to them, the more they themſelves advance in knowledge and penetration, though both ſhould be carried on to a much higher pitch, than it is poſſible for our limited nature ever to arrive at.

Hor. I beg your pardon for ſuſpecting you; though I am glad it gave you an opportunity of explaining yourſelf. The word *fear*, without any addition, ſounded very harſh; and even now I cannot conceive how an inviſible cauſe ſhould become the object of a man's fear, that ſhould be ſo entirely untaught, as you have made the firſt ſavage: which way can any thing inviſible, and that affects none of the ſenſes, make an impreſſion upon a wild creature?

Cleo. Every miſchief and every diſaſter that happens to him, of which the cauſe is not very plain and obvious; exceſſive heat and cold; wet and drought, that are offenſive; thunder and lightning, even when they do no viſible hurt; noiſes in the dark, obſcurity itſelf, and every thing that is frightful and unknown, are all adminiſtering and contributing to the eſtabliſhment of this fear. The wildeſt man that can be conceived, by the time that he came to maturity, would be wiſe enough to know, that fruits and other eatables are not to be had, either always, or every where: this would naturally put him upon hoarding, when he had good ſtore: his proviſion might be ſpoiled by the rain: he would ſee that trees were blaſted, and yielded not always the ſame plenty: he might not always be in health, or his young ones might grow ſick, and die, without any wounds or external force to be ſeen. Some of theſe accidents might at firſt eſcape his attention, or only alarm his weak underſtanding, without occaſioning much reflection for ſome time; but as they come often, he would certainly begin to ſuſpect ſome inviſible cauſe; and, as his experience increaſed, be confirmed in his ſuſpicion. It is likewiſe highly probable, that a variety of different ſufferings, would make him apprehend ſeveral ſuch cauſes; and at laſt induce him to believe, that there was a great number of them, which he had to fear. What would very much contribute to this credulous diſpoſition, and naturally lead him into ſuch a belief, is a falſe notion we imbibe very early, and which we may obſerve in infants, as ſoon as by their looks, their gueſtures, and the ſigns they make, they begin to be intelligible to us.

Hor. What is that, pray?

Cleo. All young children ſeem to imagine, that every thing thinks and feels in the ſame manner as they do themſelves; and, that they generally have this wrong opinion of things inanimate, is evident, from a common practice among them; whenever they labour under any misfortune, which their

own wildneſs, and want of care have drawn upon them. In all ſuch caſes, you ſee them angry at and ſtrike, a table, a chair, the floor, or any thing elſe, that can ſeem to have been acceſſary to their hurting themſelves, or the production of any other blunder, they have committed. Nurſes we ſee, in compliance to their frailty, ſeem to entertain the ſame ridiculous ſentiments; and actually appeaſe wrathful brats, by pretending to take their part: Thus you will often ſee them very ſerious, in ſcolding at and beating, either the real object of the baby's indignation, or ſomething elſe, on which the blame of what has happened, may be thrown, with any ſhow of probability. It is not to be imagined, that this natural folly ſhould be ſo eaſily cured in a child, that is deſtitute of all inſtruction and commerce with his own ſpecies, as it is in thoſe that are brought up in ſociety, and hourly improved by converſing with others that are wiſer than themſelves; and I am perſuaded, that a wild man would never get entirely rid of it whilſt he lived.

Hor. I cannot think ſo meanly of human underſtanding.

Cleo. Whence came the Dryades and Hama-Dryades? How came it ever to be thought impious to cut down, or even to wound large venerable oaks or other ſtately trees; and what root did the Divinity ſpring from, which the vulgar, among the ancient heathens, apprehended to be in rivers and fountains?

Hor. From the roguery of deſigning prieſts, and other impoſtors, that invented thoſe lies, and made fables for their own advantage.

Cleo. But ſtill it muſt have been want of underſtanding; and a tincture, ſome remainder of that folly which is diſcovered in young children, that could induce, or would ſuffer men to believe thoſe fables. Unleſs fools actually had frailties, knaves could not make uſe of them.

Hor. There may be ſomething in it; but, be that as it will, you have owned, that man naturally loves thoſe he receives benefits from; therefore, how comes it, that man, finding all the good things he enjoys to proceed from an inviſible cauſe, his gratitude ſhould not ſooner prompt him to be religious, than his fear?

Cleo. There are ſeveral ſubſtantial reaſons, why it does not. Man takes every thing to be his own, which he has from nature: ſowing and reaping, he thinks, deſerve a crop, and whatever he has the leaſt hand in, is always reckoned to be

his. Every art, and every invention, as ſoon as we know them, are our right and property; and whatever we perform by the aſſiſtance of them, is, by the courteſy of the ſpecies to itſelf, deemed to be our own. We make uſe of fermentation, and all the chemiſtry of nature, without thinking ourſelves beholden to any thing but our own knowledge. She that churns the cream, makes the butter; without inquiring into the power by which the thin lymphatic particles are forced to ſeparate themſelves, and ſlide away from the more unctuous. In brewing, baking, cooking, and almoſt every thing we have a hand in, nature is the drudge that makes all the alterations, and does the principal work; yet all, forſooth, is our own. From all which, it is manifeſt, that man, who is naturally for making every thing centre in himſelf, muſt, in his wild ſtate, have a great tendency, and be very prone to look upon every thing he enjoys as his due; and every thing he meddles with, as his own performance. It requires knowledge and reflection; and a man muſt be pretty far advanced in the art of thinking juſtly, and reaſoning conſequentially, before he can, from his own light, and without being taught, be ſenſible of his obligations to God. The leſs a man knows, and the more ſhallow his underſtanding is, the leſs he is capable either of enlarging his proſpect of things, or drawing conſequences from the little which he does know. Raw, ignorant, and untaught men, fix their eyes on what is immediately before, and ſeldom look further than, as it is vulgarly expreſſed, the length of their noſes. The wild man, if gratitude moved him, would much ſooner pay his reſpects to the tree he gathers his nuts from, than he would think of an acknowledgement to him who had planted it; and there is no property ſo well eſtabliſhed, but a civilized man would ſuſpect his title to it ſooner, than a wild one would queſtion the ſovereignty he has over his own breath. Another reaſon, why fear is an elder motive to religion than gratitude, is, that an untaught man would never ſuſpect that the ſame cauſe, which he received good from, would ever do him hurt; and evil, without doubt, would always gain his attention firſt.

Hor. Men, indeed, ſeem to remember one ill turn, that is ſerved them, better than ten good ones; one month's ſickneſs better than ten years health.

Cleo. In all the labours of ſelf-preſervation, man is intent on avoiding what is hurtful to him; but in the enjoyment of

what is pleaſant, his thoughts are relaxed, and he is void of care: he can ſwallow a thouſand delights, one after another, without aſking queſtions; but the leaſt evil makes him inquiſitive whence it came, in order to ſhun it. It is very material, therefore, to know the cauſe of evil; but to know that of good, which is always welcome, is of little uſe; that is, ſuch a knowledge ſeems not to promiſe any addition to his happineſs. When a man once apprehends ſuch an inviſible enemy, it is reaſonable to think, that he would be glad to appeaſe, and make him his friend, if he could find him out; it his highly probable, likewiſe, that in order to this, he would ſearch, inveſtigate, and look every where about him; and that finding all his inquiries upon earth in vain, he would lift up his eyes to the ſky.

Hor. And ſo a wild man might; and look down and up again long enough before he would be the wiſer. I can eaſily conceive, that a creature muſt labour under great perplexities, when it actually fears ſomething, of which it knows neither what it is, nor where it is; and that, though a man had all the reaſon in the world to think it inviſible, he would ſtill be more afraid of it in the dark, than when he could ſee.

Cleo. Whilſt a man is but an imperfect thinker, and wholly employed in furthering ſelf preſervation in the moſt ſimple manner, and removing the immediate obſtacles he meets with in that purſuit, this affair, perhaps, affects him but little; but when he comes to be a tolerable reaſoner, and has leiſure to reflect, it muſt produce ſtrange chimeras and ſurmiſes; and a wild couple would not converſe together long, before they would endeavour to expreſs their minds to one another concerning this matter; and, as in time they would invent and agree upon, certain ſounds of diſtinction for ſeveral things, of which the ideas would often occur, ſo I believe, that this inviſible cauſe would be one of the firſt, which they would coin a name for. A wild man and a wild woman would not take leſs care of their helpleſs brood than other animals; and it is not to imagined, but the children that were brought up by them, though without inſtruction or diſcipline, would, before they were ten years old, obſerve in their parents this fear of an inviſible cauſe. It is incredible likewiſe, conſidering, how much men differ from one another in features, complexion, and temper, that all ſhould form the ſame idea of this cauſe; from whence it would follow, that as ſoon as any conſiderable

number of men could intelligibly converſe together, it would appear, that there were different opinions among them concerning the inviſible cauſe: the fear and acknowledgment of it being univerſal, and man always attributing his own paſſions to every thing, which he conceives to think, every body would be ſolicitous to avoid the hatred and ill-will, and, if it was poſſible, to gain the friendſhip of ſuch a power. If we conſider theſe things, and what we know of the nature of man, it is hardly to be conceived, that any conſiderable number of our ſpecies could have any intercourſe together long, in peace or otherwiſe, but wilful lies would be raiſed concerning this power, and ſome would pretend to have ſeen or heard it. How different opinions about inviſible power, may, by the malice and deceit of impoſtors, be made the occaſion of mortal enmity among multitudes, is eaſily accounted for. If we want rain very much, and I can be perſuaded, that it is your fault we have none, there needs greater cauſe to quarrel; and nothing has happened in the world, of prieſtcraft or inhumanity, folly or abomination, on religious accounts, that cannot be ſolved or explained, with the leaſt trouble, from theſe data, and the principle of fear.

Hor. I think I muſt yield to you, that the firſt motive of religion, among ſavages, was fear; but you muſt allow me in your turn, that from the general thankfulneſs that nations have always paid to their gods, for ſignal benefits and ſucceſs; the many hecatombs that have been offered after victories; and the various inſtitutions of games and feſtivals; it is evident, that when men came to be wiſer, and more civilized, the greateſt part of their religion was built upon gratitude.

Cleo. You labour hard, I ſee, to vindicate the honour of our ſpecies; but we have no ſuch cauſe to boaſt of it: and I ſhall demonſtrate to you, that a well-weighed conſideration, and a thorough underſtanding of our nature, will give us much leſs reaſon to exult in our pride, than it will furniſh us with, for the exerciſe of our humility. In the firſt place, there is no difference between the original nature of a ſavage, and that of a civilized man: they are both born with fear; and neither of them, if they have their ſenſes about them, can live many years, but an inviſible Power, will, at one time or other, become the object of that fear; and this will happen to every man, whether he be wild and alone, or in ſociety, and under the beſt diſcipline. We know by expe-

rience, that empires, ſtates, and kingdoms, may excel in arts and ſciences, politeneſs, and all worldly wiſdom, and at the ſame time be ſlaves to the groſſeſt idolatry, and ſubmit to all the inconſiſtencies of a falſe religion. The moſt civilized people have been as fooliſh and abſurd in ſacred worſhip as it is poſſible for any ſavages to be; and the firſt have often been guilty of ſtudied cruelties, which the latter would never have thought of. The Carthaginians were a ſubtle flouriſhing people, an opulent and formidable nation, and Hannibal had half conqueredthe Romans, when ſtill to their idols they ſacrificed the children of their chief nobility. And, as to private perſons, there are innumerable inſtances in the moſt polite ages of men of ſenſe and virtue, that have entertained the moſt miſerable, unworthy, and extravagant notions of the Supreme Being. What confuſed and unaccountable apprehenſions muſt not ſome men have had of Providence, to act as they did! Alexander Severus, who ſucceeded Heliogabalus, was a great reformer of abuſes, and thought to be as good a prince as his predeceſſor was a bad one: In his palace he had an oratory, a cabinet ſet aſide for his private devotion, where he had the images of Appollonius Tyanæus, Orpheus, Abraham, Jeſus Chriſt, and ſuch like gods, ſays his hiſtorian. What makes you ſmile?

Hor. To think how induſtrious prieſts are in concealing a man's failings, when they would have you think well of him. What you ſay of Severus, I had read before; when looking one day for ſomething in Moreri, I happened to caſt my eye on the article of that emperor, where no mention is made either of Orpheus or Appollonius! which, remembering the paſſage in Lampridius, I wondered at; and thinking that I might have been miſtaken, I again conſulted that author, where I found it, as you have related it. I do not queſtion but Moreri left this out on purpoſe to repay the civilities of the emperor to the Chriſtians, whom, he tells us, Severus had been very favourable to.

Cleo. That is not impoſſible in a Roman Catholic. But what I would ſpeak to, in the ſecond place, is the feſtivals you mentioned, the hecatombs after victories, and the general thankfulneſs of nations to their gods. I deſire you would conſider, that in ſacred matters, as well as all human affairs, there are rites and ceremonies, and many demonſtrations of reſpect to be ſeen, that to outward appearance ſeem to pro-

ceed from gratitude, which, upon due examination, will be found to have been originally the result of fear. At what time the floral games were first instituted, is not well known: but they never were celebrated every year constantly, before a very unseasonable spring put the senate upon the decree that made them annual. To make up the true compound of reverence or veneration, love and esteem are as necessary ingredients as fear; but the latter alone is capable of making men counterfeit both the former; as is evident from the duties that are outwardly paid to tyrants, at the same time that inwardly they are execrated and hated. Idolators have always behaved themselves to every invisible cause they adored, as men do to a lawless arbitrary power; when they reckon it as captious, haughty, and unreasonable, as they allow it to be sovereign, unlimited, and irresistible. What motive could the frequent repetitions of the same solemnities spring from, whenever it was suspected that the least holy trifle had been omitted? You know, how often the same farce was once acted over again, because after every performance there was still room to apprehend that something had been neglected. Do but consult, I beg of you, and call to mind your own reading; cast your eyes on the infinite variety of ideas men have formed to themselves, and the vast multitude of divisions they have made of the invisible cause, which every one imagines to influence human affairs: run over the history of all ages; look into every considerable nation, their straits and calamities, as well as victories and successes; the lives of great generals, and other famous men, their adverse fortune and prosperity: mind at which times their devotion was most fervent; when oracles were most consulted, and on what accounts the gods were most frequently addressed. Do but calmly consider every thing you can remember relating to superstition, whether grave, ridiculous, or execrable, and you will find, in the first place, that the heathens, and all that have been ignorant of the true Deity, though many of them were persons otherwise of great knowledge, fine understanding, and tried probity, have represented their gods, not as wise, benign, equitable, and merciful; but, on the contrary, as passionate, revengeful, capricious, and unrelenting beings; not to mention the abominable vices and gross immoralities, the vulgar were taught to ascribe to them: In the second, that for every one instance that men have addressed themselves to an invisible

cauſe, from a principle of gratitude, there are a thouſand in every falſe religion to convince you, that divine worſhip, and men's ſubmiſſion to Heaven, have always proceeded from their fear. The word religion itſelf, and the fear of God, are ſynonimous; and had man's acknowledgment been originally founded in love, as it is in fear, the craft of impoſtors could have made no advantage of the paſſion; and all their boaſted acquaintance with gods and goddeſſes, would have been uſeleſs to them, if men had worſhipped the immortal powers, as they called their idols, out of gratitude.

Hor. All lawgivers and leaders of people gained their point, and acquired what they expected from thoſe pretences, which is reverence; and which to produce, you have owned yourſelf, love and eſteem to be as requiſite as fear.

Cleo. But from the laws they impoſed on men, and the puniſhments they annexed to the breach and neglect of them, it is eaſily ſeen which of the ingredients they moſt relied upon.

Hor. It would be difficult to name a king, or other great man, in very ancient times, who attempted to govern an infant nation that laid no claim to ſome commerce or other with an inviſible power, either held by himſelf or his anceſtors. Between them and Moſes, there is no other difference, than that he alone was a true prophet, and really inſpired, and all the reſt were impoſtors.

Cleo. What would you infer from this?

Hor. That we can ſay no more for ourſelves, than what men of all parties and perſuaſions have done in all ages, every one for their cauſe, viz. That they alone were in the right, and all that differed from them in the wrong.

Cleo. Is it not ſufficient that we can ſay this of ourſelves with truth and juſtice, after the ſtricteſt examination; when no other cauſe can ſtand any teſt, or bear the leaſt inquiry? A man may relate miracles that never were wrought, and give an account of things that never happened; but a thouſand years hence, all knowing men will agree, that nobody could have wrote Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*, unleſs he had been a great mathematician. When Moſes acquainted the Iſraelites with what had been revealed to him, he told them a truth, which nobody then upon earth knew but himſelf.

Hor. You mean the unity of God, and his being the Author of the univerſe.

Cleo. I do ſo.

Hor. But is not every man of ſenſe capable of knowing this from his reaſon?

Cleo. Yes, when the art of reaſoning conſequentially is come to that perfection, which it has been arrived at theſe ſeveral hundred years, and himſelf has been led into the method of thinking juſtly. Every common ſailor could ſteer a courſe through the midſt of the ocean, as ſoon as the uſe of the loadſtone, and the mariners compaſs were invented. But before that, the moſt expert navigator would have trembled at the thoughts of ſuch an enterpriſe. When Moſes acquainted, and imbued the poſterity of Jacob with this ſublime and important truth, they were degenerated into ſlaves, attached to the ſuperſtition of the country they dwelled in; and the Egyptians, their maſters, though they were great proficients in many arts and ſciences, and more deeply ſkilled in the myſteries of nature than any other nation then was, had the moſt abject and abominable notions of the Deity, which it is poſſible to conceive; and no ſavages could have exceeded their ignorance and ſtupidity, as to the Supreme Being, the inviſible cauſe that governs the world. He taught the Iſraelites *a priori;* and their children, before they were nine or ten years old, knew what the greateſt philoſophers did not attain to, by the light of nature, till many ages after.

Hor. The advocates for the ancients will never allow, that any modern philoſophers have either thought or reaſoned better, than men did in former ages.

Cleo. Let them believe their eyes: What you ſay every man of ſenſe may know, by his own reaſon, was in the beginning of Chriſtianity conteſted, and denied with zeal and vehemence by the greateſt men in Rome. Celſus, Symmachus, Porphyry, Hierocles, and other famous rhetoricians, and men of unqueſtionable good ſenſe, wrote in defence of idolatry, and ſtrenuouſly maintained the plurality and multiplicity of their gods. Moſes lived about fifteen hundred years before the reign of Auguſtus. If in a place where I was very well aſſured that nobody underſtood any thing of colouring or drawing, a man ſhould tell me, that he had acquired the art of painting by inſpiration, I ſhould be more ready to laugh at him than to believe him; but if I ſaw him draw ſeveral fine portraits before my face, my unbelief would ceaſe, and I ſhould think it ridiculous any longer to ſuſpect his veracity. All the accounts that other lawgivers and founders of nations have given of the deities, which they or

their predeceſſors converſed with, contained ideas that were unworthy of the Divine Being; and by the light of nature only, it is eaſily proved, that they muſt have been falſe: But the image which Moſes gave the Jews of the Supreme Being, that He was One, and had made heaven and earth, will ſtand all teſts, and is a truth that will outlaſt the world. Thus, I think, I have fully proved, on the one hand, that all true religion muſt be revealed, and could not have come into the world without miracle; and, on the other, that what all men are born with towards religion, before they receive any inſtruction, is fear.

Hor. You have convinced me many ways, that we are poor creatures by nature; but I cannot help ſtruggling againſt thoſe mortifying truths, when I hear them ſtarted firſt. I long to hear the origin of ſociety, and I continually retard your account of it myſelf with new queſtions.

Cleo. Do you remember where we left off?

Hor. I do not think we have made any progreſs yet; for we have nothing towards it but a wild man, and a wild woman, with ſome children and grandchildren, which they are not able either to teach or govern.

Cleo. I thought that the introduction of the reverence, which the wildeſt ſon muſt feel, more or leſs, for the moſt ſavage father, if he ſtays with him, had been a conſiderable ſtep.

Hor. I thought ſo too, till you deſtroyed the hopes I had conceived of it yourſelf, by ſhowing me the incapacity of ſavage parents to make uſe of it: And ſince we are ſtill as far from the origin of ſociety as ever we were, or ever can be, in my opinion, I deſire, that before you proceed to that main point, you would anſwer what you have put off once already, which is my queſtion concerning the notions of right and wrong: I cannot be eaſy before I have your ſentiments on this head.

Cleo. Your demand is very reaſonable, and I will ſatisfy you as well as I can. A man of ſenſe, learning, and experience, that has been well educated, will always find out the difference between right and wrong in things diametrically oppoſite; and there are certain facts, which he will always condemn, and others which he will always approve of: To kill a member of the ſame ſociety that has not offended us, or to rob him, will always be bad; and to cure the ſick, and be beneficent to the public, he will always pronounce to be

good actions: and for a man to do as he will be done by, he will always ſay is a good rule in life; and not only men of great accompliſhments, and ſuch as have learned to think abſtractly, but all men of middling capacities, that have been brought up in ſociety, will agree in this, in all countries and in all ages. Nothing likewiſe ſeems more true to all, that have made any tolerable uſe of their faculty of thinking, than that out of the ſociety, before any diviſion was made, either by contract or otherwiſe, all men would have an equal right to the earth: But do you believe that our wild man, if he had never ſeen any other human creature but his ſavage conſort and his progeny, would ever have entertained the ſame notions of right and wrong,

Hor. Hardly; his ſmall capacity in the art of reaſoning, would hinder him from doing it ſo juſtly; and the power he found he had over his children, would render him very arbitrary.

Cleo. But without that incapacity, ſuppoſe that at threeſcore he was, by a miracle, to receive a fine judgment, and the faculty of thinking and reaſoning conſequentially, in as great a perfection as the wiſeſt man ever did, do you think he would ever alter his notion of the right he had to every thing he could manage, or have other ſentiments in relation to himſelf and his progeny, than from his behaviour it appeared he entertained, when he ſeemed to act almoſt altogether by inſtinct?

Hor. Without doubt: For, if judgment and reaſon were given him, what could hinder him from making uſe of thoſe faculties, as well as others do?

Cleo. You ſeem not to conſider, that no man can reaſon but *a poſteriori*, from ſomething that he knows, or ſuppoſes to be true: What I ſaid of the difference between right and wrong, I ſpoke of perſons who remembered their education, and lived in ſociety; or, at leaſt, ſuch as plainly ſaw others of their own ſpecies, that were independent of them, and either their equals or ſuperiors.

Hor. I begin to believe you are in the right: But at ſecond thoughts, why might not a man, with great juſtice, think himſelf the ſovereign of a place, where he knew no human creature but his own wife, and the deſcendents of both?

Cleo. With all my heart: But may there not be an hundred ſuch ſavages in the world with large families, that might never meet, nor ever hear of one another?

Hor. A thouſand, if you will, and then there would be ſo many natural ſovereigns.

Cleo. Very well: what I would have you obſerve, is, that there are things which are commonly eſteemed to be eternal truths, that an hundred or a thouſand people of fine ſenſe and judgment, could have no notion of. What if it ſhould be true, that every man is born with this domineering ſpirit, and that we cannot be cured of it, but by our commerce with others, and the experience of facts, by which we are convinced that we have no ſuch right? Let us examine a man's whole life, from his infancy to his grave, and ſee which of the two ſeems to be moſt natural to him; a deſire of ſuperiority, and graſping every thing to himſelf, or a tendency to act according to the reaſonable notions of right and wrong; and we ſhall find, that, in his early youth, the firſt is very conſpicuous; that nothing appears of the ſecond before he has received ſome inſtructions, and that this latter will always have leſs influence upon his actions, the more uncivilized he remains: From whence I infer, that the notions of right and wrong are acquired; for if they were as natural, or if they affected us as early as the opinion, or rather the inſtinct we are born with, of taking every thing to be our own, no child would ever cry for his eldeſt brother's play-things.

Hor. I think there is no right more natural, nor more reaſonable, than that which men have over their children; and what we owe our parents can never be repaid.

Cleo. The obligations we have to good parents for their care and education, is certainly very great.

Hor. That is the leaſt. We are indebted to them for our being; we might be educated by an hundred others, but without them we could never have exiſted.

Cleo. So we could have no malt liquor, without the ground that bears the barley: I know no obligations for benefits that never were intended. Should a man ſee a fine parcel of cherries, be tempted to eat, and devour them accordingly with great ſatisfaction, it is poſſible he might ſwallow ſome of the ſtones, which we know by experience do not digeſt: If twelve or fourteen months after, he ſhould find a little ſprig of a cherry-tree growing in a field, where nobody would expect it, if he recollected the time, he had been there before, it is not improbable that he might gueſs at the true reaſon how it came there. It is poſſible, likewiſe, that for curioſity's ſake, this man might take up this plant, and take

care of it; I am well assured, that whatever became of it afterwards, the right he would have to it from the merit of his action, would be the same which a savage would have to his child.

Hor. I think there would be a vast difference between the one and the other: the cherry-stone was never part of himself, nor mixed with his blood.

Cleo. Pardon me; all the difference, as vast as you take it to be, can only consist in this, That the cherry-stone was not part of the man who swallowed it, so long, nor received so great an alteration in its figure, whilst it was, as some other things which the savage swallowed, were, and received in their figure, whilst they stayed with him.

Hor. But he that swallowed the cherry-stone, did nothing to it; it produced a plant as a vegetable, which it might have done as well without his swallowing it.

Cleo. That is true; and I own, that as to the cause to which the plant owes its existence, you are in the right: but I plainly spoke as to the merit of the action, which in either case could only proceed from their intentions as free agents; and the savage might, and would in all probability act with as little design to get a child, as the other had eat cherries in order to plant a tree. It is commonly said, that our children are our own flesh and blood: but this way of speaking is strangely figurative. However, allow it to be just, though rhetoricians have no name for it, what does it prove, what benevolence in us, what kindness to others in the intention?

Hor. You shall say what you please, but I think, that nothing can endear children to their parents more, than the reflection that they are their own flesh and blood.

Cleo. I am of your opinion; and it is a plain demonstration of the superlative value we have for our own selves, and every thing that comes from us, if it be good, and counted laudable; whereas, other things that are offensive, though equally our own, are in compliment to ourselves, industriously concealed; and, as soon as it is agreed upon that any thing is unseemly, and rather a disgrace to us than otherwise, presently it becomes ill manners to name, or so much as to hint at it. The contents of the stomach are variously disposed of, but we have no hand in that; and whether they go to the blood, or elsewhere, the last thing we did to them voluntarily, and with our knowledge, was swallowing them; and whatever is afterwards performed by the animal economy, a man contributes

no more to, than he does to the going of his watch. This is another inſtance of the unjuſt claim we lay to every performance we are but in the leaſt concerned in, if good comes of it, though nature does all the work; but whoever places a merit in his prolific faculty, ought likewiſe to expect the blame, when he has the ſtone, or a fever. Without this violent principle of innate folly, no rational creature would value himſelf on his free agency, and at the ſame time accept of applauſe for actions that are viſibly independent of his will. Life in all creatures is a compound action, but the ſhare they have in it themſelves, is only paſſive. We are forced to breathe before we know it; and our continuance palpably depends upon the guardianſhip and perpetual tutelage of nature; whilſt every part of her works, ourſelves not excepted, is an impenetrable ſecret to us, that eludes all inquiries. Nature furniſhes us with all the ſubſtance of our food herſelf, nor does ſhe truſt to our wiſdom for an appetite to crave it; to chew it, ſhe teaches us by inſtinct, and bribes us to it by pleaſure. This ſeeming to be an action of choice, and ourſelves being conſcious of the performance, we perhaps may be ſaid to have a part in it; but the moment after, nature reſumes her care, and again withdrawn from our knowledge, preſerves us in a myſterious manner, without any help or concurrence of ours, that we are ſenſible of. Since, then, the management of what we have eat and drank remains entirely under the direction of nature, what honour or ſhame ought we to receive from any part of the product, whether it is to ſerve as a doubtful means toward generation, or yields to vegetation a leſs fallible aſſiſtance? It is nature that prompts us to propagate as well as to eat; and a ſavage man multiplies his kind by inſtinct as other animals do, without more thought or deſign of preſerving his ſpecies, than a newborn infant has of keeping itſelf alive, in the action of ſucking.

Hor. Yet nature gave the different inſtincts to both, for thoſe reaſons.

Cleo. Without doubt; but what I mean, is, that the reaſon of the thing is as much the motive of action in the one, as it is in the other; and I verily believe, that a wild woman who had never ſeen, or not minded the production of any young animals, would have ſeveral children before ſhe would gueſs at the real cauſe of them; any more than if ſhe had the cholic, ſhe would ſuſpect that it proceeded from ſome de-

licious fruit ſhe had eaten; eſpecially if ſhe had feaſted upon it for ſeveral months, without perceiving any inconveniency from it. Children, all the world over, are brought forth with pain, more or leſs, which ſeems to have no affinity with pleaſure; and an untaught creature, however docile and attentive, would want ſeveral clear experiments before it would believe that the one could produce or be the cauſe of the other.

Hor. Moſt people marry in hopes, and with a deſign of having children.

Cleo. I doubt, not; and believe that there are as many that would rather not have children, or at leaſt not ſo faſt as often they come, as there are that wiſh for them, even in the ſtate of matrimony; but out of it, in the amours of thouſands, that revel in enjoyments, children are rekoned to be the greateſt calamity that can befal them; and often what criminal love gave birth to, without thought, more criminal pride deſtroys, with purpoſed and conſiderate cruelty. But all this belongs to people in ſociety, that are knowing, and well acquainted with the natural conſequences of things; what I urged, I ſpoke of a ſavage.

Hor. Still the end of love, between the different ſexes, in all animals, is the preſervation of their ſpecies.

Cleo. I have allowed that already. But once more the ſavage is not prompted to love from that conſideration: he propagates before he knows the conſequence of it; and I much queſtion, whether the moſt civilized pair, in the moſt chaſte of their embraces, ever acted from the care of their ſpecies, as a real principle. A rich man may, with great impatience, wiſh for a ſon to inherit his name and his eſtate; perhaps he may marry from no other motive, and for no other purpoſe; but all the ſatisfaction he ſeems to receive, from the flattering proſpect of an happy poſterity, can only ariſe from a pleaſing reflection on himſelf, as the cauſe of thoſe deſcendants. How much ſoever this man's poſterity might be thought to owe him for their being, it is certain, that the motive he acted from, was to oblige himſelf: ſtill here is a wiſhing for poſterity, a thought and deſign of getting children, which no wild couple could have to boaſt of; yet they would be vain enough to look upon themſelves, as the principal cauſe of all their offspring and deſcendants, though they ſhould live to ſee the fifth or ſixth generation.

Hor. I can find no vanity in that, and I ſhould think them ſo myſelf.

Cleo. Yet, as free agents, it would be plain, that they had contributed nothing to the exiſtence of their proſperity.

Hor. Now ſurely, you have overſhot the mark; nothing?

Cleo. No, nothing, even to that of their own children, knowingly; if you will allow that men have their appetites from nature. There is but one real cauſe in the univerſe, to produce that infinite variety of ſtupendous effects, and all the mighty labours that are performed in nature, either within, or far beyond the reach of our ſenſes. Parents are the efficients of their offſpring, with no more truth or propriety of ſpeech, than the tools of an artificer, that were made and contrived by himſelf, are the cauſe of the moſt elaborate of his works. The ſenſeleſs engine that raiſes water into the copper, and the paſſive maſh-tub, have between them, as great a ſhare in the art and action of brewing, as the livelieſt male and female ever had in the production of an animal.

Hor. You make ſtocks and ſtones of us; is it not in our choice to act, or not to act?

Cleo. Yes, it is my choice now, either to run my head againſt the wall, or to let it alone; but, I hope, it does not puzzle you much to gueſs which of the two I ſhall chooſe.

Hor. But do not we move our bodies as we liſt; and is not every action determined by the will?

Cleo. What ſignifies that, where there is a paſſion that manifeſtly ſways, and with a ſtrict hand governs that will?

Hor. Still we act with conſciouſneſs, and are intelligent creatures.

Cleo. Not in the affair I ſpeak of; where, willing or not willing, we are violently urged from within, and in a manner compelled not only to aſſiſt in, but likewiſe to long for, and, in ſpite of our teeth, be highly pleaſed with a performance that infinitely ſurpaſſes our underſtanding. The compariſon I made is juſt, in every part of it; for the moſt loving, and, if you will, the moſt ſagacious couple you can conceive, are as ignorant in the myſtery of generation, nay, muſt remain, after having had twenty children together, as much uninformed, and as little conſcious of nature's tranſactions, and what has been wrought within them, as inanimate utenſils are of the moſt myſtic and moſt ingenious operations they have been employed in.

Hor. I do not know any man more expert in tracing human pride, or more ſevere in humbling it than yourſelf; but when the ſubject comes in your way, you do not know how to leave it. I wiſh you would, at once, go over to the origin of ſociety; which, how to derive, or bring about at all, from the ſavage family, as we left it, is paſt my ſkill. It is impoſſible but thoſe children, when they grew up, would quarrel on innumerable occaſions: if men had but three appetites to gratify, that are the moſt obvious, they could never live together in peace, without government: for though they all paid a deference to the father, yet if he was a man void of all prudence, that could give them no good rules to walk by, I am perſuaded that they would live in a perpetual ſtate of war; and the more numerous his offspring grew, the more the old ſavage would be puzzled between his deſire and incapacity of government. As they increaſed in numbers, they would be forced to extend their limits, and the ſpot they were born upon would not hold them long: nobody would be willing to leave his native vale, eſpecially if it was a fruitful one. The more I think upon it, and the more I look into ſuch multitudes, the leſs I can conceive which way they could ever be formed into a ſociety.

Cleo. The firſt thing that could make man aſſociate, would be common danger, which unites the greateſt enemies: this danger they would certainly be in, from wild beaſts, conſidering that no uninhabited country is without them, and the defenceleſs condition in which men come into the world. This often muſt have been a cruel article, to prevent the increaſe of our ſpecies.

Hor. The ſuppoſition then, that this wild man, with his progeny, ſhould for fifty years live undiſturbed, is not very probable; and I need not trouble myſelf about our ſavages being embarraſſed with too numerous an offspring.

Cleo. You ſay right; there is no probability, that a man and his progeny, all unarmed, ſhould ſo long eſcape the ravenous hunger of beaſts of prey, that are to live upon what animals they can get; that leave no place unſearched, nor pains untried, to come at food, though with the hazard of their lives. The reaſon why I made that ſuppoſition, was to ſhow you, firſt, the improbability that a wild and altogether untaught man ſhould have the knowledge and diſcretion which Sir William Temple gives him; ſecondly, that children who converſed with their own ſpecies, though they

were brought up by ſavages, would be governable; and conſequently, that all ſuch, when come to maturity, would be fit for ſociety, how ignorant and unſkilful ſoever their parents might have been.

Hor. I thank you for it; for it has ſhown me, that the very firſt generation of the moſt bratiſh ſavages, was ſufficient to produce ſociable creatures; but that to produce a man fit to govern others, much more was required.

Cleo. I return to my conjecture concerning the firſt motive that would make ſavages aſſociate: it is not poſſible to know any thing with certainty of beginnings, where men were deſtitute of letters; but I think, that the nature of the thing makes it highly probable, that it muſt have been their common danger from beaſts of prey; as well ſuch fly ones as lay in wait for their children, and the defenceleſs animals, men made uſe of for themſelves, as the more bold, that would openly attack grown men and women. What much confirms me in this opinion is, the general agreement of all the relations we have, from the moſt ancient times, in different countries: for, in the infancy of all nations, profane hiſtory is ſtuffed with the accounts of the conflicts men had with wild beaſts. It took up the chief labours of the heroes of remoteſt antiquity, and their greateſt proweſs was ſhown in killing of dragons, and ſubduing of other monſters.

Hor. Do you lay any ſtreſs upon ſphinxes, baſiliſks, flying dragons, and bulls that ſpit fire?

Cleo. As much as I do on modern witches. But I believe that all thoſe fictions had their riſe from noxious beaſts, the miſchiefs they did, and other realities that ſtruck terror into man; and I believe, that if no man had ever been ſeen on a horſe's back, we ſhould never have heard of Centaurs. The prodigious force and rage that are apparent in ſome ſavage animals, and the aſtoniſhing power, which, from the various poiſons of venomous creatures, we are ſure muſt be hid in others; the ſudden and unexpected aſſaults of ſerpents, the variety of them; the vaſt bulk of crocodiles; the irregular and uncommon ſhapes of ſome fiſhes, and the wings of others, are all things that are capable of alarming man's fear; and it is incredible what chimeras that paſſion alone may produce in a terrified mind: the dangers of the day often haunt men at night with addition of terror; and from what they remember in their dreams, it is eaſy to forge realities. If you will conſider, likewiſe, that the natural ignorance of man, and his hanker-

ing after knowledge, will augment the credulity which hope and fear first give birth to; the desire the generality have of applause, and the great esteem that is commonly had for the *merveilleux*, and the witnesses and relaters of it: If, I say, you will consider all these, you will easily discover, how many creatures came to be talked of, described, and formally painted, that never had any existence.

Hor. I do not wonder at the origin of monstrous figures, or the invention of any fables whatever; but in the reason you gave for the first motive, that would make men combine in one interest, I find something very perplexing, which I own I never thought of before. When I reflect on the condition of man, as you have set it before me, naked and defenceless, and the multitude of ravenous animals that thirst after his blood, and are superior to him in strength, and completely armed by nature, it is inconceivable to me, how our species should have subsisted.

Cleo. What you observe is well worthy our attention.

Hor. It is astonishing. What filthy, abominable beasts are lions and tigers!

Cleo. I think them to be very fine creatures; there is nothing I admire more than a lion.

Hor. We have strange accounts of his generosity and gratitude; but do you believe them?

Cleo. I do not trouble my head about them: What I admire is his fabric, his structure, and his rage, so justly proportioned to one another. There are order, symmetry, and superlative wisdom to be observed in all the works of nature; but she has not a machine, of which every part more visibly answers the end for which the whole was formed.

Hor. The destruction of other animals.

Cleo. That is true; but how conspicuous is that end, without mystery or uncertainty! that grapes were made for wine, and man for society, are truths not accomplished in every individual: but there is a real majesty stamped on every single lion, at the sight of which the stoutest animals submit and tremble. When we look upon and examine his massy talons, the size of them, and the laboured firmness with which they are fixed in, and fastened to that prodigious paw; his dreadful teeth, the strength of his jaws, and the width of his mouth equally terrible, the use of them is obvious; but when we consider, moreover, the make of his limbs, the toughness of his flesh and tendons, the solidity of his bones,

beyond that of other animals, and the whole frame of him, together with his never-ceaſing anger, ſpeed, and agility; whilſt in the deſart he ranges king of beaſts! When, I ſay, we conſider all theſe things, it is ſtupidity not to ſee the deſign of nature, and with what amazing ſkill the beautiful creature is contrived for offenſive war and conqueſt.

Hor. You are a good painter. But after all, why would you judge of a creature's nature from what it was perverted to, rather than from its original, the ſtate it was firſt produced in? The lion in Paradiſe was a gentle, loving creature. Hear what Milton ſays of his behaviour before Adam and Eve, "as they ſate recline on the ſoft downy bank, da- "maſk'd with flowers:"

——————About them friſking play'd
All beaſts of the earth, ſince wild, and of all chaſe
In wood or wilderneſs, foreſt or den;
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
Dandel'd the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them.——————

What was it the lion fed upon; what ſuſtenance had all theſe beaſts of prey in Paradiſe?

Cleo. I do not know. Nobody who believes the Bible, doubts, but that the whole ſtate of Paradiſe, and the intercourſe between God and the firſt man, were as much preternatural, as the creation out of nothing; and, therefore, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they ſhould be accounted for by human reaſon; and if they were, Moſes would not be anſwerable for more than he advanced himſelf. The hiſtory which he has given us of thoſe times is extremely ſuccinct, and ought not to be charged with any thing contained in the gloſſes and paraphraſes that have been made upon it by others.

Hor. Milton has ſaid nothing of Paradiſe, but what he could juſtify from Moſes.

Cleo. It is no where to be proved, from Moſes, that the ſtate of innocence laſted ſo long, that goats, or any viviparous animals could, have bred and brought forth young ones.

Hor. You mean that there could have been no kid. I ſhould never have made that cavil in ſo fine a poem. It was not in my thoughts: what I aimed at in repeating thoſe lines, was to ſhow you how ſuperfluous and impertinent a lion muſt have been in Paradiſe; and that thoſe who pretend to

find fault with the works of nature, might have cenſured her with juſtice, for laviſhing and throwing away ſo many excellencies upon a great beaſt, to no purpoſe. What a fine variety of deſtructive weapons, would they ſay, what prodigious ſtrength of limbs and ſinews are here given to a creature! What to do with? to be quiet and dandle a kid. I own, that to me, this province, the employment aſſigned to the lion, ſeems to be as proper and well choſen, as if you would make a nurſe of Alexander the Great.

Cleo. You might make as many flights upon a lion now, if you ſaw him aſleep. Nobody would think that a bull had occaſion for horns, who had never ſeen him otherwiſe than quietly grazing among a parcel of cows; but, if one ſhould ſee him attacked by dogs, by a wolf, or a rival of his own ſpecies, he would ſoon find out that his horns were of great uſe and ſervice to him. The lion was not made to be always in Paradiſe.

Hor. There I would have you. If the lion was contrived for purpoſes to be ſerved and executed out of Paradiſe, then it is manifeſt, from the very creation, that the fall of man was determined and predeſtinated.

Cleo. Foreknown it was: nothing could be hid from Omniſcience; that is certain: But that it was predeſtinated ſo as to have prejudiced, or anywiſe influenced the free will of Adam, I utterly deny. But that word, predeſtinated, has made ſo much noiſe in the world, and the thing itſelf has been the cauſe of ſo many fatal quarrels, and is ſo inexplicable, that I am reſolved never to engage in any diſpute concerning it.

Hor. I cannot make you; but what you have extolled ſo much, muſt have coſt the lives of thouſands of our ſpecies; and it is a wonder to me how men, when they were but few, could poſſibly defend themſelves, before they had fire arms, or at leaſt bows and arrows; for what number of naked men and women, would be a match for one couple of lions?

Cleo. Yet, here we are; and none of thoſe animals are ſuffered to be wild, in any civilized nation; our ſuperior underſtanding has got the ſtart of them.

Hor. My reaſon tells me it muſt be that; but I cannot help obſerving, that when human underſtanding ſerves your purpoſe to ſolve any thing, it is always ready and full grown; but at other times, knowledge and reaſoning are the work of time, and men are not capable of thinking juſtly, until after

many generations. Pray, before men had arms, what could their underſtanding do againſt lions, and what hindered wild beaſts from devouring mankind, as ſoon as they were born?

Cleo. Providence.

Hor. Daniel, indeed, was ſaved by miracle; but what is that to the reſt of mankind? great numbers, we know, have, at different times, been torn to pieces by ſavage beaſts: what I want to know, is, the reaſon that any of them eſcaped, and the whole ſpecies was not deſtroyed by them; when men had yet no weapons to defend, nor ſtrong holds to ſhelter themſelves from the fury of thoſe mercileſs creatures.

Cleo. I have named it to you already, Providence.

Hor. But which way can you prove this miraculous aſſiſtance?

Cleo. You ſtill talk of miracles, and I ſpeak of Providence, or the all-governing Wiſdom of God.

Hor. If you can, demonſtrate to me, how that Wiſdom interpoſed between our ſpecies and that of lions, in the beginning of the world, without miracle, any more than it does at preſent, *eris mihi magnus Apollo:* for now, I am ſure, a wild lion would prey upon a naked man, as ſoon, at leaſt, as he would upon an ox or an horſe.

Cleo. Will not you allow me, that all properties, inſtincts, and what we call the nature of things, animate or inanimate, are the produce, the effects of that Wiſdom?

Hor. I never thought otherwiſe.

Cleo. Then it will not be difficult to prove this to you. Lions are never brought forth wild, but in very hot countries, as bears are the product of the cold. But the generality of our ſpecies, which loves moderate warmth, are moſt delighted with the middle regions. Men may, againſt their wills, be inured to intenſe cold, or by uſe and patience, accuſtom themſelves to exceſſive heat; but a mild air, and weather between both extremes, being more agreeable to human bodies, the greateſt part of mankind would naturally ſettle in temperate climates, and with the ſame conveniency, as to every thing elſe, never chooſe any other. This would very much leſſen the danger men would be in from the fierceſt and moſt irreſiſtible wild beaſts.

Hor. But would lions and tigers in hot countries keep ſo cloſe within their bounds, and bears in cold ones, as never to ſtraggle or ſtray beyond them?

Cleo. I do not ſuppoſe they would; and men, as well as cattle, have often been picked up by lions, far from the places where theſe were whelped No wild beaſts are more fatal to our ſpecies, than often we are to one another; and men purſued by their enemies have fled into climates and countries, which they would never have choſe. Avarice likewiſe and curioſity, have, without force or neceſſity, often expoſed men to dangers, which they might have avoided, if they had been ſatisfied with what nature required; and laboured for ſelf-preſervation in that ſimple manner, which creatures leſs vain and fantaſtical content themſelves with. In all theſe caſes, I do not queſtion, but multitudes of our ſpecies have ſuffered from ſavage beaſts, and other noxious animals; and on their account only, I verily believe, it would have been impoſſible for any number of men, to have ſettled or ſubſiſted in either very hot or very cold countries, before the invention of bows and arrows, or better arms. But all this does nothing to overthrow my aſſertion: what I wanted to prove, is, that all creatures chooſing by inſtinct that degree of heat or cold which is moſt natural to them, there would be room enough in the world for man to multiply his ſpecies, for many ages, without running almoſt any riſk of being devoured either by lions or by bears; and that the moſt ſavage man would find this out, without the help of his reaſon. This I call the work of Providence; by which I mean the unalterable wiſdom of the Supreme Being, in the harmonious diſpoſition of the univerſe; the fountain of that incomprehenſible chain of cauſes, on which all events have their undoubted dependance.

Hor. You have made this out better than I had expected; but I am afraid, that what you alleged as the firſt motive towards ſociety, is come to nothing by it.

Cleo. Do not fear that; there are other ſavage beaſts, againſt which men could not guard themſelves unarmed, without joining, and mutual aſſiſtance: in temperate climates, moſt uncultivated countries abound with wolves.

Hor. I have ſeen them in Germany; they are of the ſize of a large maſtiff; but I thought their chief prey had been ſheep.

Cleo. Any thing they can conquer is their prey: they are deſperate creatures, and will fall upon men, cows, and horſes, as well as upon ſheep, when they are very hungry: they have teeth like maſtiffs; but beſides them they have ſharp

claws to tear with, which dogs have not. The ſtouteſt man is hardly equal to them in ſtrength; but what is worſe, they often come in troops, and whole villages have been attacked by them; they have five, ſix, and more whelps at a litter, and would ſoon over-run a country where they breed, if men did not combine againſt, and make it their buſineſs to deſtroy them. Wild boars likewiſe, are terrible creatures, that few large foreſts, and uninhabited places, in temperate climates, are free from.

Hor. Thoſe tuſks of theirs are dreadful weapons.

Cleo. And they are much ſuperior to wolves in bulk and ſtrength. Hiſtory is full of the miſchief they have done in ancient times, and of the renown that valiant men have gained by conquering them.

Hor. That is true; but thoſe heroes that fought monſters in former days, were well armed; at leaſt, the generality of them; but what could a number of naked men, before they had any arms at all, have to oppoſe to the teeth and claws of ravenous wolves that came in troops; and what impreſſion could the greateſt blow a man can ſtrike, make upon the thick briſtly hide of a wild boar?

Cleo. As on the one hand, I have named every thing that man has to fear from wild beaſts; ſo, on the other, we ought not to forget the things that are in his favour. In the firſt place, a wild man inured to hardſhip, would far exceed a tame one, in all feats of ſtrength, nimbleneſs and activity; in the ſecond, his anger would ſooner and more uſefully tranſport and aſſiſt him in his ſavage ſtate, than it can do in ſociety; where, from his infancy he is ſo many ways taught, and forced in his own defence, to cramp and ſtifle with his fears the noble gift of nature. In wild creatures we ſee, that moſt of them, when their own life or that of their young ones is at ſtake, fight with great obſtinacy, and continue fighting to the laſt, and do what miſchief they can, whilſt they have breath, without regard to their being overmatched, or the diſadvantages they labour under. It is obſerved, likewiſe, that the more untaught and inconſiderate creatures are, the more entirely they are ſwayed by the paſſion that is uppermoſt: natural affection would make wild men and women too, ſacrifice their lives, and die for their children; but they would die fighting; and one wolf would not find it an eaſy matter to carry of a child from his watchful parents, if they were both reſolute, though they were naked. As to

man's being born defenceleſs, it is not to be conceived, that he ſhould long know the ſtrength of his arms, without being acquainted with the articulation of his fingers, or at leaſt, what is owing to it, his faculty of graſping and holding faſt; and the moſt untaught ſavage would make uſe of clubs and ſtaves before he came to maturity. As the danger men are in from wild beaſts would be of the higheſt conſequence, ſo it would employ their utmoſt care and induſtry: they would dig holes, and invent other ſtratagems, to diſtreſs their enemies, and deſtroy their young ones: as ſoon as they found out fire, they would make uſe of that element to guard themſelves and annoy their foes: by the help of it they would ſoon learn to ſharpen wood, which preſently would put them upon making ſpears and other weapons that would cut. When men are angry enough with creatures to ſtrike them, and theſe are running away, or flying from them, they are apt to throw at what they cannot reach: this, as ſoon as they had ſpears, would naturally lead them to the invention of darts and javelins. Here, perhaps, they may ſtop a while; but the ſame chain of thinking would, in time, produce bows and arrows: the elaſticity of ſticks and boughs of trees is very obvious; and to make ſtrings of the guts of animals, I dare ſay, is more ancient than the uſe of hemp. Experience teaches us, that men may have all theſe, and many more weapons, and be very expert in the uſe of them, before any manner of government, except that of parents over their children, is to be ſeen among them: it is likewiſe very well known, that ſavages furniſhed with no better arms, when they are ſtrong enough in number, will venture to attack, and even hunt after the fierceſt wild beaſts, lions and tigers not excepted. Another thing is to be conſidered, that likewiſe favours our ſpecies, and relates to the nature of the creatures, of which intemperate climates man has reaſon to ſtand in bodily fear of.

Hor. Wolves and wild boars?

Cleo. Yes. That great numbers of our ſpecies have been devoured by the firſt, is unconteſted; but they moſt naturally go in queſt of ſheep and poultry; and, as long as they can get carrion, or any thing to fill their bellies with, they ſeldom hunt after men, or other large animals; which is the reaſon, that in the ſummer our ſpecies, as to perſonal inſults, have not much to fear from them. It is certain likewiſe, that ſavage ſwine will hunt after men, and many of their maws

have been crammed with human flesh: but they naturally feed on acorns, chesnuts, beach-mast, and other vegetables; and they are only carnivorous upon occasion, and through necessity, when they can get nothing else; in great frosts, when the country is bare, and every thing covered with snow. It is evident, then, that human creatures are not in any great and immediate danger from either of these species of beasts, but in hard winters, which happen but seldom in temperate climates. But as they are our perpetual enemies, by spoiling and devouring every thing that may serve for the sustenance of man, it is highly necessary, that we should not only be always upon our guard against them, but likewise never cease to assist one another in routing and destroying them.

Hor. I plainly see, that mankind might subsist and survive to multiply, and get the mastery over all other creatures that should oppose them; and as this could never have been brought about, unless men had assisted one another against savage beasts, it is possible that the necessity men were in of joining and uniting together, was the first step toward society. Thus far I am willing to allow you to have proved your main point: but to ascribe all this to Providence, otherwise than that nothing is done without the Divine permission, seems inconsistent with the ideas we have of a perfectly good and merciful Being. It is possible, that all poisonous animals may have something in them that is beneficial to men; and I will not dispute with you, whether the most venomous of all the serpents which Lucan has made mention of, did not contain some antidote, or other fine medicine, still undiscovered: but when I look upon the vast variety of ravenous and blood-thirsty creatures, that are not only superior to us in strength, but likewise visibly armed by nature, as it were on purpose for our destruction; when, I say, I look upon these, I can find out no use for them, nor what they could be designed for, unless it be to punish us: but I can much less conceive, that the Divine Wisdom should have made them the means without which men could not have been civilized. How many thousands of our species must have been devoured in the conflicts with them!

Cleo. Ten troops of wolves, with fifty in each, would make a terrible havoc, in a long winter, among a million of our species with their hands tied behind them; but among half that number, one pestilence has been known to slaughter more,

than ſo many wolves could have eaten in the ſame time; notwithſtanding the great reſiſtance that was made againſt it, by approved of medicines and able phyſicians. It is owing to the principle of pride we are born with, and the high value we all, for the ſake of one, have for our ſpecies, that men imagine the whole univerſe to be principally made for their uſe; and this error makes them commit a thouſand extravagancies, and have pitiful and moſt unworthy notions of God and his works. It is not greater cruelty, or more unnatural, in a wolf to eat a piece of a man, than it is in a man to eat part of a lamb or a chicken. What, or how many purpoſes wild beaſts were made for, is not for us to determine; but that they were made, we know; and that ſome of them muſt have been very calamitious to every infant nation, and ſettlement of men, is almoſt as certain: this you was fully perſuaded of; and thought, moreover, that they muſt have been ſuch an obſtacle to the very ſubſiſtence of our ſpecies, as was inſurmountable: In anſwer to this difficulty, which you ſtarted, I ſhowed you, from the different inſtincts and peculiar tendencies of animals, that in nature a manifeſt proviſion was made for our ſpecies: by which, notwithſtanding the rage and power of the fierceſt beaſts, we ſhould make a ſhift, naked and defenceleſs, to eſcape their fury, ſo as to be able to maintain ourſelves and multiply our kind, till by our numbers, and arms acquired by our own induſtry, we could put to flight, or deſtroy all ſavage beaſts without exception, whatever ſpot of the globe we might have a mind to cultivate and ſettle on. The neceſſary bleſſings we receive from the ſun, are obvious to a child; and it is demonſtrable, that without it, none of the living creatures that are now upon the earth, could ſubſiſt. But if it were of no other uſe, being eight hundred thouſand times bigger than the earth at leaſt, one thouſandth part of it would do our buſineſs as well, if it was but nearer to us in proportion. From this conſideration alone, I am perſuaded, that the ſun was made to enlighten and cheriſh other bodies, beſides this planet of ours. Fire and water were deſigned for innumerable purpoſes; and among the uſes that are made of them, ſome are immenſely different from others. But whilſt we receive the benefit of theſe, and are only intent on ourſelves, it his highly probable, that there are thouſands of things, and perhaps our own machines among them, that, in the vaſt ſyſtem of the univerſe,

are now ſerving ſome very wiſe ends, which we ſhall never know. According to that plan of this globe, I mean the ſcheme of government, in relation to the living creatures that inhabit the earth, the deſtruction of animals is as neceſſary as the generation of them.

Hor. I have learned that from the Fable of the Bees; and I believe what I have read there to be very true; that, if any one ſpecies was to be exempt from death, it would in time cruſh all the reſt to pieces, though the firſt were ſheep, and the latter all lions: but that the Supreme Being ſhould have introduced ociety at the expence of ſo many lives of our ſpecies, I cannot believe, when it might have been done much better in a milder way.

Cleo. We are ſpeaking of what probably was done, and not of what might have been done. There is no queſtion, but the ſame Power that made whales, might have made us ſeventy feet high, and given us ſtrength in proportion. But ſince the plan of this globe requires, and you think it neceſſary yourſelf, that in every ſpecies ſome ſhould die almoſt as faſt as others are born, why ſhould you take away any of the means of dying?

Hor. Are there not diſeaſes enough, phyſicians and apothecaries, as well as wars by ſea and land, that may take off more than the redundancy of our ſpecies?

Cleo. They may, it is true; but in fact they are not always ſufficient to do this: and in populous nations we ſee, that war, wild beaſts, hanging, drowning, and an hunded caſualties together, with ſickneſs and all its attendants, are hardly a match for one inviſible faculty of ours, which is the inſtinct men have to preſerve their ſpecies. Every thing is eaſy to the Deity; but to ſpeak after an human manner, it is evident, that in forming this earth, and every thing that is in it, no leſs wiſdom or ſolicitude was required, in contriving the various ways and means, to get rid and deſtroy animals, than ſeems to have been employed in producing them; and it is as demonſtrable, that our bodies were made on purpoſe not to laſt beyond ſuch a period, as it is, that ſome houſes are built with a deſign not to ſtand longer than ſuch a term of years. But it is death itſelf to which our averſion by nature is univerſal; as to the manner of dying, men differ in their opinions; and I never heard of one yet that was generally liked of.

Hor. But nobody chooſes a cruel one. What an unſpeakable and infinitely excruciating torment muſt it be, to be torn to pieces, and eat alive by a ſavage beaſt!

Cleo. Not greater, I can aſſure you, than are daily occaſioned by the gout in the ſtomach, and the ſtone in the bladder.

Hor. Which way can you give me this aſſurance; how can you prove it?

Cleo. From our fabric itſelf, the frame of human bodies, that cannot admit of any torment, infinitely excruciating. The degrees of pain, as well as of pleaſure, in this life are limited, and exactly proportioned to every one's ſtrength; whatever exceeds that, takes away the ſenſes; and whoever has once fainted away with the extremity of any torture, knows the full extent of what here he can ſuffer, if he remembers what he felt. The real miſchief which wild beaſts have done to our ſpecies, and the calamities they have brought upon it, are not to be compared to the cruel uſage, and the multiplicity of mortal injuries which men have received from one another. Set before your eyes a robuſt warrior, that having loſt a limb in battle, is afterwards trampled upon by twenty horſes; and tell me, pray, whether you think, that lying thus helpleſs with moſt of his ribs broke, and a fractured ſkull, in the agony of death, for ſeveral hours, he ſuffers leſs than if a lion had diſpatched him?

Hor. They are both very bad.

Cleo. In the choice of things we are more often directed by the caprice of faſhions, and the cuſtom of the age, than we are by ſolid reaſon, or our own underſtanding. There is no greater comfort in dying of a dropſy, and in being eaten by worms, than there is in being drowned at ſea, and becoming the prey of fiſhes. But in our narrow way of thinking, there is ſomething that ſubverts and corrupt our judgment; how elſe could perſons of known elegancy in their taſte, prefer rotting and ſtinking in a loathſome ſepulchre, to their being burnt in the open air to inoffenſive aſhes?

Hor. I freely own, that I have an averſion to every thing that is ſhocking and unnatural.

Cleo. What you call ſhocking, I do not know; but nothing is more common to nature, or more agreeable to her ordinary courſe, than that creatures ſhould live upon one another. The whole ſyſtem of animated beings on the earth ſeems to be built upon this; and there is not one ſpecies

that we know of, that has not another that feeds upon it, either alive or dead; and moſt kind of fiſh are forced to live upon fiſh. That this in the laſt-mentioned, was not an omiſſion or neglect, is evident from the large proviſion nature has made for it, far exceeding any thing ſhe has done for other animals.

Hor. You mean the prodigious quantity of roe they ſpawn.

Hor. Yes; and that the eggs contained in them, receive not their fecundity until after they are excluded; by which means the female may be filled with as many of them as her belly can hold, and the eggs themſelves may be more cloſely crowded together, than would be conſiſtent with the admiſſion of any ſubſtance from the male: without this, one fiſh could not bring forth yearly ſuch a prodigious ſhoal.

Hor. But might not the *aura ſeminalis* of the male be ſubtile enough to penetrate the whole cluſter of eggs, and influence every one of them, without taking up any room, as it does in fowls and other oviparous animals?

Cleo. The oſtrich excepted in the firſt place: in the ſecond, there are no other oviparous animals in which the eggs are ſo cloſely compacted together, as they are in fiſh. But ſuppoſe the prolific power ſhould pervade the whole maſs of them; if all the eggs which ſome of the females are crammed with, were to be impregnated whilſt they are within the fiſh, it is impoſſible but the *aura ſeminalis*, the prolific ſpirit of the male, though it took up no room itſelf, would, as it does in all other creatures, dilate, and more or leſs diſtend every egg; and the leaſt expanſion of ſo many individuals would ſwell the whole roe to a bulk that would require a much greater ſpace, than the cavity that now contains them. Is not here a contrivance beyond imagination fine, to provide for the continuance of a ſpecies, though every individual of it ſhould be born with an inſtinct to deſtroy it!

Hor. What you ſpeak of, is only true at ſea, in a conſiderable part of Europe at leaſt: for in freſh water, moſt kinds of fiſh do not feed on their own ſpecies, and yet they ſpawn in the ſame manner, and are as full of roe as all the reſt: among them, the only great deſtroyer with us, is the pike.

Cleo. And he is a very ravenous one: We ſee in ponds, that where pikes are ſuffered to be, no other fiſh ſhall ever increaſe in number. But in rivers, and all waters near any

land, there are amphibious fowls, and many ſorts of them, that live moſtly upon fiſh: Of theſe water-fowls in many places are prodigious quantities. Beſides theſe, there are otters, beavers, and many other creatures that live upon fiſh. In brooks and ſhallow waters, the hearn and bittern will have their ſhare: What is taken off by them, perhaps is but little; but the young fry, and the ſpawn that one pair of ſwans are able to conſume in one year, would very well ſerve to ſtock a conſiderable river. So they are but eat, it is no matter what eats them, either their own ſpecies or another: What I would prove, is, that nature produces no extraordinary numbers of any ſpecies, but ſhe has contrived means anſwerable to deſtroy them. The variety of inſects in the ſeveral parts of the world, would be incredible to any one that has not examined into this matter; and the different beauties to be obſerved in them is infinite: But neither the beauty, nor the variety of them, are more ſurpriſing, than the induſtry of nature in the multiplicity of her contrivances to kill them; and if the care and vigilance of all other animals in deſtroying them were to ceaſe at once, in two years time the greateſt part of the earth, which is ours now, would be theirs, and in many countries inſects would be the only inhabitants.

Hor. I have heard that whales live upon nothing elſe; that muſt make a fine conſumption.

Cleo. That is the general opinion, I ſuppoſe, becauſe they never find any fiſh in them; and becauſe there are vaſt multitudes of inſects in thoſe ſeas, hovering on the ſurface of the water. This creature likewiſe helps to corroborate my aſſertion, that in the numbers produced of every ſpecies, the greateſt regard is had to the conſumption of them: This prodigious animal being too big to be ſwallowed, nature in it has quite altered the economy obſerved in all other fiſh; for they are viviparous, engender like other viviparous animals, and have never above two or three young ones at a time. For the continuance of every ſpecies among ſuch an infinite variety of creatures as this globe yields, it was highly neceſſary, that the proviſion for their deſtruction ſhould not be leſs ample, than that which was made for the generation of them; and therefore the ſolicitude of nature in procuring death, and the conſumption of animals, is viſibly ſuperior to the care ſhe takes to feed and preſerve them.

Hor. Prove that pray.

Cleo. Millions of her creatures are ſtarved every year, and doomed to periſh for want of ſuſtenance; but whenever any die, there is always plenty of mouths to devour them. But then, again, ſhe gives all ſhe has: nothing is ſo fine or elaborate, as that ſhe grudges it for food; nor is any thing more extenſive or impartial than her bounty: ſhe thinks nothing too good for the meaneſt of her broods, and all creatures are equally welcome to every thing they can find to eat. How curious is the workmanſhip in the ſtructure of a common fly; how inimitable are the celerity of his wings, and the quickneſs of all his motions in hot weather! Should a Pythagorean, that was likewiſe a good maſter in mechanics, by the help of a microſcope, pry into every minute part of this changeable creature, and duly conſider the elegancy of its machinery, would he not think it great pity, that thouſands of millions of animated beings, ſo nicely wrought and admirably finiſhed, ſhould every day be devoured by little birds and ſpiders, of which we ſtand in ſo little need? Nay, do not you think yourſelf, that things would have been managed full as well, if the quantity of flies had been leſs, and there had been no ſpiders at all?

Hor. I remember the fable of the Acorn and the Pumkin too well to anſwer you; I do not trouble my head about it.

Cleo. Yet you found fault with the means, which I ſuppoſed Providence had made uſe of to make men aſſociate; I mean the common danger they were in from wild beaſts: though you owned the probability of its having been the firſt motive of their uniting.

Hor. I cannot believe that Providence ſhould have no greater regard to our ſpecies, than it has to flies, and the ſpawn of fiſh: or that nature has ever ſported with the fate of human creatures, as ſhe does with the lives of inſects, and been as wantonly laviſh of the firſt, as ſhe ſeems to be of the latter. I wonder how you can reconcile this to religion; you that are ſuch a ſtickler for Chriſtianity.

Cleo. Religion has nothing to do with it. But we are ſo full of our own ſpecies, and the excellency of it, that we have no leiſure ſeriouſly to conſider the ſyſtem of this earth; I mean the plan on which the economy of it is built, in relation to the living creatures that are in and upon it.

Hor. I do not ſpeak as to our ſpecies, but in reſpect to the Deity: has religion nothing to do with it, that you make God the author of ſo much cruelty and malice?

Cleo. It is impoſſible, you ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe, than in relation to our ſpecies, when you make uſe of thoſe expreſſions, which can only ſignify to us the intentions things were done with, or the ſentiments human creatures have of them; and nothing can be called cruel or malicious in regard to him who did it, unleſs his thoughts and deſigns were ſuch in doing it. All actions in nature, abſtractly conſidered, are equally indifferent; and whatever it may be to individual creatures, to die is not a greater evil to this earth, or the whole univerſe, than it is to be born.

Hor. This is making the Firſt Cauſe of things not an intelligent being.

Cleo. Why ſo? Can you not conceive an intelligent, and even a moſt wiſe being, that is not only exempt from, but likewiſe incapable of entertaining any malice or cruelty?

Hor. Such a being could not commit, or order things that are malicious and cruel.

Cleo. Neither does God. But this will carry us into a diſpute about the origin of evil; and from thence we muſt inevitably fall on free-will and predeſtination, which, as I have told you before, is an inexplicable myſtery I will never meddle with. But I never ſaid nor thought any thing irreverent to the Deity: on the contrary, the idea I have of the Supreme Being, is as tranſcendently great, as my capacity is able to form one, of what is incomprehenſible; and I could as ſoon believe, that he could ceaſe to exiſt, as that he ſhould be the author of any real evil. But I ſhould be glad to hear the method, after which you think ſociety might have been much better introduced: Pray, acquaint me with that milder way you ſpoke of.

Hor. You have thoroughly convinced me, that the natural love which it is pretended we have for our ſpecies, is not greater than what many other animals have for theirs: but if nature had actually given us an affection for one another, as ſincere and conſpicuous as that which parents are ſeen to have for their children, whilſt they are helpleſs, men would have joined together by choice; and nothing could have hindred them from aſſociating, whether their numbers had been great or ſmall, and themſelves either ignorant or knowing.

Cleo. O mentes hominum cæcas! O Pectora cæca!

Hor. You may exclaim as much as you pleaſe; I am perſuaded that this would have united men in firmer bonds of

friendſhip, than any common danger from wild beaſts could have tied them with: but what fault can you find with it, and what miſchief could have befallen us from mutual affection?

Cleo. It would have been inconſiſtent with the ſcheme, the plan after which, it is evident, Providence has been pleaſed to order and diſpoſe of things in the univerſe. If ſuch an affection had been planted in man by inſtinct, there never could have been any fatal quarrels among them, nor mortal hatreds; men could never have been cruel to one another: in ſhort, there could have been no wars of any duration; and no conſiderable numbers of our ſpecies could ever have been killed by one another's malice.

Hor. You would make a rare ſtate-phyſician, in preſcribing war, cruelty and malice, for the welfare and maintenance of civil ſociety.

Cleo. Pray, do not miſrepreſent me: I have done no ſuch thing: but if you believe the world is governed by Providence at all, you muſt believe likewiſe, that the Deity makes uſe of means to bring about, perform, and execute his will and pleaſure: As for example, to have war kindled, there muſt be firſt miſunderſtandings and quarrels between the ſubjects of different nations, and diſſentions among the reſpective princes, rulers, or governors of them: it is evident, that the mind of man is the general mint where the means of this ſort muſt be coined; from whence I conclude, that if Providence had ordered matters after that mild way, which you think would have been the beſt, very little of human blood could have been ſpilt, if any at all.

Hor. Where would have been the inconveniency of that?

Cleo. You could not have had that variety of living creatures, there is now; nay, there would not have been room for man himſelf, and his ſuſtenance: our ſpecies alone would have overſtocked the earth, if there had been no wars, and the commmon courſe of Providence had not been more interrupted than it has been. Might I not juſtly ſay then, that this is quite contrary and deſtructive to the ſcheme on which it is plain this earth was built? This is a conſideration which you will never give its due weight. I have once already put you in mind of it, that you yourſelf have allowed the deſtruction of animals to be as neceſſary as the generation of them. There is as much wiſdom to be ſeen in the contrivances how numbers of living creatures might always

be taken off and deſtroyed, to make room for thoſe that continually ſucceed them, as there is in making all the different ſorts of them, every one preſerve their own ſpecies. What do you think is the reaſon, that there is but one way for us to come into the world?

Hor. Becauſe that one is ſufficient.

Cleo. Then from a parity of reaſon, we ought to think, that there are ſeveral ways to go out of the world, becauſe one would not have been ſufficient. Now, if for the ſupport and maintenance of that variety of creatures which are here that they ſhould die, is a *poſtulatum* as neceſſary as it is, that they ſhould be born; and you cut off or obſtruct the means of dying, and actually ſtop up one of the great gates, through which we ſee multitudes go to death; do you not oppoſe the ſcheme, nay, do you mar it leſs, than if you hindered generation! If there never had been war, and no other means of dying, beſides the ordinary ones, this globe could not have born, or at leaſt not maintained, the tenth part of the people that would have been in it. By war, I do not mean only ſuch as one nation has had againſt another, but civil as well as foreign quarrels, general maſſacres, private murders, poiſon, ſword, and all hoſtile force, by which men, notwithſtanding their pretence of love to their ſpecies, have endeavoured to take away one another's lives throughout the world, from the time that Cain ſlew Abel to this day.

Hor. I do not believe, that a quarter of all theſe miſchiefs are upon record: but what may be known from hiſtory, would make a prodigious number of men: much greater, I dare ſay, than ever was on earth at one time: But what would you infer from this? They would not have been immortal; and if they had not died in war, they muſt ſoon after have been ſlain by diſeaſes. When a man of threeſcore is killed by a bullet in the field, it is odds, that he would not have lived four years longer, though he had ſtayed at home.

Cleo. There are ſoldiers of threeſcore perhaps in all armies, but men generally go to the war when they are young; and when four or five thouſand are loſt in battle, you will find the greateſt number to have been under five-and-thirty: conſider now, that many men do not marry till after that age, who get ten or a dozen children.

Hor. If all that die by the hands of another, were to get a dozen children before they die——

Cleo. There is no occaſion for that; I ſuppoſe nothing, that is either extravagant or improbable; but that all ſuch, as have been wilfully deſtroyed by means of their ſpecies, ſhould have lived, and taken their chance with the reſt; that every thing ſhould have befallen them, that has befallen thoſe that have not been killed that way; and the ſame likewiſe to their poſterity; and that all of them ſhould have been ſubject to all the caſualties as well as diſeaſes, doctors, apothecaries, and other accidents, that take away man's life, and ſhorten his days; war, and violence from one another, only excepted.

Hor. But if the earth had been too full of inhabitants, might not Providence have ſent peſtilences and diſeaſes oftener? More children might have died when they were young, or more women might have proved barren.

Cleo. I do not know whether your mild way would have been more generally pleaſing; but you entertain notions of the Deity that are unworthy of him. Men might certainly have been born with the inſtinct you ſpeak of; but if this had been the Creator's pleaſure, there muſt have been another economy; and things on earth, from the beginning, would have been ordered in a manner quite different from what they are now. But to make a ſcheme firſt, and afterwards to mend it, when it proves defective, is the buſineſs of finite wiſdom; it belongs to human prudence alone to mend faults, to correct and redreſs what was done amiſs before, and to alter the meaſures which experience teaches men, were ill concerted: but the knowledge of God was conſummate from eternity. Infinite Wiſdom is not liable to errors or miſtakes; therefore all his works are univerſally good, and every thing is made exactly as he would have it: the firmneſs and ſtability of his laws and councils are everlaſting, and therefore his reſolutions are as unalterable, as his decrees are eternal. It is not a quarter of an hour ago, that you named wars among the neceſſary means to carry off the redundancy of our ſpecies; how come you now to think them uſeleſs? I can demonſtrate to you, that nature, in the production of our ſpecies, has amply provided againſt the loſſes of our ſex, occaſioned by wars, by repairing them viſibly, where they are ſuſtained, in as palpable a manner, as ſhe has provided for the great deſtruction that is made of fiſh, by their devouring one another.

Hor. How is that, pray?

Cleo. By ſending more males into the world than females. You will eaſily allow me that our ſex bears the brunt of all the toils and hazards that are undergone by ſea and land; and that by this means a far greater number of men muſt be deſtroyed than there is of women: now if we ſee, as certainly we do, that of the infants yearly born, the number of males is always conſiderably ſuperior to that of the females, is it not manifeſt, that nature has made a proviſion for great multitudes, which, if they were not deſtroyed, would be not only ſuperfluous, but of pernicious conſequence in great nations?

Hor. That ſuperiority in the number of males born is wonderful indeed; I remember the account that has been publiſhed concerning it, as it was taken from the bills of births and burials in the city and ſuburbs.

Cleo. For fourſcore years; in which the number of females born was conſtantly much inferior to that of the males, ſometimes by many hundreds: and that this proviſion of nature, to ſupply the havoc that is made of men by wars and navigation, is ſtill greater than could be imagined from that difference only, will ſoon appear, if we conſider that women, in the firſt place, are liable to all diſeaſes, within a trifle, that are incident to men; and that, in the ſecond, they are ſubject to many diſorders and calamities on account of their ſex, which great numbers die of, and which men are wholly exempt from.

Hor. This could not well be the effect of chance; but it ſpoils the conſequence which you drew from my affectionate ſcheme, in caſe there had been no wars: for your fear that our ſpecies would have increaſed beyond all bounds, was entirely built upon the ſuppoſition, that thoſe who have died in war ſhould not have wanted women if they had lived; which, from this ſuperiority in the number of males, it is evident, they ſhould and muſt have wanted.

Cleo. What you obſerve is true; but my chief aim was to ſhow you how diſagreeable the alteration you required would have been every way to the reſt of the ſcheme, by which it is manifeſt things are governed at preſent. For, if the proviſion had been made on the other ſide; and nature, in the production of our ſpecies, had continually taken care to repair the loſs of women that die of calamities not incident to men, then certainly there would have been women for all the men that have been deſtroyed by their own ſpecies, if

they had lived; and the earth without war, as I have ſaid, would have been over-ſtocked; or, if nature had ever been the ſame as ſhe is now, that is, if more males had been born than females, and more females had died of diſeaſes than males, the world would conſtantly have had a great ſuperfluity of men, if there never had been any wars; and this diſproportion between their number and that of the women would have cauſed innumerable miſchiefs, that are now prevented by no other natural cauſes, than the ſmall value men ſet upon their ſpecies, and their diſſentions with one another.

Hor. I can ſee no other miſchief this would produce, than than that the number of males which die without having ever tried matrimony, would be greater than it is now; and whether that would be a real evil or not, is a very diſputable point.

Cleo. Do not you think, that this perpetual ſcarcity of women, and ſuperfluity of men, would make great uneaſineſs in all ſocieties, how well ſoever people might love one another; and that the value, the price of women, would be ſo enhanced by it, that none but men in tolerable good circumſtances would be able to purchaſe them? This alone would make us another world; and mankind could never have known that moſt neceſſary and now inexhauſtible ſpring, from which all nations, where ſlaves are not allowed of, are conſtantly ſupplied with willing hands for all the drudgery of hard and dirty labour; I mean the children of the poor, the greateſt and moſt extenſive of all temporal bleſſings that accrue from ſociety, on which all the comforts of life, in the civilized ſtate, have their unavoidable dependance. There are many other things, from which it is plain, that ſuch a real love of man for his ſpecies would have been altogether inconſiſtent with the preſent ſcheme; the world muſt have been deſtitute of all that induſtry, that is owing to envy and emulation; no ſociety could have been eaſy with being a flouriſhing people at the expence of their neighbours, or enduring to be counted a formidable nation. All men would have been levellers; government would have been unneceſſary; and there could have been no great buſtle in the world. Look into the men of greateſt renown, and the moſt celebrated atchievements of antiquity, and every thing that has been cried up and admired in paſt ages by the faſhionable part of mankind: if the ſame labours were to be per-

formed over again, which qualification, which help of nature do you think would be the moſt proper means to have them executed; that inſtinct of real affection you required, without ambition or the love of glory; or a ſtaunch principle of pride and ſelfiſhneſs, acting under pretence to, and aſſuming the reſemblance of that affection? Conſider, I beſeech you, that no men governed by this inſtinct would require ſervices of any of their ſpecies, which they would not be ready to perform for others; and you will eaſily ſee, that its being univerſal would quite alter the ſcene of ſociety from what it is now. Such an inſtinct might be very ſuitable to another ſcheme different from this, in another world; where, inſtead of fickelneſs, and a reſtleſs deſire after changes and novelty, there was obſerved an univerſal ſteadineſs, continually preſerved by a ſerene ſpirit of contentment among other creatures of different appetites from ours, that had frugality without avarice, and generoſity without pride; and whoſe ſolicitude after happineſs in a future ſtate, was as active and apparent in life as our purſuits are after the enjoyments of this preſent. But, as to the world we live in, examine into the various ways of earthly greatneſs, and all the engines that are made uſe of to attain to the felicity of carnal men, and you will find, that the inſtinct you ſpeak of muſt have deſtroyed the principles, and prevented the very exiſtence of that pomp and glory to which human ſocieties have been, and are ſtill raiſed by worldly wiſdom.

Hor. I give up my affectionate ſcheme; you have convinced me that there could not have been that ſtir and variety, nor, upon the whole, that beauty in the world, which there have been, if all men had been naturally humble, good, and virtuous. I believe that wars of all ſorts, as well as diſeaſes, are natural means to hinder mankind from increaſing too faſt; but that wild beaſts ſhould likewiſe have been deſigned to thin our ſpecies, I cannot conceive; for they can only ſerve this end, when men are but few, and their numbers ſhould be increaſed, inſtead of leſſened; and afterwards, if they were made for that purpoſe, when men are ſtrong enough, they would not anſwer it.

Cleo. I never ſaid that wild beaſts was deſigned to thin our ſpecies. I have ſhowed that many things were made to ſerve a variety of different purpoſes; that in the ſcheme of this earth, many things muſt have been conſidered that man has nothing to do with; and that it is ridiculous to think that

the univerſe was made for our ſake. I have ſaid likewiſe, that as all our knowledge comes, *a poſteriori*, it is imprudent to reaſon otherwiſe than from facts. That there are wild beaſts, and that there are ſavage men, is certain; and that where there are but few of the latter, the firſt muſt always be very troubleſome, and often fatal to them, is as certain; and when I reflect on the paſſions all men are born with, and their incapacity whilſt they are untaught, I can find no cauſe or motive which is ſo likely to unite them together, and make them eſpouſe the ſame intereſt, as that common danger they muſt always be in from wild beaſts, in uncultivated countries, whilſt they live in ſmall families that all ſhift for themſelves, without government or dependance upon one another: This firſt ſtep to ſociety, I believe to be an effect, which that ſame cauſe, the common danger ſo often mentioned, will never fail to produce upon our ſpecies in ſuch circumſtances: what other, and how many purpoſes wild beaſts might have been deſigned for beſides, I do not pretend to determine, as I have told you before.

Hor. But whatever other purpoſes wild beaſts were deſigned for, it ſtill follows from your opinion, that the uniting of ſavages in common defence, muſt have been one; which to me ſeems claſhing with our idea of the Divine Goodneſs.

Cleo. So will every thing ſeem to do, which we call natural evil; if you aſcribe human paſſions to the Deity, and meaſure Infinite Wiſdom by the ſtandard of our moſt ſhallow capacity; you have been at this twice already; I thought I had anſwered it. I would not make God the author of evil, any more than yourſelf; but I am likewiſe perſuaded, that nothing could come by chance, in reſpect to the Supreme Being; and, therefore, unleſs you imagine the world not to be governed by Providence, you muſt believe that wars, and all the calamities we can ſuffer from man or beaſt, as well as plagues and all other diſeaſes, are under a wiſe direction that is unfathomable. As there can be no effect without a cauſe, ſo nothing can be ſaid to happen by chance, but in reſpect to him who is ignorant of the cauſe of it. I can make this evident to you, in an obvious and familiar example. To a man who knows nothing of the tennis-court, the ſkips and rebounds of the ball ſeems to be all fortuitous; as he is not able to gueſs at the ſeveral different directions it will receive before it comes to the ground; ſo, as ſoon as it has hit the place to which it was plainly directed at firſt, it

is chance to him where it will fall: whereas, the experienced player, knowing perfectly well the journey the ball will make, goes directly to the place, if he is not there already, where it will certainly come within his reach. Nothing ſeems to be more the effect of chance than a caſt of the dice: yet they obey the laws of gravity and motion in general, as much as any thing elſe; and from the impreſſions that are given them, it is impoſſible they ſhould fall otherwiſe than they do: but the various directions which they ſhall receive in the whole courſe of the throw being entirely unknown, and the rapidity with which they change their ſituation being ſuch, that our ſlow apprehenſion cannot trace them, what the caſt will be is a myſtery to human underſtanding, at fair play. But if the ſame variety of directions was given to two cubes of ten feet each, which a pair of dice receive, as well from one another as the box, the caſter's fingers that cover it, and the table they are flung upon, from the time they are taken up until they lie ſtill, the ſame effect would follow; and if the quantity of motion, the force that is imparted to the box and dice was exactly known, and the motion itſelf was ſo much retarded in the performance, that what is done in three or four ſeconds, ſhould take up an hour's time, it would be eaſy to find out the reaſon of every throw, and men might learn with certainty to foretell which ſide of the cube would be uppermoſt. It is evident, then, that the words fortuitous and caſual, have no other meaning than what depends upon our want of knowledge, foreſight, and penetration; the reflection on which will ſhow us, by what an infinity of degrees all human capacity falls ſhort of that univerſal intuitus, with which the Supreme Being beholds at once every thing without exception, whether to us it be viſible or inviſible, paſt, preſent, or to come.

Hor. I yield: you have ſolved every difficulty I have been able to raiſe; and I muſt confeſs, that your ſuppoſition concerning the firſt motive that would make ſavages aſſociate, is neither claſhing with good ſenſe, nor any idea we ought to have of the Divine attributes; but, on the contrary, in anſwering my objections, you have demonſtrated the probability of your conjecture, and rendered the wiſdom and power of providence, in the ſcheme of this earth, both as to the contrivance and the execution of it, more conſpicuous and palpable to me, than any thing I ever heard or read, had done before.

Cleo. I am glad you are satisfied; though far from arrogating to myself so much merit as your civility would compliment me with.

Hor. It is very clear to me now; that as it is appointed for all men to die, so it is necessary there should be means to compass this end; that from the number of those means, or causes of death, it is impossible to exclude either the malice of men, or the rage of wild beasts, and all noxious animals; and that if they had been actually designed by nature, and contrived for that purpose, we should have no more reason justly to complain of them, than we have to find fault with death itself, or that frightful train of diseases which are daily and hourly the manifest occasion of it.

Cleo. They are all equally included in the curse, which after the fall was deservedly pronounced against the whole earth; and if they be real evils, they are to be looked upon as the consequence of sin, and a condign punishment, which the transgression of our first parents has drawn and entailed upon all their posterity. I am fully persuaded, that all the nations in the world, and every individual of our species, civilized or savage, had their origin from Seth, Sham, or Japhet: and as experience has taught us, that the greatest empires have their periods, and the best governed states and kingdoms may come to ruin; so it is certain, that the politest people being scattered and distressed, may soon degenerate, and some of them by accidents and misfortunes, from knowing and well taught ancestors, be reduced at last to savages of the first and lowest class.

Hor. If what you are fully persuaded of, be true, the other is self-evident, from the savages that are still subsisting.

Cleo. You once seemed to insinuate, that all the danger men were in from wild beasts, would entirely cease as soon as they were civilized, and lived in large and well-ordered societies; but by this you may see, that our species will never be wholly exempt from that danger; because mankind will always be liable to be reduced to savages; for, as this calamity has actually befallen vast multitudes that were the undoubted descendants of Noah; so the greatest prince upon earth, that has children, cannot be sure, that the same disaster will never happen to any of his posterity. Wild beasts may be entirely extirpated in some countries that are duly cultivated; but they will multiply in others that are

wholly neglected; and great numbers of them range now, and are maſters in many places, where they had been rooted and kept out before. I ſhall always believe that every ſpecies of living creatures in and upon this globe, without exception, continues to be, as it was at firſt, under the care of that ſame Providence that thought fit to produce it. You have had a great deal of patience, but I would not tire it: This firſt ſtep towards ſociety, now we have maſtered it, is a good reſting place, and ſo we will leave off for to-day.

Hor. With all my heart: I have made you talk a great deal; but I long to hear the reſt, as ſoon as you are at leiſure.

Cleo. I am obliged to dine at Windſor to-morrow; if you are not otherwiſe engaged, I can carry you where the honour of your company will be highly eſteemed: my coach ſhall be ready at nine; you know you are in my way.

Hor. A fine opportunity, indeed, of three or four hours chat.

Cleo. I ſhall be all alone without you.

Hor. I am your man, and ſhall expect you.

Cleo. Adieu.

THE SIXTH

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

HORATIO AND CLEOMENES

HORATIO.

Now we are off the ſtones, pray let us loſe no time; I expect a great deal of pleaſure from what I am to hear further.

Cleo. The ſecond ſtep to ſociety is the danger men are in from one another: for which we are beholden to that ſtaunch principle of pride and ambition, that all men are born with. Different families may endeavour to live to-

gether, and be ready to join in common danger; but they are all of litttle uſe to one another, when there is no common enemy to oppoſe. If we conſider that ſtrength, agility, and courage would, in ſuch a ſtate, be the moſt valuable qualifications, and that many families could not live long together, but ſome, actuated by the principle I named, would ſtrive for ſuperiority: this muſt breed quarrels, in which the moſt weak and fearful will, for their own ſafety, always join with him of whom they have the beſt opinion.

Hor. This would naturally divide multitudes into bands and companies, that would all have their different leaders, and of which the ſtrongeſt and moſt valiant would always ſwallow up the weakeſt and moſt fearful.

Cleo. What you ſay agrees exactly with the accounts we have of the uncivilized nations that are ſtill ſubſiſting in the world; and thus men may live miſerably many ages.

Hor. The very firſt generation that was brought up under the tuition of parents, would be governable: and would not every ſucceeding generation grow wiſer than the foregoing?

Cleo. Without doubt they would increaſe in knowledge and cunning: time and experience would have the ſame effect upon them as it has upon others; and in the particular things to which they applied themſelves, they would become as expert and ingenious as the moſt civilized nations: but their unruly paſſions, and the diſcords occaſioned by them, would never ſuffer them to be happy; their mutual contentions would be continually ſpoiling their improvements, deſtroying their inventions, and fruſtrating their deſigns.

Hor. But would not their ſufferings in time bring them acquainted with the cauſes of their diſagreement; and would not that knowledge put them upon making of contracts, not to injure one another?

Cleo. Very probably they would; but among ſuch ill-bred and uncultivated people, no man would keep a contract longer than that intereſt laſted which made him ſubmit to it.

Hor. But might not religion, the fear of an inviſible cauſe, be made ſerviceable to them, as to the keeping of their contracts?

Cleo. It might, without diſpute; and would, before many generations paſſed away. But religion could do no more among them, than it does among civilized nations; where

the Divine vengeance is ſeldom truſted to only, and oaths themſelves are thought to be of little ſervice, where there is no human power to enforce the obligation, and puniſh perjury.

Hor. But do not think, that the ſame ambition that made a man aſpire to be a leader, would make him likewiſe deſirous of being obeyed in civil matters, by the numbers he led?

Cleo. I do; and moreover that, notwithſtanding this unſettled and precarious way communities would live in, after three or four generations, human nature would be looked into, and begin to be underſtood: leaders would find out, that the more ſtrife and diſcord there was amongſt the people they headed, the leſs uſe they could make of them: this would put them upon various ways of curbing mankind; they would forbid killing and ſtriking one another; the taking away by force the wives or children of others in the ſame community; they would invent penalties, and very early find out that nobody ought to be a judge in his own cauſe; and that old men, generally ſpeaking, knew more than young.

Hor. When once they have prohibitions and penalties, I ſhould think all the difficulty ſurmounted; and I wonder why you ſaid, that thus they might live miſerably for many ages.

Cleo. There is one thing of great moment, which has not been named yet; and until that comes to paſs, no conſiderable numbers can ever be made happy; what ſignify the ſtrongeſt contracts when we have nothing to ſhow for them; and what dependence can we have upon oral tradition, in matters that require exactneſs; eſpecially whilſt the language that is ſpoken is yet very imperfect? Verbal reports are liable to a thouſand cavils and diſputes that are prevented by records, which every body knows to be unerring witneſſes; and from the many attempts that are made to wreſt and diſtort the ſenſe of even written laws, we may judge how impracticable the adminiſtration of juſtice muſt be among all ſocieties that are deſtitute of them. Therefore the third and laſt ſtep to ſociety, is the invention of letters. No multitudes can live peaceably without government; no government can ſubſiſt without laws; and no laws can be effectual long, unleſs they are wrote down: the conſideration of this is alone ſufficient to give us a great inſight into the nature of man.

Hor. I do not think ſo: the reaſon why no government can ſubſiſt without laws, is, becauſe there are bad men in all multitudes; but to take patterns from them, when we would judge of human nature, rather than from the good ones that follow the dictates of their reaſon, is an injuſtice one would not be guilty of to brute beaſts; and it would be very wrong in us, for a few vicious horſes, to condemn the whole ſpecies as ſuch, without taking notice of the many fine ſpirited creatures that are naturally tame and gentle.

Cleo. At this rate I muſt repeat every thing that I have ſaid yeſterday and the day before: I thought you was convinced, that it was with thought as it is with ſpeech; and that though man was born with a capacity beyond other animals, to attain to both, yet, whilſt he remained untaught, and never converſed with any of his ſpecies, theſe characteriſtics were of little uſe to him. All men uninſtructed, whilſt they are let alone, will follow the impulſe of their nature, without regard to others; and therefore all of them are bad, that are not taught to be good: ſo all horſes are ungovernable that are not well broken: for what we call vicious in them, is, when they bite or kick, endeavour to break their halter, throw their rider, and exert themſelves with all their ſtrength to ſhake off the yoke, and recover that liberty which nature prompts them to aſſert and deſire. What you call natural, is evidently artificial, and belongs to education: no fine-ſpirited horſe was ever tame or gentle, without management. Some, perhaps, are not backed until they are four years old; but then long before that time, they are handled, ſpoke to, and dreſſed; they are fed by their keepers, put under reſtraint, ſometimes careſſed, and ſometimes made to ſmart; and nothing is omitted whilſt they are young, to inſpire them with awe and veneration to our ſpecies; and make them not only ſubmit to it, but likewiſe take a pride in obeying the ſuperior genius of man. But would you judge of the nature of horſes in general, as to its fitneſs to be governed, take the foals of the beſt bred mares and fineſt ſtallions, and turn an hundred of them looſe, fillies and colts together, in a large foreſt, till they are ſeven years old, and then ſee how tractable they will be.

Hor. But this is never done.

Cleo. Whoſe fault is that? It is not at the requeſt of the horſes, that they are kept from the mares; and that any of

them are ever gentle or tame, is entirely owing to the management of man. Vice proceeds from the ſame origin in men, as it does in horſes; the deſire of uncontrouled liberty, and impatience of reſtraint, are not more viſible in the one than they are in the other; and a man is then called vicious, when, breaking the curbs of precepts and prohibitions, he wildly follows the unbridled appetites of his untaught or ill-managed nature. The complaints againſt this nature of ours, are every where the ſame: man would have every thing he likes, without conſidering whether he has any right to it or not; and he would do every thing he has a mind to do, without regard to the conſequence it would be of to others; at the ſame time that he diſlikes every body, that acting from the ſame principle, have in all their behaviour not a ſpecial regard to him.

Hor. That is, in ſhort, man naturally will not do as he would be done by.

Cleo. That is true; and for this, there is another reaſon in his nature: all men are partial in their judgments, when they compare themſelves to others; no two equals think ſo well of each other, as both do of themſelves; and where all men have an equal right to judge, there needs no greater cauſe of quarrel, than a preſent amongſt them, with an inſcription of *detur digniori.* Man in his anger behaves himſelf in the ſame manner as other animals; diſturbing, in the purſuit of ſelf-preſervation, thoſe they are angry with; and all of them endeavour, according as the degree of their paſſion is, either to deſtroy, or cauſe pain and diſpleaſure to their adverſaries. That theſe obſtacles to ſociety are the faults, or rather properties of our nature, we may know by this, that all regulations and prohibitions that have been contrived for the temporal happineſs of mankind, are made exactly to tally with them, and to obviate thoſe complaints, which I ſaid were every where made againſt mankind. The principal laws of all countries have the ſame tendency; and there is not one that does not point at ſome frailty, defect, or unfitneſs for ſociety, that men are naturally ſubject to; but all of them are plainly deſigned as ſo many remedies, to cure and diſappoint that natural inſtinct of ſovereignty, which teaches man to look upon every thing as centring in himſelf, and prompts him to put in a claim to every thing he can lay his hands on. This tendency and deſign to mend our nature, for the temporal good of ſociety, is no where more viſible, than in

that compendious as well as complete body of laws, that was given by God himſelf. The Iſraelites, whilſt they were ſlaves in Egypt, were governed by the laws of their maſters; and as they were many degrees removed from the loweſt ſavages, ſo they were yet far from being a civilized nation. It is reaſonable to think, that, before they received the law of God, they had regulations and agreements already eſtabliſhed, which the ten commandments did not aboliſh; and that they muſt have had notions of right and wrong, and contracts among them againſt open violence, and the invaſion of property, is demonſtrable.

Hor. How is that demonſtrable?

Cleo. From the decalogue itſelf: all wiſe laws are adapted to the people that are to obey them. From the ninth commandment, for example, it is evident, that a man's own teſtimony was not ſufficient to be believed in his own affair, and that nobody was allowed to be a judge in his own caſe.

Hor. It only forbids us to bear falſe witneſs againſt our neighbour.

Cleo. That is true; and therefore the whole tenor and deſign of this commandment preſuppoſes, and muſt imply what I ſay. But the prohibitions of ſtealing, adultery, and coveting any thing that belonged to their neighbours, are ſtill more plainly intimating the ſame; and ſeem to be additions and amendments, to ſupply the defects of ſome known regulations and contracts that had been agreed upon before. If, in this view, we behold the three commandments laſt hinted at, we ſhall find them to be ſtrong evidences, not only of that inſtinct of ſovereignty within us, which at other times I have called a domineering ſpirit, and a principle of ſelfiſhneſs; but likewiſe of the difficulty there is to deſtroy, eradicate, and pull it out of the heart of man: for, from the eighth commandment it appears, that, though we debar ourſelves from taking the things of our neighbour by force, yet there is danger that this inſtinct will prompt us to get them unknown to him in a clandeſtine manner, and deceive us with the inſinuations of an *oportet habere*. From the foregoing precept, it is likewiſe manifeſt, that though we agree not to take away, and rob a man of the woman that is his own, it is yet to be feared, that if we like her, this innate principle that bids us gratify every appetite, will adviſe us to make uſe of her as if ſhe was our own; though our neighbour is at the charge of maintaining her and all the children

ſhe brings forth. The laſt more eſpecially is very ample in confirming my aſſertion. It ſtrikes directly at the root of the evil, and lays open the real ſource of the miſchiefs that are apprehended in the ſeventh and the eighth commandment: for without firſt actually treſpaſſing againſt this, no man is in danger of breaking either of the former. This tenth commandment, moreover, inſinuates very plainly, in the firſt place, that this inſtinct of ours is of great power, and a frailty hardly to be cured; in the ſecond, that there is nothing which our neighbour can be poſſeſſed of, but, neglecting the conſideration of juſtice and property, we may have a deſire after it; for which reaſon it abſolutely forbids us to covet any thing that is his: The Divine Wiſdom, well knowing the ſtrength of this ſelfiſh principle, which obliges us continually to aſſume every thing to ourſelves; and that, when once a man heartily covets a thing, this inſtinct, this principle will over-rule and perſuade him to leave no ſtone unturned to compaſs his deſires.

Hor. According to your way of expounding the commandments, and making them tally ſo exactly with the frailties of our nature, it ſhould follow from the ninth, that all men are born with a ſtrong appetite to forſwear themſelves, which I never heard before.

Cleo. Nor I neither; and I confeſs that the rebuke there is in this ſmart turn of yours is very plauſible; but the cenſure, how ſpecious ſoever it may appear, is unjuſt, and you ſhall not find the conſequence you hint at, if you will be pleaſed to diſtinguiſh between the natural appetites themſelves, and the various crimes which they make us commit, rather than not be obeyed: For, though we are born with no immediate appetite to forſwear ourſelves, yet we are born with more than one, that, if never checked, may in time oblige us to forſwear ourſelves, or do worſe, if it be poſſible, and they cannot be gratified without it; and the commandment you mention plainly implies, that by nature we are ſo unreaſonably attached to our intereſt on all emergencies, that it is poſſible for a man to be ſwayed by it, not only to the viſible detriment of others, as is manifeſt from the ſeventh and the eighth, but even though it ſhould be againſt his own conſcience: For nobody did ever knowingly bear falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour, but he did it for ſome end or other; this end, whatever it is, I call his intereſt. The law which forbids murder, had already demonſtrated to us, how immenſe-

ly we undervalue every thing, when it comes in competition with ourſelves; for, though our greateſt dread be deſtruction, and we know no other calamity equal to the diſſolution of our being, yet ſuch unequitable judges this inſtinct of ſovereignty is able to make of us, that rather than not have our will, which we count our happineſs, we chooſe to inflict this calamity on others, and bring total ruin on ſuch as we think to be obſtacles to the gratification of our appetites; and this men do, not only for hindrances that are preſent, or apprehended as to come, but likewiſe for former offences, and things that are paſt redreſs.

Hor. By what you ſaid laſt, you mean revenge, I ſuppoſe.

Cleo. I do ſo; and the inſtinct of ſovereignty which I aſſert to be in human nature, is in nothing ſo glaringly conſpicuous as it is in this paſſion, which no mere man was ever born without, and which even the moſt civilized, as well as the moſt learned, are ſeldom able to conquer: For whoever pretends to revenge himſelf, muſt claim a right to a judicature within, and an authority to puniſh: Which, being deſtructive to the mutual peace of all multitudes, are for that reaſon the firſt things that in every civil ſociety are ſnatched away out of every man's hands, as dangerous tools, and veſted in the governing part, the ſupreme power only.

Hor. This remark on revenge has convinced me more than any thing you have ſaid yet, that there is ſome ſuch thing as a principle of ſovereignty in our nature; but I cannot conceive yet, why the vices of private, I mean particular perſons, ſhould be thought to belong to the whole ſpecies.

Cleo. Becauſe every body is liable to fall into the vices that are peculiar to his ſpecies; and it is with them, as it is with diſtempers among creatures of different kinds: There are many ailments that horſes are ſubject to, which are not incident to cows. There is no vice, but whoever commits it had within him before he was guilty of it, a tendency towards it, a latent cauſe that diſpoſed him to it: Therefore, all lawgivers have two main points to conſider at ſetting out: Firſt, what things will procure happineſs to the ſociety under their care: Secondly, what paſſions and properties there are in man's nature, that may either promote or obſtruct this happineſs. It is prudence to watch your fiſh ponds againſt the inſults of hearns and bitterns; but the ſame precaution would be ridiculous againſt turkeys and peacocks, or any

other creatures, that neither love fiſh, nor are able to catch them.

Hor, What frailty or defect is it in our nature, that the two firſt commandments have a regard to, or, as you call it, tally with?

Cleo. Our natural blindneſs and ignorance of the true Deity: For, though we all come into the world with an inſtinct toward religion that manifeſts itſelf before we come to maturity, yet the fear of an inviſible cauſe, or inviſible cauſes, which all men are born with, is not more univerſal, than the uncertainty which all untaught men fluctuate in as to the nature and properties of that cauſe, or thoſe cauſes: There can be no greater proof of this——

Hor. I want none; the hiſtory of all ages is a ſufficient witneſs.

Cleo. Give me leave: There can, I ſay, be no greater proof of this, than the ſecond commandment, which palpably points at all the abſurdities and abominations which the ill-guided fear of an inviſible cauſe had already made, and would ſtill continue to make men commit; and in doing this, I can hardly think, that any thing but Divine Wiſdom could, in ſo few words, have comprehended the vaſt extent and ſum total of human extravagancies, as it is done in that commandment: For there is nothing ſo high or remote in the firmament, nor ſo low or abject upon earth, but ſome men have worſhipped it, or made it one way or other the object of their ſuperſtition.

> *Hor*.——Crocodilon adorat
> Pars hæc: illa pavet ſaturam ſerpentibus Ibin.
> Effigies ſacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci.

A holy monkey! I own it is a reproach to our ſpecies, that ever any part of it ſhould have adored ſuch a creature as a god. But that is the tip-top of folly, that can be charged on ſuperſtition.

Cleo. I do not think ſo; a monkey is ſtill a living creature, and conſequently ſomewhat ſuperior to things inanimate.

Hor. I ſhould have thought mens adoration of the ſun or moon infinitely leſs abſurd than to have ſeen them fall down before ſo vile, ſo ridiculous an animal.

Cleo. Thoſe who have adored the ſun and moon never queſtioned, but they were intelligent as well as glorious be-

ings. But when I mentioned the word inanimate, I was thinking on what the ſame poet you quoted ſaid of the veneration men paid to leeks and onions, deities they raiſed in their own gardens.

> Porrum & cepe nefas violare, & frangere morſu :
> O ſanctas genteis, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
> Numina !———————

But this is nothing to what has been done in America fourteen hundred years after the time of Juvenal. If the portentous worſhip of the Mexicans had been known in his days, he would not have thought it worth his while to take notice of the Egyptians. I have often admired at the uncommon pains thoſe poor people muſt have taken to expreſs the frightful and ſhocking, as well as bizarre and unutterable notions they entertained of the ſuperlative malice and helliſh implacable nature of their vitzliputzli, to whom they ſacrificed the hearts of men, cut out whilſt they were alive. The monſtrous figure and laboured deformity of that abominable idol, are a lively repreſentation of the direful ideas thoſe wretches framed to themſelves of an inviſible over-ruling power; and plainly ſhow us, how horrid and execrable they thought it to be, at the ſame time that they paid it the higheſt adoration; and at the expence of human blood endeavoured, with fear and trembling, if not to appeaſe the wrath and rage of it, at leaſt to avert, in ſome meaſure, the manifold miſchiefs they apprehended from it.

Hor. Nothing, I muſt own, can render declaiming againſt idolatry more ſeaſonable than a reflection upon the ſecond commandment: But as what you have been ſaying required no great attention, I have been thinking of ſomething elſe. Thinking on the purport of the third commandment, furniſhes me with an objection, and I think a ſtrong one, to what you have affirmed about all laws in general, and the decalogue in particular. You know I urged that it was wrong to aſcribe the faults of bad men to human nature in general.

Cleo. I do; and thought I had anſwered you.

Hor. Let me try only once more. Which of the two, pray, do you think profane ſwearing to proceed from, a frailty in our nature, or an ill cuſtom generally contracted by keeping of bad company?

Cleo. Certainly the latter.

Hor. Then it is evident to me, that this law is levelled at the bad men only, that are guilty of the vice forbid in it; and not any frailty belonging to human nature in general.

Cleo. I believe you miſtake the deſign of this law; and am of opinion, that it has a much higher aim than you ſeem to imagine. You remember my ſaying, that reverence to authority was neceſſary, to make human creatures governable.

Hor. Very well; and that reverence was a compound of fear, love, and eſteem.

Cleo. Now let us take a view of what is done in the decalogue: In the ſhort preamble to it, expreſsly made that the Iſraelites ſhould know who it was that ſpoke to them, God manifeſts himſelf to thoſe whom he had choſen for his people, by a moſt remarkable inſtance of his own great power, and their ſtrong obligation to him, in a fact, that none of them could be ignorant of. There is a plainneſs and grandeur withal in this ſentence, than which nothing can be more truly ſublime or majeſtic; and I defy the learned world to ſhow me another as comprehenſive, and of equal weight and dignity, that ſo fully executes its purpoſe, and anſwers its deſign with the ſame ſimplicity of words. In that part of the ſecond commandment, which contains the motives and inducements why men ſhould obey the Divine laws, are ſet forth in the moſt emphatical manner: Firſt, God's wrath on thoſe that hate him, and the continuance of it on their poſterity: Secondly, the wide extent of his mercy to thoſe who love him and keep his commandments. If we duly conſider theſe paſſages, we ſhall find, that fear, as well as love, and the higheſt eſteem, are plainly and diſtinctly inculcated in them; and that the beſt method is made uſe of there, to inſpire men with a deep ſenſe of the three ingredients that make up the compound of reverence. The reaſon is plain: If people were to be governed by that body of laws, nothing was more neceſſary to enforce their obedience to them, than their awful regard and utmoſt veneration to him, at whoſe command they were to keep them, and to whom they were accountable for the breaking of them.

Hor. What anſwer is all this to my objection?

Cleo. Have a moment's patience; I am coming to it. Mankind are naturally fickle, and delight in change and variety; they ſeldom retain long the ſame impreſſion of things they received at firſt, when they were new to them; and

they are apt to undervalue, if not despise the best, when they grow common. I am of opinion, that the third commandment points at this frailty, this want of steadiness in our nature; the ill consequences of which, in our duty to the Creator, could not be better prevented than by a strict observance of this law, in never making use of his name, but in the most solemn manner, on necessary occasions, and in matters of high importance. As in the foregoing part of the decalogue, care had been already taken, by the strongest motives, to create and attract reverence, so nothing could be more wisely adapted to strengthen, and make it everlasting, than the contents of this law: For as too much familiarity breeds contempt, so our highest regard due to what is most sacred, cannot be kept up better than by a quite contrary practice.

Hor. I am answered.

Cleo. What weight reverence is thought to be of to procure obedience, we may learn from the same body of laws in another commandment. Children have no opportunity of learning their duty but from their parents and those who act by their authority or in their stead: Therefore, it was requisite, that men should not only stand in great dread of the law of God, but likewise have great reverence for those who first inculcated it, and communicated to them that this was the law of God.

Hor. But you said, that the reverence of children to parents was a natural consequence of what they first experienced from the latter.

Cleo. You think there was no occasion for this law, if man would do what is commanded in it of his own accord: But I desire you would consider, that though the reverence of children to parents is a natural consequence, partly of the benefits and chastisements they receive from them, and partly of the great opinion they form of the superior capacity they observe in them; experience teaches us, that this reverence may be over-ruled by stronger passions; and therefore it being of the highest moment to all government and sociableness itself, God thought fit to fortify and strengthen it in us, by a particular command of his own; and, moreover, to encourage it, by the promise of a reward for the keeping of it. It is our parents that first cure us of our natural wildness, and break in us the spirit of independency we are all born with: It is to them we owe the first rudiments of our submission; and to the honour and deference which children

pay to parents, all societies are obliged for the principle of human obedience. The instinct of sovereignty in our nature, and the waywardness of infants, which is the consequence of it, discover themselves with the least glimmering of our understanding, and before children that have been most neglected, and the least taught, are always the most stubborn and obstinate; and none are more unruly, and fonder of following their own will, than those that are least capable of governing themselves.

Hor. Then this commandment you think not obligatory, when we come to years of maturity.

Cleo. Far from it: for though the benefit politically intended by this law be chiefly received by us, whilst we are under age and the tuition of parents; yet, for that very reason, ought the duty commanded in it, never to cease. We are fond of imitating our superiors from our cradle, and whilst this honour and reverence to parents continue to be paid by their children, when they are grown men and women, and act for themselves, the example is of singular use to all minors, in teaching them their duty, and not to refuse what they see others, that are older and wiser, comply with by choice: For, by this means, as their understanding increases, this duty, by degrees, becomes a fashion, which at last their pride will not suffer them to neglect.

Hor. What you said last is certainly the reason, that among fashionable people, even the most vicious and wicked do outward homage, and pay respect to parents, at least before the world; though they act against, and in their hearts hate them.

Cleo. Here is another instance to convince us, that good manners are not inconsistent with wickedness; and that men may be strict observers of decorums, and take pains to seem well-bred, and at the same time have no regard to the laws of God, and live in contempt of religion: and therefore to procure an outward compliance with this fifth commandment, no lecture can be of such force, nor any instruction so edifying to youth, among the modest sort of people, as the sight of a strong and vigorous, as well as polite and well dressed man, in a dispute giving way and submitting to a decrepit parent.

Hor. But do you imagine that all the divine laws, even those that seem only to relate to God himself, his power and glory, and our obedience to his will, abstract from any consideration

of our neighbour, had likewiſe a regard to the good of ſociety, and the temporal happineſs of his people?

Cleo. There is no doubt of that; witneſs the keeping of the Sabbath.

Hor. We have ſeen that very handſomely proved in one of the Spectators.

Cleo. But the uſefulneſs of it in human affairs, is of far greater moment, than that which the author of that paper chiefly takes notice of. Of all the difficulties that mankind have laboured under in completing ſociety, nothing has been more puzzling or perplexing than the diviſion of time. Our annual courſe round the ſun, not anſwering exactly any number of complete days or hours, has been the occaſion of immenſe ſtudy and labour: and nothing has more racked the brain of man, than the adjuſting the year to prevent the confuſion of ſeaſons: but even when the year was divided into lunar months, the computation of time muſt have been impracticable among the common people: To remember twenty-nine, or thirty days, where feaſts are irregular, and all other days ſhow alike, muſt have been a great burden to the memory, and cauſed a continual confuſion among the ignorant; whereas, a ſhort period ſoon returning is eaſily remembered, and one fixed day in ſeven, ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, muſt rub up the memory of the moſt unthinking.

Hor. I believe that the Sabbath is a conſiderable help in the computation of time, and of greater uſe in human affairs, than can be eaſily imagined by thoſe, who never knew the want of it.

Cleo. But what is moſt remarkable in this fourth commandment, is God's revealing himſelf to his people, and acquainting an infant nation with a truth, which the reſt of the world remained ignorant of for many ages. Men were ſoon made ſenſible of the ſun's power, obſerved every meteor in the ſky, and ſuſpected the influence of the moon and other ſtars: but it was a long time, and man was far advanced in ſublime notions, before the light of nature could raiſe mortal thought to the contemplation of an Infinite Being that is the author of the whole.

Hor. You have deſcanted on this ſufficiently when you ſpoke of Moſes: pray let us proceed to the further eſtabliſhment of ſociety. I am ſatisfied that the third ſtep towards it is the invention of letters; that without them no laws can be

long effectual, and that the principle laws of all countries are remedies againſt human frailties; I mean, that they are deſigned as antidotes, to prevent the ill conſequences of ſome properties, inſeparable from our nature; which yet in themſelves, without management or reſtraint, are obſtructive and pernicious to ſociety: I am perſuaded likewiſe, that theſe frailties are palpably pointed at in the decalogue; that it was wrote with great wiſdom, and that there is not one commandment in it, that has not a regard to the temporal good of ſociety, as well as matters of higher moment.

Cleo. Theſe are the things, indeed, that I have endeavoured to prove; and now all the great difficulties and chief obſtructions, that can hinder a multitude from being formed into a body politic, are removed: when once men come to be governed by written laws, all the reſt comes on a-pace. Now property, and ſafety of life and limb may be ſecured: this naturally will forward the love of peace, and make it ſpread. No number of men, when once they enjoy quiet, and no man needs to fear his neighbour, will be long without learning to divide and ſubdivide their labour.

Hor. I do not underſtand you.

Cleo. Man, as I have hinted before, naturally loves to imitate what he ſees others do, which is the reaſon that ſavage people all do the ſame thing: this hinders them from meliorating their condition, though they are always wiſhing for it: but if one will wholly apply himſelf to the making of bows and arrows, whilſt another provides food, a third builds huts, a fourth makes garments, and a fifth utenſils: they not only become uſeful to one another, but the callings and employments themſelves will in the ſame number of years receive much greater improvements, than if all had been promiſcuouſly followed by every one of the five.

Hor. I believe you are perfectly right there; and the truth of what you ſay is in nothing ſo conſpicuous, as it is in watch-making, which is come to a higher degree of perfection, than it would have been arrived at yet, if the whole had always remained the employment of one perſon; and I am perſuaded, that even the plenty we have of clocks and watches, as well as the exactneſs and beauty they may be made of, are chiefly owing to the diviſion that has been made of that art into many branches.

Cleo. The uſe of letters muſt likewiſe very much improve ſpeech itſelf, which before that time cannot but be very barren and precarious.

Hor. I am glad to hear you mention ſpeech again: I would not interrupt you when you named it once before: Pray what language did your wild couple ſpeak, when firſt they met?

Cleo. From what I have ſaid already, it is evident, that they could have had none at all; at leaſt, that it is my opinion.

Hor. Then wild people muſt have an inſtinct to underſtand one another, which they loſe when they are civilized.

Cleo. I am perſuaded that nature has made all animals of the ſame kind, in their mutual commerce, intelligible to one another, as far as is requiſite for the preſervation of themſelves and their ſpecies: and as to my wild couple, as you call them, I believe there would be a very good underſtanding before many ſounds paſſed between them. It is not without ſome difficulty, that a man born in ſociety can form an idea of ſuch ſavages, and their condition; and unleſs he has uſed himſelf to abſtract thinking, he can hardly repreſent to himſelf ſuch a ſtate of ſimplicity, in which man can have ſo few deſires, and no appetites roving beyond the immediate call of untaught nature: to me it ſeems very plain, that ſuch a couple would not only be deſtitute of language, but likewiſe never find out, or imagine that they ſtood in need of any; or that the want of it was any real inconvenience to them.

Hor. Why do you think ſo?

Cleo. Becauſe it is impoſſible that any creatures ſhould know the want of what it can have no idea of: I believe, moreover, that if ſavages, after they are grown men and women, ſhould hear others ſpeak, be made acquainted with the uſefulneſs of ſpeech, and conſequently become ſenſible of the want of it in themſelves, their inclination to learn it would be as inconſiderable as their capacity; and if they ſhould attempt it, they would find it an immenſe labour, a thing not to be ſurmounted; becauſe the ſuppleneſs and flexibility in the organs of ſpeech, that children are endued with, and which I have often hinted at, would be loſt in them; and they might learn to play maſterly upon the violin, or any other the moſt difficult muſical inſtrument, before they could make any tolerable proficiency in ſpeaking.

Hor. Brutes make ſeveral diſtinct ſounds to expreſs different paſſions by: as for example, anguiſh, and great danger, dogs of all ſorts expreſs with another noiſe than they do rage and anger; and the whole ſpecies expreſs grief by howling.

Cleo. This is no argument to make us believe, that nature has endued man with ſpeech; there are innumerable other privileges and inſtincts which ſome brutes enjoy, and men are deſtitute of: chickens run about as ſoon as they are hatched; and moſt quadrupeds can walk without help, as ſoon as they are brought forth. If ever language came by inſtinct, the people that ſpoke it muſt have known every individual word in it; and a man in the wild ſtate of nature would have no occaſion for a thouſandth part of the moſt barren language that ever had a name. When a man's knowledge is confined within a narrow compaſs, and he has nothing to obey, but the ſimple dictates of nature, the want of ſpeech is eaſily ſupplied by dumb ſigns; and it is more natural to untaught men to expreſs themſelves by geſtures, than by ſounds; but we are all born with a capacity of making ourſelves underſtood, beyond other animals, without ſpeech: to expreſs grief, joy, love, wonder and fear, there are certain tokens that are common to the whole ſpecies. Who doubts that the crying of children was given them by nature, to call aſſiſtance and raiſe pity, which latter it does ſo unaccountably beyond any other ſound?

Hor. In mothers and nurſes, you mean.

Cleo. I mean in the generality of human creatures. Will you allow me, that warlike muſic generally rouſes and ſupports the ſpirits, and keeps them from ſinking.

Hor. I believe I muſt.

Cleo. Then I will engage, that the crying (I mean the *vagitus*) of helpleſs infants will ſtir up compaſſion in the generality of our ſpecies, that are within the hearing of it, with much greater certainty than drums and trumpets will diſſipate and chaſe away fear, in thoſe they are applied to. Weeping, laughing, ſmiling, frowning, ſighing, exclaiming, we ſpoke of before. How univerſal, as well as copious, is the language of the eyes, by the help of which the remoteſt nations underſtand one another at firſt ſight, taught or untaught, in the weightieſt temporal concern that belongs to the ſpecies? and in that language our wild couple would at their firſt meeting intelligibly ſay more to one another with-

out guile, than any civilized pair would dare to name without bluſhing.

Hor. A man, without doubt, may be as impudent with his eyes, as he can be with his tongue.

Cleo. All ſuch looks, therefore, and ſeveral motions, that are natural, are carefully avoided among polite people, upon no other account, than that they are too ſignificant: it is for the ſame reaſon that ſtretching ourſelves before others, whilſt we are yawning, is an abſolute breach of good manners, eſpecially in mixed company of both ſexes. As it is indecent to diſplay any of theſe tokens, ſo it is unfaſhionable to take notice of, or ſeem to underſtand them: this diſuſe and neglect of them is the cauſe, that whenever they happen to be made, either through ignorance or wilful rudeneſs, many of them are loſt and really not underſtood, by the *beau monde*, that would be very plain to ſavages without language, who could have no other means of converſing than by ſigns and motions.

Hor. But if the old ſtock would never either be able or willing to acquire ſpeech, it is poſſible they could teach it their children: then which way could any language ever come into the world from two ſavages?

Cleo. By ſlow degrees, as all other arts and ſciences have done, and length of time; agriculture, phyſic, aſtronomy, architecture, painting, &c. From what we ſee in children that are backward with their tongues, we have reaſon to think, that a wild pair would make themſelves intelligible to each other by ſigns and geſtures, before they would attempt it by ſounds: but when they lived together for many years, it is very probable, that for the things they were moſt converſant with they would find out ſounds, to ſtir up in each other the ideas of ſuch things, when they were out of ſight; theſe ſounds they would communicate to their young ones; and the longer they lived together the greater variety of ſounds they would invent, as well for actions as the things themſelves: they would find that the volubility of tongue, and flexibility of voice, were much greater in their young ones, than they could remember it ever to have been in themſelves: it is impoſſible, but ſome of theſe young ones would either by accident or deſign, make uſe of this ſuperior aptitude of the organs at one time or other; which every generation would improve upon; and this muſt have been the origin of all languages, and ſpeech itſelf, that were not

taught by inſpiration. I believe moreover, that after language (I mean ſuch as is of human invention) was come to a great degree of perfection, and even when people had diſtinct words for every action in life, as well as every thing they meddled or converſed with, ſigns and geſtures ſtill continued to be made for a great while, to accompany ſpeech; becauſe both are intended for the ſame purpoſe.

Hor. The deſign of ſpeech is to make our thoughts known to others.

Cleo. I do not think ſo.

Hor. What! do not men ſpeak to be underſtood?

Cleo. In one ſenſe they do; but there is a double meaning in thoſe words, which I believe you did not intend: if by man's ſpeaking to be underſtood you mean, that when men ſpeak, they deſire that the purport of the ſounds they utter ſhould be known and apprehended by others, I anſwer in the affirmitive: but if you mean by it, that men ſpeak, in order that their thoughts may be known, and their ſentiments laid open and ſeen through by others, which likewiſe may be meant by ſpeaking to be underſtood, I anſwer in the negative. The firſt ſign or ſound that ever man made, born of a woman, was made in behalf, and intended for the uſe of him who made it; and I am of opinion, that the firſt deſign of ſpeech was to perſuade others, either to give credit to what the ſpeaking perſon would have them believe; or elſe to act or ſuffer ſuch things, as he would compel them to act or ſuffer, if they were entirely in his power.

Hor. Speech is likewiſe made uſe of to teach, adviſe, and inform others for their benefit, as well as to perſuade them in our own behalf.

Cleo. And ſo by the help of it men may accuſe themſelves and own their crimes; but nobody would have invented ſpeech for thoſe purpoſes; I ſpeak of the deſign, the firſt motive and intention that put man upon ſpeaking. We ſee in children that the firſt things they endeavour to expreſs with words are their wants and their will; and their ſpeech is but a confirmation of what they aſked, denied, or affirmed, by ſigns before.

Hor. But why do you imagine that people would continue to make uſe of ſigns and geſtures, after they could ſufficiently expreſs themſelves in words?

Cleo. Becauſe ſigns confirm words, as much as words do ſigns; and we ſee, even in polite people, that when they are

very eager they can hardly forbear making uſe of both. When an infant, in broken imperfect gibberiſh, calls for a cake or a play-thing, and at the ſame time points at and reaches after it, this double endeavour makes a ſtronger impreſſion upon us, than if the child had ſpoke its wants in plain words, without making any ſigns, or elſe looked at and reached after the thing wanted, without attempting to ſpeak. Speech and action aſſiſt and corroborate one another, and experience teaches us that they move us much more, and are more perſuaſive jointly than ſeparately; *vis unita fortior*; and when an infant makes uſe of both, he acts from the ſame principle that an orator does when he joins proper geſtures to an elaborate declamation.

Hor. From what you have ſaid it ſhould ſeem that action is not only more natural, but likewiſe more ancient than ſpeech itſelf, which before I ſhould have thought a paradox.

Cleo. Yet it is true; and you ſhall always find that the moſt forward, volatile, and fiery tempers make more uſe of geſtures when they ſpeak, than others that are more patient and ſedate.

Hor. It is a very diverting ſcene to ſee how this is overdone among the French, and ſtill more among the Portugueſe: I have often been amazed to ſee what diſtortions of face and body, as well as other ſtrange geſticulations with hands and feet, ſome of them will make in their ordinary diſcourſes: But nothing was more offenſive to me, when I was abroad, than the loudneſs and violence which moſt foreigners ſpeak with, even among perſons of quality, when a diſpute ariſes, or any thing is to be debated: before I was uſed to it, it put me always upon my guard; for I did not queſtion but they were angry; and I often recollected what had been ſaid in order to conſider whether it was not ſomething I ought to have reſented.

Cleo. The natural ambition and ſtrong deſire men have to triumph over, as well as perſuade others, are the occaſion of all this. Heightening and lowering the voice at proper ſeaſons, is a bewitching engine to captivate mean underſtandings; and loudneſs is an aſſiſtant to ſpeech, as well as action is: uncorrectneſs, falſe grammar, and even want of ſenſe, are often happily drowned in noiſe and great buſtle; and many an argument has been convincing, that had all its force from the vehemence it was made with: the weakneſs

of the language itself may be palliatively cured by ſtrength of elocution.

Hor. I am glad that ſpeaking low is the faſhion among well-bred people in England; for bawling and impetuoſity I cannot endure.

Cleo. Yet this latter is more natural; and no man ever gave in to the contrary practice, the faſhion you like, that was not taught it either by precept or example: and if men do not accuſtom themſelves to it whilſt they are young, it is very difficult to comply with it afterwards: but it is the moſt lovely, as well as moſt rational piece of good manners that human invention has to boaſt of in the art of flattery; for when a man addreſſes himſelf to me in a calm manner, without making geſtures or other motions with head or body, and continues his diſcourſe in the ſame ſubmiſſive ſtrain and compoſure of voice, without exalting or depreſſing it, he, in the firſt place, diſplays his own modeſty and humility in an agreeable manner; and, in the ſecond, makes me a great compliment in the opinion which he ſeems to have of me; for by ſuch a behaviour he gives me the pleaſure to imagine that he thinks me not influenced by my paſſions, but altogether ſwayed by my reaſon: he ſeems to lay his ſtreſs on my judgment, and therefore to deſire, that I ſhould weigh and conſider what he ſays without being ruffled or diſturbed: no man would do this unleſs he truſted entirely to my good ſenſe, and the rectitude of my underſtanding.

Hor. I have always admired this unaffected manner of ſpeaking, though I never examined ſo deeply into the meaning of it.

Cleo. I cannot help thinking, but that, next to the laconic and manly ſpirit that runs through the nation, we are very much beholden for the ſtrength and beauty of our language to this tranquillity in diſcourſe, which for many years has been in England, more than any where elſe, a cuſtom peculiar to the *beau monde*, who, in all countries, are the undoubted refiners of language.

Hor. I thought that it was the preachers, play-wrights, orators, and fine writers that refined upon language.

Cleo. They make the beſt of what is ready coined to their hands; but the true and only mint of words and phraſes is the court; and the polite part of every nation are in poſſeſſion of the *jus et norma loquendi*. All technic words indeed, and terms of art, belong to the reſpective artiſts and dealers.

that primarily and literally make uſe of them in their buſineſs; but whatever is borrowed from them for metaphorical uſe, or from other languages, living or dead, muſt firſt have the ſtamp of the court, and the approbation of *beau monde* before it can paſs for current; and whatever is not uſed among them, or comes abroad without their ſanction, is either vulgar, pedantic, or obſolete. Orators therefore, hiſtorians, and all wholeſale dealers in words, are confined to thoſe that have been already well received, and from that treaſure they may pick and chooſe what is moſt for their purpoſe; but they are not allowed to make new ones of their own, any more than bankers are ſuffered to coin.

Hor. All this while I cannot comprehend what advantage or diſadvantage ſpeaking loud or low can be of to the language itſelf; and if what I am ſaying now was ſet down, it muſt be a real conjurer that, half a year hence, ſhould be able to tell by the writing, whether it had been bawled out or whiſpered.

Cleo. I am of opinion that when people of ſkill and addreſs accuſtom themſelves to ſpeak in the manner aforeſaid, it muſt in time have an influence upon the language, and render it ſtrong and expreſſive.

Hor. But your reaſon?

Cleo. When a man has only his words to truſt to, and the hearer is not to be affected by the delivery of them, otherwiſe than if he was to read them himſelf, it will infallibly put men upon ſtudying not only for nervous thoughts and perſpicuity, but likewiſe for words of great energy, for purity of diction, compactneſs of ſtyle, and fullneſs, as well as elegancy of expreſſions.

Hor. This ſeems to be far fetched, and yet I do not know but there may be ſomething in it.

Cleo. I am ſure you will think ſo, when you conſider that men that do ſpeak are equally deſirous and endeavouring to perſuade and gain the point they labour for, whether they ſpeak loud or low, with geſtures or without.

Hor. Speech, you ſay, was invented to perſuade; I am afraid you lay too much ſtreſs upon that: it certainly is made uſe of likewiſe for many other purpoſes.

Cleo. I do not deny that.

Hor. When people ſcold, call names, and pelt one another with ſcurrilities, what deſign is that done with? If it be to perſuade others, to have a worſe opinion of themſelves

than they are ſuppoſed to entertain, I believe it is ſeldom done with ſucceſs.

Cleo. Calling names is ſhowing others, and ſhowing them with pleaſure and oſtentation, the vile and wretched opinion we have of them; and perſons that make uſe of opprobrious language, are often endeavouring to make thoſe whom they give it to, believe that they think worſe of them than they really do.

Hor. Worſe than they do! Whence does that ever appear?

Cleo. From the behaviour and the common practice of thoſe that ſcold and call names. They rip up and exaggerate not only the faults and imperfections of their adverſary himſelf, but likewiſe every thing that is ridiculous or contemptible in his friends or relations: They will fly to, and reflect upon every thing which he is but in the leaſt concerned in, if any thing can poſſibly be ſaid of it that is reproachful; the occupation he follows, the party he ſides with, or the country he is of. They repeat with joy the calamities and misfortunes that have befallen him or his family: They ſee the juſtice of Providence in them, and they are ſure they are puniſhments he has deſerved. Whatever crime he has been ſuſpected of, they charge him with, as if it had been proved upon him. They call in every thing to their aſſiſtance; bare ſurmiſes, looſe reports, and known calumnies; and often upbraid him with what they themſelves, at other times, have owned not to believe.

Hor. But how comes the practice of ſcolding and calling names to be ſo common among the vulgar all the world over? there muſt be a pleaſure in it, though I cannot conceive it: I aſk to be informed; what ſatisfaction or other benefit is it, that men receive or expect from it? what view is it done with?

Cleo. The real cauſe and inward motive men act from, when they uſe ill language, or call names in earneſt, is, in the firſt place, to give vent to their anger, which it is troubleſome to ſtifle and conceal. Secondly, to vex and afflict their enemies with greater hopes of impunity than they could reaſonably entertain, if they did them any more ſubſtantial miſchief, which the law would revenge: but this never comes to be a cuſtom, nor is thought of, before language is arrived to great perfection, and ſociety is carried to ſome degree of politeneſs.

Hor. That is merry enough, to aſſert that ſcurrility is the effect of politeneſs.

Cleo. You ſhall call it what you pleaſe, but in its original it is a plain ſhift to avoid fighting, and the ill conſequences of it; for nobody ever called another rogue and raſcal, but he would have ſtruck him if it had been in his own power, and himſelf had not been withheld by the fear of ſomething or other: therefore, where people call names without doing further injury, it is a ſign not only that they have wholeſome laws amongſt them againſt open force and violence, but likewiſe that they obey and ſtand in awe of them; and a man begins to be a tolerable ſubject, and is nigh half civilized, that in his paſſion will take up and content himſelf with this paultry equivalent; which never was done without great ſelf-denial at firſt: for otherwiſe the obvious, ready, and unſtudied manner of venting and expreſſing anger, which nature teaches, is the ſame in human creatures that it is in other animals, and is done by fighting; as we may obſerve in infants of two or three months old, that never yet ſaw any body out of humour; for even at that age they will ſcratch, fling, and ſtrike with their heads as well as arms and legs, when any thing raiſes their anger, which is eaſily, and at moſt times unaccountably provoked; often by hunger, pain, and other inward ailments. That they do this by inſtinct, ſomething implanted in the frame, the mechaniſm of the body before any marks of wit or reaſon are to be ſeen in them, I am fully perſuaded; as I am likewiſe, that nature teaches them the manner of fighting peculiar to their ſpecies; and children ſtrike with their arms as naturally as horſes kick, dogs bite, and bulls puſh with their horns. I beg your pardon for this digreſſion.

Hor. It was natural enough, but if it had been leſs ſo, you would not have ſlipt the opportunity of having a fling at human nature, which you never ſpare.

Cleo. We have not a more dangerous enemy than our own inborn pride: I ſhall ever attack, and endeavour to mortify it when it is in my power: For the more we are perſuaded that the greateſt excellencies the beſt men have to boaſt of, are acquired, the greater ſtreſs it will teach us to lay upon education; and the more truly ſolicitous it will render us about it: And the abſolute neceſſity of good and early inſtructions, can be no way more clearly demonſtrated, than by expoſing the deformity as well as the weakneſs of our untaught nature.

Hor. Let us return to ſpeech: if the chief deſign of it is to perſuade, the French have got the ſtart of us a great way; theirs is really a charming language.

Cleo. So it is without doubt to a Frenchman.

Hor. And every body elſe, I ſhould think, that underſtands it, and has any taſte: do not you think it to be very engaging?

Cleo. Yes, to one that loves his belly; for it is very copious in the art of cookery, and every thing that belongs to eating and drinking.

Hor. But without banter, do not you think that the French tongue is more proper, more fit to perſuade in, than ours?

Cleo. To coax and wheedle in, I believe it may.

Hor. I cannot conceive what nicety it is you aim at, in that diſtinction.

Cleo. The word you named includes no idea of reproach or diſparagement; the greateſt capacities may, without diſcredit to them, yield to perſuaſion, as well as the leaſt; but thoſe who can be gained by coaxing and wheedling, are commonly ſuppoſed to be perſons of mean parts and weak underſtandings.

Hor. But pray come to the point: which of the two do you take to be the fineſt language?

Cleo. That is hard to determine: Nothing is more difficult than to compare the beauties of two languages together, becauſe what is very much eſteemed in the one, is often not reliſhed at all in the other: In this point, the *Pulchrum & Honeſtum* varies, and is different every where, as the genius of the people differs. I do not ſet up for a judge, but what I have commonly obſerved in the two languages, is this: All favourite expreſſions in French, are ſuch as either ſooth or tickle; and nothing is more admired in Engliſh than what pierces or ſtrikes.

Hor. Do you take yourſelf to be entirely impartial now?

Cleo. I think ſo; but if I am not, I do not know how to be ſorry for it: There are ſome things in which it is the intereſt of the ſociety that men ſhould be biaſſed; and I do not think it amiſs, that men ſhould be inclined to love their own language, from the ſame principle that they love their country. The French call us barbarous, and we ſay they are fawning: I will not believe the firſt, let them believe what they pleaſe. Do you remember the ſix lines in the

Cid, which Corneille is ſaid to have had a preſent of ſix thouſand livres for?

Hor. Very well.

Mon Pere eſt mort, Elvire, & la premiere Eſpee
Dont s'eſt arme Rodrigue a ſa trame coupee.
Pleures, p'eures mes yeux, & fondes vous en eau,
La moitie de ma vie a mis l'autre au tombeau;
Et m'oblige a venger, apres ce coup funeſte,
Celi qui je n'ay plus ſur celle qui me reſte.

Cleo. The ſame thought expreſſed in our language, to all the advantage it has in the French, would be hiſſed by an Engliſh audience.

Hor. That is no compliment to the taſte of your country.

Cleo. I do not know that: Men may have no bad taſte, and yet not be ſo ready at conceiving, which way one half of one's life can put the other into the grave: To me, I own it is puzzling, and it has too much the air of a riddle to be ſeen in heroic poetry.

Hor. Can you find no delicacy at all in the thought?

Cleo. Yes; but it is too fine ſpun; it is the delicacy of a cobweb; there is no ſtrength in it.

Hor. I have always admired theſe lines; but now you have made me out of conceit with them: Methinks I ſpy another fault that is much greater.

Cleo. What is that?

Hor. The author makes his heroine ſay a thing which was falſe in fact: One half, ſays Chimene, of my life has put the other into the grave, and obliges me to revenge, &c. Which is the nominative of the verb obliges?

Cleo. One half of my life.

Hor. Here lies the fault; it is this, which I think is not true; for the one half of her life, here mentioned, is plainly that half which was left; it is Rodrigues her lover: Which way did he oblige her to ſeek for revenge?

Cleo. By what he had done, killing her father.

Hor. No, Cleomenes, this excuſe is inſufficient. Chimene's calamity ſprung from the dilemma ſhe was in between her love and her duty; when the latter was inexorable, and violently preſſing her to ſolicit the puniſhment, and employ with zeal all her intereſt and eloquence to obtain the death of him, whom the firſt had made dearer to her than her own life; and therefore it was the half that

was gone, that was put in the grave, her dead father, and not Rodrigues which obliged her to ſue for juſtice: Had the obligation ſhe lay under come from this quarter, it might ſoon have been cancelled, and herſelf releaſed without crying out her eyes.

Cleo. I beg pardon for differing from you, but I believe the poet is in the right.

Hor. Pray, conſider which it was that made Chimene proſecute Rodrigues, love, or honour.

Cleo. I do; but ſtill I cannot help thinking, but that her lover, by having killed her father, obliged Chimene to proſecute him, in the ſame manner as a man, who will give no ſatisfaction to his creditors, obliges them to arreſt him; or as we would ſay to a coxcomb, who is offending us with his diſcourſe, If you go on thus, Sir, you will oblige me to treat you ill: Though all this while the debtor might be as little deſirous of being arreſted, and the coxcomb of being ill treated, as Rodrigues was of being proſecuted.

Hor. I believe you are in the right, and I beg Corneille's pardon. But now I deſire you would tell me what you have further to ſay of ſociety: What other advantages do multitudes receive from the invention of letters, beſides the improvements it makes in their laws and language?

Cleo. It is an encouragement to all other inventions in general, by preſerving the knowledge of every uſeful improvement that is made. When laws begin to be well known, and the execution of them is facilitated by general approbation, multitudes may be kept in tolerable concord among themſelves: It is then that it appears, and not before, how much the ſuperiority of man's underſtanding beyond other animals, contributes to his ſociableneſs, which is only retarded by it in his ſavage ſtate.

Hor. How ſo, pray; I do not underſtand you.

Cleo. The ſuperiority of underſtanding, in the firſt place, makes man ſooner ſenſible of grief and joy, and capable of entertaining either with greater difference as to the degrees, than they are felt in other creatures: Secondly, it renders him more induſtrious to pleaſe himſelf; that is, it furniſhes ſelf-love with a greater variety of ſhifts to exert itſelf on all emergencies, than is made uſe of by animals of leſs capacity. Superiority of underſtanding likewiſe gives us a foreſight, and inſpires us with hopes, of which other creatures have little, and that only of things immediately before them. All

theſe things are ſo many tools, arguments, by which ſelf-love reaſons us into content, and renders us patient under many afflictions, for the ſake of ſupplying thoſe wants that are moſt preſſing: this is of infinite uſe to a man, who finds himſelf born in a body politic, and it muſt make him fond of ſociety; whereas, the ſame endowment before that time, the ſame ſuperiority of underſtanding in the ſtate of nature, can only ſerve to render man incurably averſe to ſociety, and more obſtinately tenacious of his ſavage liberty, than any other creature would be, that is equally neceſſitous.

Hor. I do not know how to refute you: there is a juſtneſs of thought in what you ſay, which I am forced to aſſent to; and yet it ſeems ſtrange: How come you by this inſight into the heart of man, and which way is that ſkill of unravelling human nature to be obtained?

Cleo. By diligently obſerving what excellencies and qualifications are really acquired in a well-accompliſhed man; and having done this impartially, we may be ſure that the remainder of him is nature. It is for want of duly ſeparating and keeping aſſunder theſe two things, that men have uttered ſuch abſurdities on this ſubject; alleging as the cauſes of man's fitneſs for ſociety, ſuch qualifications as no man ever was endued with, that was not educated in a ſociety, a civil eſtabliſhment, of ſeveral hundred years ſtanding. But the flatterers of our ſpecies keep this carefully from our view: inſtead of ſeparating what is acquired from what is natural, and diſtinguiſhing between them, they take pains to unite and confound them together.

Hor. Why do they? I do not ſee the compliment; ſince the acquired, as well as natural parts, belong to the ſame perſon; and the one is not more inſeparable from him than the other.

Cleo. Nothing is ſo near to a man, nor ſo really and entirely his own, as what he has from nature; and when that dear ſelf, for the ſake of which he values or deſpiſes, loves or hates every thing elſe, comes to be ſtript and abſtracted from all foreign acquiſitions, human nature makes a poor figure: it ſhows a nakedneſs, or at leaſt an undreſs, which no man cares to be ſeen in. There is nothing we can be poſſeſſed of that is worth having, which we do not endeavour, cloſely to annex, and make an ornament of to ourſelves; even wealth and power, and all the gifts of fortune, that are plainly adventitious, and altogether remote from our perſons; whilſt

they are our right and property, we do not love to be considered without them. We see likewise that men, who are come to be great in the world from despicable beginnings, do not love to hear of their origin.

Hor. That is no general rule.

Cleo. I believe it is, though there may be exceptions from it; and these are not without reasons. When a man is proud of his parts, and wants to be esteemed for his diligence, penetration, quickness and assiduity, he will make perhaps an ingenuous confession, even to the exposing of his parents; and in order to set off the merit that raised him, bespeaking himself of his original meanness. But this is commonly done before inferiors, whose envy will be lessened by it, and who will applaud his candour and humility in owning this blemish: but not a word of this before his betters, who value themselves upon their families; and such men could heartily wish that their parentage was unknown, whenever they are with those that are their equals in quality, though superior to them in birth; by whom they know that they are hated for their advancement, and despised for the lowness of their extraction. But I have a shorter way of proving my assertion. Pray, is it good manners to tell a man that he is meanly born, or to hint at his descent, when it is known to be vulgar?

Hor. No: I do not say it is.

Cleo. That decides it, by showing the general opinion about it. Noble ancestors, and every thing else that his honourable and esteemed, and can be drawn within our sphere, are an advantage to our persons, and we all desire they should be looked upon as our own.

Hor. Ovid did not think so, when he said, *Nam genus & proavos & quæ non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.*

Cleo. A pretty piece of modesty in a speech, where a man takes pains to prove that Jupiter was his great grandfather. What signifies a theory, which a man destroys by his practice? Did you ever know a person of quality pleased with being called a bastard, though he owed his being, as well as his greatness, chiefly to his mother's impudicity.

Hor. By things acquired, I thought you meant learning and virtue; how come you to talk of birth and descent?

Cleo. By showing you, that men are unwilling to have any thing that is honourable separated from themselves, though it is remote from, and has nothing to do with their persons: I

would convince you of the little probability there is, that we ſhould be pleaſed with being conſidered, abſtract from what really belongs to us; and qualifications, that in the opinion of the beſt and wiſeſt are the only things for which we ought to be valued. When men are well-accompliſhed, they are aſhamed of the loweſt ſteps from which they roſe to that perfection; and the more civilized they are, the more they think it injurious to have their nature ſeen, without the improvements that have been made upon it. The moſt correct authors would bluſh to ſee every thing publiſhed, which in the compoſing of their works they blotted out and ſtifled; and which yet it it is certain they once conceived: for this reaſon they are juſtly compared to architects, that remove the ſcaffolding before they ſhow their buildings. All ornaments beſpeak the value we have for the things adorned. Do not you think, that the firſt red or white that ever was laid upon a face, and the firſt falſe hair that was wore, were put on with great ſecrecy, and with a deſign to deceive?

Hor. In France, painting is now looked upon as part of a woman's dreſs; they make no myſtery of it.

Cleo. So it is with all the impoſitions of this nature, when they come to be ſo groſs that they can be hid no longer; as men's perukes all over Europe: but if theſe things could be concealed, and were not known, the tawny coquette would heartily wiſh that the ridiculous dawbing ſhe plaſters herſelf with might paſs for complexion; and the bald-pated beau would be as glad to have his full-bottomed wig looked upon as a natural head of hair. Nobody puts in artificial teeth, but to hide the loſs of his own.

Hor. But is not a man's knowledge a real part of himſelf?

Cleo. Yes, and ſo is his politeneſs; but neither of them belong to his nature, any more than his gold watch or his diamond ring; and even from theſe he endeavours to draw a value and reſpect to his perſon. The moſt admired among the faſhionable people that delight in outward vanity, and know how to dreſs well, would be highly diſpleaſed if their clothes, and ſkill in putting them on, ſhould be looked upon otherwiſe than as part of themſelves; nay, it is this part of them only, which, whilſt they are unknown, can procure them acceſs to the higheſt companies, the courts of princes; where it is manifeſt, that both ſexes are either admitted or refuſed, by no other judgment than what is formed of them

from their dreſs, without the leaſt regard to their goodneſs, or their underſtanding.

Hor. I believe I apprehend you. It is our fondneſs of that ſelf, which we hardly know what it conſiſts in, that could firſt make us think of embelliſhing our perſons; and when we have taken pains in correcting, poliſhing, and beautifying nature, the ſame ſelf-love makes us unwilling to have the ornaments ſeen ſeparately from the thing adorned.

Cleo. The reaſon is obvious. It is that ſelf we are in love with, before it is adorned, as well as after, and every thing which is confeſſed to be acquired, ſeems to point at our original nakedneſs, and to upbraid us with our natural wants; I would ſay, the meanneſs and deficiency of our nature. That no bravery is ſo uſeful in war, as that which is artificial, is undeniable; yet the ſoldier, that by art and diſcipline has manifeſtly been tricked and wheedled into courage, after he has behaved himſelf in two or three battles with intrepidity, will never endure to hear that he has not natural valour; though all his acquaintance, as well as himſelf, remember the time that he was an arrant coward.

Hor. But ſince the love, affection, and benevolence we naturally have for our ſpecies, is not greater than other creatures have for theirs, how comes it, that man gives more ample demonſtrations of this love on thouſand occaſions, than any other animal?

Cleo. Becauſe no other animal has the ſame capacity or opportunity to do it. But you may aſk the ſame of his hatred: the greater knowledge and the more wealth and power a man has, the more capable he is of rendering others ſenſible of the paſſion he is affected with, as well when he hates as when he loves them. The more a man remains uncivilized, and the leſs he is removed from the ſtate of nature, the leſs his love is to be depended upon.

Hor. There is more honeſty and leſs deceit among plain, untaught people, than their is among thoſe that are more artful; and therefore I ſhould have looked for true love and unfeigned affection among thoſe that live in a natural ſimplicity, rather than any where elſe.

Cleo. You ſpeak of ſincerity; but the love which I ſaid was leſs to be dependend upon in untaught than in civilized people, I ſuppoſed to be real and ſincere in both. Artful people may diſſemble love, and pretend to friendſhip, where they have none; but they are influenced by their

paſſions and natural appetites as well as ſavages, though they gratify them in another manner: well-bred people behave themſelves in the choice of diet and the taking of their repaſts, very differently from ſavages; ſo they do in their amours; but hunger and luſt are the ſame in both. An artful man, nay, the greateſt hypocrite, whatever his behaviour is abroad, may love his wife and children at his heart, and the ſincereſt man can do no more. My buſineſs is to demonſtrate to you, that the good qualities men compliment our nature and the whole ſpecies with, are the reſult of art and education. The reaſon why love is little to be depended upon in thoſe that are uncivilized, is becauſe the paſſions in them are more fleeting and inconſtant; they oftener joſtle out and ſucceed one another, than they are and do in well-bred people, perſons that are well educated, have learned to ſtudy their eaſe and the comforts of life; to tie themſelves up to rules and decorums for their own advantage, and often to ſubmit to ſmall inconveniencies to avoid greater. Among the loweſt vulgar, and thoſe of the meaneſt education of all, you ſeldom ſee a laſting harmony: you ſhall have a man and his wife that have a real affection for one another, be full of love one hour, and diſagree the next for a trifle; and the lives of many are made miſerable from no other faults in themſelves, than their want of manners and diſcretion. Without deſign they will often talk imprudently, until they raiſe one another's anger; which neither of them being able to ſtifle, ſhe ſcolds at him; he beats her; ſhe burſts out into tears; this moves him, he is ſorry; both repent, and are friends again: and with all the ſincerity imaginable reſolve never to quarrel for the future, as long as they live: all this will paſs between them in leſs than half a day, and will perhaps be repeated once a month, or oftener, as provocations offer, or either of them is more or leſs prone to anger. Affection never remained long uninterrupted between two perſons without art; and the beſt friends, if they are always together, will fall out, unleſs great diſcretion be uſed on both ſides.

Hor. I have always been of your opinion, that the more men were civilized the happier they were; but ſince nations can never be made polite but by length of time, and mankind muſt have been always miſerable before they had written laws, how come poets and others to launch out ſo much

in praiſe of the golden age, in which they pretend there was ſo much peace, love, and ſincerity?

Cleo. For the ſame reaſon that heralds compliment obſcure men of unknown extraction with illuſtrious pedigrees: as there is no mortal of high deſcent, but who values himſelf upon his family, ſo extolling the virtue and happineſs of their anceſtors, can never fail pleaſing every member of a ſociety: but what ſtreſs would you lay upon the fictions of poets?

Hor. You reaſon very clearly, and with great freedom, againſt all heathen ſuperſtition, and never ſuffer yourſelf to be impoſed upon by any fraud from that quarter; but when you meet with any thing belonging to the Jewiſh or Chriſtian religion, you are as credulous as any of the vulgar.

Cleo. I am ſorry you ſhould think ſo.

Hor. What I ſay is fact. A man that contentedly ſwallows every thing that is ſaid of Noah and his ark, ought not to laugh at the ſtory of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

Cleo. Is it as credible, that human creatures ſhould ſpring from ſtones, becauſe an old man and his wife threw them over their heads, as that a man and his family, with a great number of birds and beaſts, ſhould be preſerved in a large ſhip, made convenient for that purpoſe?

Hor. But you are partial: what odds is there between a ſtone and a lump of earth, for either of them to become a human creature? I can as eaſily conceive how a ſtone ſhould be turned into a man or a woman, as how a man or a woman ſhould be turned into a ſtone; and I think it not more ſtrange, that a woman ſhould be changed into a tree, as was Daphne, or into marble as Niobe, than that ſhe ſhould be transformed into a pillar of ſalt, as the wife of Lot was. Pray ſuffer me to catechiſe you a little.

Cleo. You will hear me afterwards, I hope.

Hor. Yes, yes. Do you believe Heſiod?

Cleo. No.

Hor. Ovid's Metamorphoſis?

Cleo. No.

Hor. But you believe the ſtory of Adam and Eve, and Paradiſe.

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. That they were produced at once, I mean at their full growth; he from a lump of earth, and ſhe from one of his ribs?

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. And that as ſoon as they were made, they could ſpeak, reaſon, and were endued with knowledge?

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. In ſhort, you believe the innocence, the delight, and all the wonders of Paradiſe, that are related by one man; at the ſame time that you will not believe what has been told us by many, of the uprightneſs, the concord, and the happineſs of a golden age.

Cleo. That is very true.

Hor. Now give me leave to ſhow you, how unaccountable, as well as partial, you are in this. In the firſt place, the things naturally impoſſible, which you believe, are contrary to your own doctrine, the opinion you have laid down, and which I believe to be true: for you have proved, that no man would ever be able to ſpeak, unleſs he was taught it; that reaſoning and thinking come upon us by ſlow degrees; and that we can know nothing that has not from without been conveyed to the brain, and communicated to us through the organs of the ſenſes. Secondly, in what you reject as fabulous, there is no manner of improbability. We know from hiſtory, and daily experience teaches us, that almoſt all the wars and private quarrels that have at any time diſturbed mankind, have had their riſe from the differences about ſuperiority, and the *meum & tuum:* therefore before cunning, covetouſneſs and deceit, crept into the world; before titles of honour, and the diſtinction between ſervant and maſter were known; why might not moderate numbers of people have lived together in peace and amity, when they enjoyed every thing in common; and have been content with the product of the earth in a fertile ſoil and a happy climate? Why cannot you believe this?

Cleo. Becauſe it is inconſiſtent with the nature of human creatures, that any number of them ſhould ever live together in tolerable concord, without laws or government, let the ſoil, the climate, and their plenty be whatever the moſt luxuriant imagination ſhall be pleaſed to fancy them. But Adam was altogether the workmanſhip of God; a preternatural production: his ſpeech and knowledge, his goodneſs and innocence were as miraculous, as every other part of his frame.

Hor. Indeed, Cleomenes, this is inſufferable; when we are talking philoſophy you foiſt in miracles: why may not I do the ſame, and ſay that the people of the golden age were made happy by miracle?

Cleo. It is more probable that one miracle ſhould, at a ſtated time, have produced a male and female, from whom all the reſt of mankind are deſcended in a natural way; than that by a continued ſeries of miracles ſeveral generations of people ſhould have all been made to live and act contrary to their nature: for this muſt follow from the account we have of the golden and ſilver ages. In Moſes, the firſt natural man, the firſt that was born of a woman, by envying and ſlaying his brother, gives an ample evidence of the domineering ſpirit, and the principle of ſovereignty, which I have aſſerted to belong to our nature.

Hor. You will not be counted credulous, and yet you believe all thoſe ſtories, which even ſome of our divines have called ridiculous, if literally underſtood. But I do not inſiſt upon the golden age, if you will give up Paradiſe: a man of ſenſe, and a philoſopher, ſhould believe neither.

Cleo. Yet you have told me that you believed the Old and New Teſtament.

Hor. I never ſaid that I believed every thing that is in them, in a literal ſenſe. But why ſhould you believe miracles at all?

Cleo. Becauſe I cannot help it: and I promiſe never to mention the name to you again, if you can ſhow me the bare poſſibility that man could ever have been produced, brought into the world without miracle. Do you believe there ever was a man who had made himſelf?

Hor. No: that is a plain contradiction.

Cleo. Then it is manifeſt the firſt man muſt have been made by ſomething; and what I ſay of man, I may ſay of all matter and motion in general. The doctrine of Epicurus, that every thing is derived from the concourſe and fortuitous jumble of atoms, is monſtrous and extravagant beyond all other follies.

Hor, Yet there is no mathematical demonſtration againſt it.

Cleo. Nor is there one to prove, that the ſun is not in love with the moon, if one had a mind to advance it; and yet I think it a greater reproach to human underſtanding to believe either, than it is to believe the moſt childiſh ſtories that are told of fairies and hobgoblins.

Hor. But there is an axiom very little inferior to a mathematical demonſtration, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, that is directly claſhing with, and contradicts the creation out of nothing. Do you underſtand how ſomething can come from nothing?

Cleo. I do not, I confeſs, any more than I can comprehend eternity, or the Deity itſelf: but when I cannot comprehend what my reaſon aſſures me muſt neceſſarily exiſt, there is no axiom or demonſtration clearer to me, than that the fault lies in my want of capacity, the ſhallowneſs of my underſtanding. From the little we know of the ſun and ſtars, their magnitudes, diſtances, and motion; and what we are more nearly acquainted with, the groſs viſible parts in the ſtructure of animals and their economy, it is demonſtrable, that they are the effects of an intelligent cauſe, and the contrivance of a Being infinite in wiſdom as well as power.

Hor. But let wiſdom be as ſuperlative, and power as extenſive as it is poſſible for them to be, ſtill it is impoſſible to conceive how they ſhould exert themſelves, unleſs they had ſomething to act upon.

Cleo. This is not the only thing which, though it be true, we are not able to conceive: How came the firſt man to exiſt? and yet here we are. Heat and moiſture are the plain effects from manifeſt cauſes, and though they bear a great ſway, even in the mineral as well as the animal and vegetable world, yet they cannot produce a ſprig of graſs without a previous ſeed.

Hor. As we ourſelves, and every thing we ſee, are the undoubted parts of ſome one whole, ſome are of opinion, that this all, the τὸ πᾶν, the univerſe, was from all eternity.

Cleo. This is not more ſatisfactory or comprehenſible than the ſyſtem of Epicurus, who derives every thing from wild chance, and an undeſigned ſtruggle of ſenſeleſs atoms. When we behold things which our reaſon tells us could not have been produced without wiſdom and power, in a degree far beyond our comprehenſion, can any thing be more contrary to, or claſhing with that ſame reaſon, than that the things in which that high wiſdom and great power are viſibly diſplayed, ſhould be coeval with the wiſdom and power themſelves that contrived and wrought them? Yet this doctrine which is ſpinoſiſm in epitome, after having been neglected many years, begins to prevail again, and the atoms loſe ground: for of atheiſm, as well as ſuperſtition, there are different kinds that have their periods and returns, after they have been long exploded.

Hor. What makes you couple together two things ſo diametrically oppoſite?

Cleo. There is greater affinity between them than you imagine: they are of the ſame origin.

Hor. What, atheiſm and ſuperſtition!

Cleo. Yes, indeed; they both have their riſe from the ſame cauſe, the ſame defect in the mind of man, our want of capacity in diſcerning truth, and natural ignorance of the Divine eſſence. Men that from their moſt early youth have not been imbued with the principles of the true religion, and have not afterwards continued to be ſtrictly educated in the ſame, are all in great danger of falling either into the one or the other, according to the difference there is in the temperament and complexion they are of, the circumſtances they are in, and the company they converſe with. Weak minds, and thoſe that are brought up in ignorance, and a low condition, ſuch as are much expoſed to fortune, men of flaviſh principles, the covetous and mean-ſpirited, are all naturally inclined to, and eaſily ſuſceptible of ſuperſtition; and there is no abſurdity ſo groſs, nor contradiction ſo plain, which the dregs of the people, moſt gameſters, and nineteen women in twenty, may not be taught to believe, concerning inviſible cauſes. Therefore multitudes are never tainted with irreligion; and the leſs civilized nations are, the more boundleſs is their credulity. On the contrary, men of parts and ſpirit, of thought and reflection, the aſſertors of liberty, ſuch as meddle with mathematics and natural philoſophy, moſt inquiſitive men, the diſintereſted that live in eaſe and plenty; if their youth has been neglected, and they are not well-grounded in the principles of the true religion, are prone to infidelity; eſpecially ſuch amongſt them, whoſe pride and ſufficiency are greater than ordinary; and if perſons of this ſort fall into hands of unbelievers, they run great hazard of becoming atheiſts or ſceptics.

Hor. The method of education you recommend, in pinning men down to an opinion, may be very good to make bigots, and raiſe a ſtrong party to the prieſts; but to have good ſubjects, and moral men, nothing is better than to inſpire youth with the love of virtue, and ſtrongly to imbue them with ſentiments of juſtice and probity, and the true notions of honour and politeneſs. Theſe are the true ſpecifics to cure man's nature, and deſtroy in him the ſavage principles of ſovereignty and ſelfiſhneſs, that infeſt and are ſo miſchievous to it. As to religious matters, prepoſſeſſing the mind, and forcing youth into a belief, is more partial

and unfair, than it is to leave them unbiaſſed, and unprejudiced till they come to maturity, and are fit to judge as well as chooſe for themſelves.

Cleo. It is this fair and impartial management you ſpeak in praiſe of, that will ever promote and increaſe unbelief; and nothing has contributed more to the growth of deiſm in this kingdom, than the remiſſneſs of education in ſacred matters, which for ſome time has been in faſhion among the better ſort.

Hor. The public welfare ought to be our principal care; and I am well aſſured, that it is not bigotry to a ſect or perſuaſion; but common honeſty, uprightneſs in all dealings, and benevolence to one another, which the ſociety ſtands moſt in need of.

Cleo. I do not ſpeak up for bigotry; and where the Chriſtian religion is thoroughly taught as it ſhould be, it is impoſſible, that honeſty, uprightneſs, or benevolence ſhould ever be forgot; and no appearances of thoſe virtues are to be truſted to, unleſs they proceed from that motive; for without the belief of another world, a man is under no obligation for his ſincerity in this: his very oath is no tie upon him.

Hor. What is it upon an hypocrite that dares to be perjured?

Cleo. No man's oath is ever taken, if it is known that once he has been forſworn; nor can I ever be deceived by an hypocrite, when he tells me that he is one; and I ſhall never believe a man to be an atheiſt, unleſs he owns it himſelf.

Hor. I do not believe there are real atheiſts in the world.

Cleo. I will not quarrel about words; but our modern deiſm is no greater ſecurity than atheiſm: for a man's acknowleding the being of a God, even an intelligent firſt Cauſe, is of no uſe, either to himſelf or others, if he denies a Providence and a future ſtate.

Hor. After all, I do not think that virtue has any more relation to credulity, than it has to want of faith.

Cleo. Yet it would and ought to have, if we were conſiſtent with ourſelves; and if men were ſwayed in their actions by the principles they ſide with, and the opinion they profeſs themſelves to be of, all atheiſts would be devils, and ſuperſtitious men ſaints: but this is not true; there are atheiſts of good morals, and great villains ſuperſtitious: nay, I do not believe there is any wickedneſs that the worſt atheiſt can commit, but ſuperſtitious men may be guilty of it; impiety

not excepted; for nothing is more common amongſt rakes and gameſters, than to hear men blaſpheme, that believe in ſpirits, and are afraid of the devil. I have no greater opinion of ſuperſtition than I have of atheiſm; what I aimed at, was to prevent and guard againſt both; and I am perſuaded that there is no other antidote to be obtained by human means, ſo powerful and infallible againſt the poiſon of either, as what I have mentioned. As to the truth of our deſcent from Adam, I would not be a believer, and ceaſe to be a rational creature: what I have to ſay for it, is this. We are convinced that human underſtanding is limited; and by the help of every little reflection, we may be as certain that the narrowneſs of its bounds, its being ſo limited, is the very thing, the ſole cauſe, which palpably hinders us from diving into our origin by dint of penetration: the conſequence is, that to come at the truth of this origin, which is of very great concern to us, ſomething is to be believed: but what or whom to believe is the queſtion. If I cannot demonſtrate to you that Moſes was divinely inſpired, you will be forced to confeſs, that there never was any thing more extraordinary in the world, than that, in a moſt ſuperſtitious age, one man brought up among the groſſeſt idolaters, that had the vileſt and moſt abominable notions of the Godhead, ſhould, without help, as we know of, find out the moſt hidden and moſt important truths by his natural capacity only; for, beſides the deep inſight he had in human nature, as appears from the decalogue, it is manifeſt that he was acquainted with the creation out of nothing, the unity and immenſe greatneſs of that Inviſible Power that has made the univerſe; and that he taught this to the Iſraelites, fifteen centuries before any other nation upon earth was ſo far enlightened: it is undeniable, moreover, that the hiſtory of Moſes, concerning the beginning of the world and mankind, is the moſt ancient and leaſt improbable of any that are extant; that others, who have wrote after him on the ſame ſubject, appear moſt of them to be imperfect copiers of him; and that the relations which ſeem not to have been borrowed from Moſes, as the accounts we have of *Sommona-codam*, *Confucius*, and others, are leſs rational, and fifty times more extravagant and incredible, than any thing contained in the Pentateuch. As to the things revealed, the plan itſelf, abſtract from faith and religion; when we have weighed every ſyſtem that has been advanced, we ſhall find; that, ſince we muſt have had

a beginning, nothing is more rational or more agreeable to good ſenſe, than to derive our origin from an incomprehenſible creative Power, that was the firſt Mover and Author of all things.

Hor. I never heard any body entertain higher notions, or more noble ſentiments of the Deity, than at different times I have heard from you; pray, when you read Moſes, do not you meet with ſeveral things in the economy of Paradiſe, and the converſation between God and Adam, that ſeem to be low, unworthy, and altogether inconſiſtent with the ſublime ideas you are uſed to form of the Supreme Being.

Cleo. I freely own, not only that I have thought ſo, but likewiſe that I have long ſtumbled at it: but when I conſider, on the one hand, that the more human knowledge increaſes, the more conſummate and unerring the Divine Wiſdom appears to be, in every thing we can have any inſight into; and on the other, that the things hitherto detected, either by chance or induſtry, are very inconſiderable both in number and value, if compared to the vaſt multitude of weightier matters that are left behind and remain ſtill undiſcovered: When, I ſay, I conſider theſe things, I cannot help thinking, that there may be very wiſe reaſons for what we find fault with, that are, and perhaps ever will be, unknown to men as long the world endures.

Hor. But why ſhould he remain labouring under difficulties we can eaſily ſolve, and not ſay with Dr. Burnet, and ſeveral others, that thoſe things are allegories, and to be underſtood in a figurative ſenſe?

Cleo. I have nothing againſt it; and ſhall always applaud the ingenuity and good offices of men, who endeavour to reconcile religious myſteries to human reaſon and probability; but I inſiſt upon it, that nobody can diſprove any thing that is ſaid in the Pentateuch, in the moſt literal ſenſe; and I defy the wit of man to frame or contrive a ſtory, the beſt concerted fable they can invent, how man came into the world, which I ſhall not find as much fault with, and be able to make as ſtrong objections to, as the enemies of religion have found with, and raiſed againſt the account of Moſes: If I may be allowed to take the ſame liberty with their known forgery, which they take with the Bible, before they have brought one argument againſt the veracity of it.

Hor. It may be ſo. But as firſt I was the occaſion of this long digreſſion, by mentioning the golden age; ſo now, I

desire we may return to our subject. What time, how many ages do you think it would require to have a well-civilized nation from such a savage pair as yours?

Cleo. That is very uncertain; and I believe it impossible, to determine any thing about it. From what has been said, it is manifest, that the family descending from such a stock, would be crumbled to pieces, reunited, and dispersed again several times, before the whole of any part of it could be advanced to any degree of politeness. The best forms of government are subject to revolutions, and a great many things must concur to keep a society of men together, till they become a civilized nation.

Hor. Is not a vast deal owing, in the raising of a nation, to the difference there is in the spirit and genius of people?

Cleo. Nothing, but what depends upon climates, which is soon over-balanced by skilful government. Courage and cowardice, in all bodies of men, depend entirely upon exercise and discipline. Arts and sciences seldom come before riches, and both flow in faster or slower, according to the capacity of the governors, the situation of the people, and the opportunities they have of improvements; but the first is the chief: to preserve peace and tranquillity among multitudes of different views, and make them all labour for one interest, is a great task; and nothing in human affairs requires greater knowledge, than the art of governing.

Hor. According to your system, it should be little more, than guarding against human nature.

Cleo. But it is a great while before that nature can be rightly understood; and it is the work of ages to find out the true use of the passions, and to raise a politician that can make every frailty of the members add strength to the whole body, and by dextrous management turn private Vices into public Benefits.

Hor. It must be a great advantage to an age, when many extraordinary persons are born in it.

Cleo. It is not genius, so much as experience, that helps men to good laws: Solon, Lycurgus, Socrates and Plato, all travelled for their knowledge, which they communicated to others. The wisest laws of human invention are generally owing to the evasions of bad men, whose cunning had eluded the force of former ordinances that had been made with less caution.

Hor. I fancy that the invention of iron, and working the oar into a metal, muſt contribute very much to the completing of ſociety; becauſe men can have no tools nor agriculture without it.

Cleo. Iron is certainly very uſeful; but ſhells and flints, and hardening of wood by fire, are ſubſtitutes that men make a ſhift with; if they can but have peace, live in quiet, and enjoy the fruits of their labour. Could you ever have believed, that a man without hands could have ſhaved himſelf, wrote good characters, and made uſe of a needle and thread with his feet? Yet this we have ſeen. It is ſaid by ſome men of reputation, that the Americans in Mexico and Peru have all the ſigns of an infant world; becauſe, when the Europeans firſt came among them, they wanted a great many things, that ſeem to be of eaſy invention. But conſidering that they had nobody to borrow from, and no iron at all, it is amazing which way they could arrive at the perfection we found them in. Firſt, it is impoſſible to know, how long multitudes may have been troubleſome to one another, before the invention of letters came among them, and they had any written laws. Secondly, from the many chaſms in hiſtory, we know by experience, that the accounts of tranſactions and times in which letters are known, may be entirely loſt. Wars and human diſcord may deſtroy the moſt civilized nations, only by diſperſing them; and general devaſtations ſpare arts and ſciences no more than they do cities and palaces. That all men are born with a ſtrong deſire, and no capacity at all to govern, has occaſioned an infinity of good and evil. Invaſions and perſecutions, by mixing and ſcattering our ſpecies, have made ſtrange alterations in the world. Sometimes large empires are divided into ſeveral parts, and produce new kingdoms and principalities; at others, great conquerors in few years bring different nations under one dominion. From the decay of the Roman empire alone we may learn, that arts and ſciences are more periſhable, much ſooner loſt, than buildings or inſcriptions; and that a deluge of ignorance may overſpread countries, without their ceaſing to be inhabited.

Hor. But what is it at laſt, that raiſes opulent cities and powerful nations from the ſmalleſt beginnings?

Cleo. Providence.

Hor. But Providence makes uſe of means that are viſible; I want to know the engines it is performed with.

Cleo. All the ground work that is required to aggrandize nations, you have ſeen in the Fable of the Bees. All ſound politics, and the whole art of governing, are entirely built upon the knowledge of human nature. The great buſineſs in general of a politician is to promote, and, if he can, reward all good and uſeful actions on the one hand; and on the other, to puniſh, or at leaſt diſcourage every thing that is deſtructive or hurtful to ſociety. To name particulars would be an endleſs taſk. Anger, luſt, and pride, may be the cauſes of innumerable miſchiefs, that are all carefully to be guarded againſt: but ſetting them aſide, the regulations only that are required to defeat and prevent all the machinations and contrivances that avarice and envy may put man upon, to the detriment of his neighbour, are almoſt infinite. Would you be convinced of theſe truths, do but employ yourſelf for a month or two, in ſurveying and minutely examining into every art and ſcience, every trade, handicraft and occupation, that are profeſſed and followed in ſuch a city as London; and all the laws, prohibitions, ordinances and reſtrictions that have been found abſolutely neceſſary, to hinder both private men and bodies corporate, in ſo many different ſtations, firſt from interfering with the public peace and welfare; ſecondly, from openly wronging and ſecretly over-reaching, or any other way injuring one another: if you will give yourſelf this trouble, you will find the number of clauſes and proviſos, to govern a large flouriſhing city well, to be prodigious beyond imagination; and yet every one of them tending to the ſame purpoſe, the curbing, reſtraining, and diſappointing the inordinate paſſions, and hurtful frailties of man. You will find, moreover, which is ſtill more to be admired, the greater part of the articles in this vaſt multitude of regulations, when well underſtood, to be the reſult of conſummate wiſdom.

Hor. How could theſe things exiſt, if there had not been men of very bright parts and uncommon talents?

Cleo. Among the things I hint at, there are very few that are the work of one man, or of one generation; the greateſt part of them are the product, the joint labour of ſeveral ages. Remember what in our third converſation I told you, concerning the arts of ſhip-building and politeneſs. The wiſdom I ſpeak of, is not the offspring of a fine underſtanding, or intenſe thinking, but of ſound and deliberate judgment, acquired from a long experience in buſineſs, and a multiplici-

ty of obſervations. By this ſort of wiſdom, and length of time, it may be brought about, that there ſhall be no greater difficulty in governing a large city, than (pardon the lowneſs of the ſimile) there is in weaving of ſtockings.

Hor. Very low indeed.

Cleo. Yet I know nothing to which the laws and eſtabliſhed economy of a well ordered city may be more juſtly compared, than the knitting-frame. The machine, at firſt view, is intricate and unintelligible; yet the effects of it are exact and beautiful; and in what is produced by it, there is a ſurpriſing regularity: but the beauty and exactneſs in the manufacture are principally, if not altogether, owing to the happineſs of the invention, the contrivance of the engine. For the greateſt artiſt at it can furniſh us with no better work, than may be made by almoſt any ſcoundrel after half a year's practice.

Hor. Though your compariſon be low, I muſt own that it very well illuſtrates your meaning.

Cleo. Whilſt you ſpoke, I have thought of another, which is better. It is common now, to have clocks that are made to play ſeveral tunes with great exactneſs: the ſtudy and labour, as well as trouble of diſappointments, which, in doing and undoing, ſuch a contrivance muſt neceſſarily have coſt from the beginning to the end, are not to be thought of without aſtoniſhment: there is ſomething analogous to this in the government of a flouriſhing city, that has laſted uninterrupted for ſeveral ages: there is no part of the wholeſome regulations belonging to it, even the moſt trifling and minute, about which great pains and conſideration have not been employed, as well as length of time; and if you will look into the hiſtory and antiquity of any ſuch city, you will find that the changes, repeals, additions and amendments, that have been made in and to the laws and ordinances by which it is ruled, are in number prodigious: but that when once they are brought to as much perfection as art and human wiſdom can carry them, the whole machine may be made to play of itſelf, with as little ſkill as it required to wind up a clock; and the government of a large city once put into good order, the magiſtrates only following their noſes, will continue to go right for a while, though there was not a wiſe man in it; provided that the care of Providence was to watch over it in the ſame manner as it did before.

Hor. But ſuppoſing the government of a large city, when it is once eſtabliſhed, to be very eaſy, it is not ſo with whole ſtates and kingdoms: is it not a great bleſſing to a nation, to have all places of honour and great truſt filled with men of parts and application, of probity and virtue?

Cleo. Yes; and of learning, moderation, frugality, candour and affability: look out for ſuch as faſt as you can; but in the mean time the places cannot ſtand open, the offices muſt be ſerved by ſuch as you can get.

Hor. You ſeem to inſinuate, that there is a great ſcarcity of good men in the nation.

Cleo. I do not ſpeak of our nation in particular, but of all ſtates and kingdoms in general. What I would ſay, is, that it is the intereſt of every nation to have their home government, and every branch of the civil adminiſtration ſo wiſely contrived, that every man of middling capacity and reputation may be fit for any of the higheſt poſts.

Hor. That is abſolutely impoſſible, at leaſt in ſuch a nation as ours: for what would you do for judges and chancellors?

Cleo. The ſtudy of the law is very crabbed and very tedious; but the profeſſion of it is as gainful, and has great honours annexed to it: the conſequence of this is, that few come to be eminent in it, but men of tolerable parts and great application. And whoever is a good lawyer, and not noted for diſhoneſty, is always fit to be a judge, as ſoon as he is old and grave enough. To be a lord chancellor, indeed, requires higher talents; and he ought not only to be a good lawyer and an honeſt man, but likewiſe a perſon of general knowledge and great penetration. But this is but one man: and conſidering what I have ſaid of the law, and the power which ambition and the love of gain have upon mankind, it is morally impoſſible, that, in the common courſe of things among the practitioners in chancery, there ſhould not at all times be one or other fit for the ſeals.

Hor. Muſt not every nation have men that are fit for public negotiations, and perſons of great capacity to ſerve for envoys, ambaſſadors and plenipotentaries? muſt they not have others at home, that are likewiſe able to treat with foreign miniſters?

Cleo. That every nation muſt have ſuch people, is certain; but I wonder that the company you have kept both at home and abroad, have not convinced you that the things you

ſpeak of require no ſuch extraordinary qualifications. Among the people of quality that are bred up in courts of princes, all middling capacities muſt be perſons of addreſs, and a becoming boldneſs, which are the moſt uſeful talents in all conferences and negotiations.

Hor. In a nation ſo involved in debts of different kinds, and loaded with ſuch a variety of taxes as ours is, to be thoroughly acquainted with all the funds, and the appropriations of them, muſt be a ſcience not to be attained to without good natural parts and great application; and therefore the chief management of the treaſury muſt be a poſt of the higheſt truſt, as well as endleſs difficulty.

Cleo. I do not think ſo: moſt branches of the public adminiſtration are in reality leſs difficult to thoſe that are in them, than they ſeem to be to thoſe that are out of them, and are ſtrangers to them. If a jack and the weights of it were out of ſight, a ſenſible man unacquainted with that matter, would be very much puzzled, if he was to account for the regular turning of two or three ſpits well loaded, for hours together; and it is ten to one, but he would have a greater opinion of the cook or the ſcullion, than either of them deſerved. In all buſineſs that belong to the exchequer, the conſtitution does nine parts in ten; and has taken effectual care, that the happy perſon whom the king ſhall be pleaſed to favour with the ſuperintendency of it, ſhould never be greatly tired or perplexed with his office; and likewiſe that the truſt, the confidence that muſt be repoſed in him, ſhould be very near as moderate as his trouble. By dividing the employments in a great office, and ſubdividing them into many parts, every man's buſineſs may be made ſo plain and certain, that, when he is a little uſed to it, it is hardly poſſible for him to make miſtakes: and again, by careful limitations of every man's power, and judicious checks upon every body's truſt, every officer's fidelity may be placed in ſo clear a light, that the moment he forfeits it, he muſt be detected. It is by theſe arts that the weightieſt affairs, and a vaſt multiplicity of them, may be managed with ſafety as well as diſpatch, by ordinary men, whoſe higheſt good is wealth and pleaſure; and that the utmoſt regularity may be obſerved in a great office, and every part of it; at the ſame time, that the whole economy of it ſeems to be intricate and perplexed to the laſt degree, not only to ſtrangers, but the greateſt part of the very officers that are employed in it.

Hor. The economy of our exchequer, I own, is an admirable contrivance to prevent frauds and encroachments of all kinds; but in the office, which is at the head of it, and gives motion to it, there is greater latitude.

Cleo. Why ſo? A lord treaſurer, or if his office be executed by commiſſioners, the chancellor of the exchequer, are no more lawleſs, and have no greater power with impunity to embezzle money, than the meaneſt clerk that is employed under them.

Hor. Is not the king's warrant their diſcharge?

Cleo. Yes; for ſums which the king has a right to diſpoſe of, or the payment of money for uſes directed by parliament; not otherwiſe; and if the king, who can do no wrong, ſhould be impoſed upon, and his warrant be obtained for money at random, whether it is appropriated or not, contrary to, or without a direct order of the legiſlature, the treaſurer obeys at his peril.

Hor. But there are other poſts, or at leaſt there is one ſtill of higher moment, and that requires a much greater, and more general capacity than any yet named.

Cleo. Pardon me: as the lord chancellor's is the higheſt office in dignity, ſo the execution of it actually demands greater, and more uncommon abilities than any other whatever.

Hor. What ſay you to the prime miniſter who governs all, and acts immediately under the king?

Cleo. There is no ſuch officer belonging to our conſtitution; for by this, the whole adminiſtration is, for very wiſe reaſons, divided into ſeveral branches.

Hor. But who muſt give orders and inſtructions to admirals, generals governors, and all our miniſters in foreign courts? Who is to take care of the king's intereſt throughout the kingdom, and of his ſafety?

Cleo. The king and his council, without which, royal authority is not ſuppoſed to act, ſuperintend, and govern all; and whatever the monarch has not a mind immediately to take care of himſelf, falls in courſe to that part of the adminiſtration it belongs to, in which every body has plain laws to walk by. As to the king's intereſt, it is the ſame with that of the nation; his guards are to take care of his perſon; and there is no buſineſs of what nature ſoever, that can happen in or to the nation, which is not within the province, and under the inſpection of ſome one or other of the great offi-

cers of the crown, that are all known, dignified, and diſtinguiſhed by their reſpective titles; and amongſt them, I can aſſure you, there is no ſuch name as prime miniſter.

Hor. But why will you prevaricate with me after this manner? You know yourſelf, and all the world knows and ſees, that there is ſuch a miniſter; and it is eaſily proved, that there always have been ſuch miniſters: and in the ſituation we are, I do not believe a king could do without. When there are a great many diſaffected people in the kingdom, and parliament-men are to be choſen, elections muſt be looked after with great care, and a thouſand things are to be done, that are neceſſary to diſappoint the miniſter ends of malecontents, and keep out the Pretender; things of which the management often requires great penetration, and uncommon talents, as well as ſecrecy and diſpatch.

Cleo. How ſincerely ſoever you may ſeem to ſpeak in defence of theſe things, Horatio, I am ſure, from your principles, that you are not in earneſt. I am not to judge of the exigency of our affairs: But as I would not pry into the conduct, or ſcan the actions of princes, and their miniſters, ſo I pretend to juſtify or defend no wiſdom but that of the conſtitution itſelf.

Hor. I do not deſire you ſhould: Only tell me, whether you do not think, that a man, who has and can carry this vaſt burden upon his ſhoulders, and all Europe's buſineſs in his breaſt, muſt be a perſon of a prodigious genius, as well as general knowledge, and other great abilities.

Cleo. That a man, inveſted with ſo much real power, and an authority ſo extenſive, as ſuch miniſters generally have, muſt make a great figure, and be conſiderable above all other ſubjects, is moſt certain: But it is my opinion, that there are always fifty men in the kingdom, that, if employed, would be fit for this poſt, and, after a little practice, ſhine in it, to one who is equally qualified to be a Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. A prime miniſter has a vaſt, an unſpeakable advantage barely by being ſo, and by every body's knowing him to be, and treating him as ſuch: A man who in every office, and every branch of it throughout the adminiſtration, has the power, as well as the liberty, to aſk and ſee whom and what he pleaſes, has more knowledge within his reach, and can ſpeak of every thing with greater exactneſs than any other man, that is much better verſed in affairs,

and has ten times greater capacity. It is hardly poſſible, than an active man, of tolerable education, that is not deſtitute of a ſpirit nor of vanity, ſhould fail of appearing to be wiſe, vigilant, and expert, who has the opportunity whenever he thinks fit, to make uſe of all the cunning and experience, as well as diligence and labour of every officer in the civil adminiſtration; and if he has but money enough, and will employ men to keep up a ſtrict correſpondence in every part of the kingdom, he can remain ignorant of nothing; and there is hardly any affair or tranſaction, civil or military, foreign or domeſtic, which he will not be able greatly to influence, when he has a mind either to promote or obſtruct it.

Hor. There ſeems to be a great deal in what you ſay, I muſt confeſs; but I begin to ſuſpect, that what often inclines me to be of your opinion, is your dexterity in placing things in the light you would have ſeen them in, and the great ſkill you have in depreciating what is valuable, and detracting from merit.

Cleo. I proteſt that I ſpeak from my heart.

Hor. When I reflect on what I have beheld with my own eyes, and what I ſtill ſee every day of the tranſactions between ſtateſmen and politicians, I am very well aſſured you are in the wrong: When I conſider all the ſtratagems, and the force as well as fineſſe that are made uſe of to ſupplant and undo prime miniſters, the wit and cunning, induſtry and addreſs, that are employed to miſrepreſent all their actions, the calumnies and falſe reports that are ſpread of them, the ballads and lampoons that are publiſhed, the ſet ſpeeches and ſtudied invectives that are made againſt them; when I conſider, I ſay, and reflect on theſe things, and every thing elſe that is ſaid and done, either to ridicule or to render them odious, I am convinced, that to defeat ſo much art and ſtrength, and diſappoint ſo much malice and envy as prime miniſters are generally attacked with, require extraordinary talents: No man of only common prudence and fortitude could maintain himſelf in that poſt for a twelvemonth, much leſs for many years together, though he underſtood the world very well, and had all the virtue, faithfulneſs, and integrity in it; therefore, there muſt be ſome fallacy in your aſſertion.

Cleo. Either I have been deficient in explaining myſelf, or elſe I have had the misfortune to be miſunderſtood. When I inſinuated that men might be prime miniſters without ex-

traordinary endowments, I ſpoke only in regard to the buſineſs itſelf, that province, which, if there was no ſuch miniſter, the king and council would have the trouble of managing.

Hor. To direct and manage the whole machine of government, he muſt be a conſummate ſtateſmen in the firſt place.

Cleo. You have too ſublime a notion of that poſt. To be a conſummate ſtateſmen, is the higheſt qualification human nature is capable of poſſeſſing To deſerve that name, a man muſt be well verſed in ancient and modern hiſtory, and thoroughly acquainted with all the courts of Europe, that he may know not only the public intereſt in every nation, but likewiſe the private views, as well as inclinations, virtues, and vices of princes and miniſters: Of every country in Chriſtendom, and the borders of it, he ought to know the product and geography, the principal cities and fortreſſes; and of theſe their trade and manufactures, their ſituation, natural advantages, ſtrength, and number of inhabitants; he muſt have read men as well as books, and perfectly well underſtand human nature, and the uſe of the paſſions: He muſt, moreover, be a great maſter in concealing the ſentiments of his heart, have an entire command over his features, and be well ſkilled in all the wiles and ſtratagems to draw out ſecrets from others. A man, of whom all this, or the greateſt part of it, may not be ſaid with truth, and that he has had great experience in public affairs, cannot be called a conſummate ſtateſman; but he may be fit to be a prime miniſter, though he had not a hundredth part of thoſe qualifications. As the king's favour creates prime miniſters, and makes their ſtation the poſt of the greateſt power as well as profit, ſo the ſame favour is the only bottom which thoſe that are in it have to ſtand upon: The conſequence is, that the moſt ambitious men in all monarchies are ever contending for this poſt as the higheſt prize, of which the enjoyment is eaſy, and all the difficulty in obtaining and preſerving it. We ſee accordingly, that the accompliſhments I ſpoke of to make a ſtateſman are neglected, and others aimed at and ſtudied, that are more uſeful and more eaſily acquired. The capacities you obſerve in prime miniſters are of another nature, and conſiſt in being finiſhed courtiers, and thoroughly underſtanding the art of pleaſing and cajoling with addreſs. To procure a prince what he wants, when it is known, and

to be diligent in entertaining him with the pleaſures he calls for, are ordinary ſervices: Aſking is no better than complaining; therefore, being forced to aſk, is to have cauſe of complaint, and to ſee a prince ſubmit to the ſlavery of it, argues great ruſticity in his courtiers; a polite miniſter penetrates into his maſter's wiſhes, and furniſhes him with what he delights in, without giving him the trouble to name it. Every common flatterer can praiſe and extol promiſcuouſly every thing that is ſaid or done, and find wiſdom and prudence in the moſt indifferent actions; but it belongs to the ſkilful courtier to ſet fine gloſſes upon manifeſt imperfections, and make every failing, every frailty of his prince, have the real appearance of the virtues that are the neareſt, or, to ſpeak more juſtly, the leaſt oppoſite to them. By the obſervance of theſe neceſſary duties, it is that the favour of princes may be long preſerved, as well as obtained. Whoever can make himſelf agreeable at a court, will ſeldom fail of being thought neceſſary; and when a favourite has once eſtabliſhed himſelf in the good opinion of his maſter, it is eaſy for him to make his own family engroſs the king's ear, and keep every body from him but his own creatures: Nor is it more difficult, in length of time, to turn out of the adminiſtration every body that was not of his own bringing in, and conſtantly be tripping up the heels of thoſe who attempt to raiſe themſelves by any other intereſt or aſſiſtance. A prime miniſter has by his place great advantages over all that oppoſe him; one of them is, that nobody, without exception, ever filled that poſt but who had many enemies, whether he was a plunderer or a patriot: Which being well known, many things that are laid to a prime miniſter's charge are not credited among the impartial and more diſcreet part of mankind, even when they are true. As to the defeating and diſappointing all the envy and malice they are generally attacked with, if the favourite was to do all that himſelf, it would certainly, as you ſay, require extraordinary talents and a great capacity, as well as continual vigilance and application; but this is the province of their creatures, a taſk divided into a great number of parts; and every body that has the leaſt dependence upon, or has any thing to hope from the miniſter, makes it his buſineſs and his ſtudy, as it is his intereſt, on the one hand, to cry up their patron, magnify his virtues and abilities, and juſtify his conduct; on the other, to exclaim againſt his adverſaries, blacken their repu-

tation, and play at them every engine, and the ſame ſtratagems that are made uſe of to ſupplant the miniſter.

Hor. Then every well-poliſhed courtier is fit to be a prime miniſter, without learning or languages, ſkill in politics, or any other qualification beſides.

Cleo. No other than what are often and eaſily met with: It is neceſſary that he ſhould be a man, at leaſt, of plain common ſenſe, and not remarkable for any groſs frailties or imperfections; and of ſuch, there is no ſcarcity almoſt in any nation: He ought to be a man of tolerable health and conſtitution, and one who delights in vanity, that he may reliſh, as well as be able to bear the gaudy crowds that honour his levees, the conſtant addreſſes, bows, and cringes of ſolicitors, and the reſt of the homage that is perpetually paid him. The accompliſhment he ſtands moſt in need of, is to be bold and reſolute, ſo as not to be eaſily ſhocked or ruffled; if he be thus qualified, has a good memory, and is, moreover, able to attend a multiplicity of buſineſs, if not with a continual preſence of mind, at leaſt ſeemingly without hurry or perplexity, his capacity can never fail of being extolled to the ſkies.

Hor. You ſay nothing of his virtue nor his honeſty; there is a vaſt truſt put in a prime miniſter: If he ſhould be covetous, and have no probity, nor love for his country, he might make ſtrange havoc with the public treaſure.

Cleo. There is no man that has any pride, but he has ſome value for his reputation; and common prudence is ſufficient to hinder a man of very indifferent principles from ſtealing, where he would be in great danger of being detected, and has no manner of ſecurity that he ſhall not be puniſhed for it.

Hor. But great confidence is repoſed in him where he cannot be traced; as in the money for ſecret ſervices, of which, for reaſons of ſtate, it may be often improper even to mention, much more to ſcrutinize into the particulars; and in negotiations with other courts, ſhould he be only ſwayed by ſelfiſhneſs and private views, without regard to virtue or the public, is it not in his power to betray his country, ſell the nation, and do all manner of miſchief?

Cleo. Not amongſt us, where parliaments are every year ſitting. In foreign affairs nothing of moment can be tranſacted but what all the world muſt know; and ſhould any thing be done or attempted that would be palpably ruin-

ous to the kingdom, and in the opinion of natives and foreigners grosly and manifestly clashing with our interest, it would raise a general clamour, and throw the minister into dangers, which no man of the least prudence, who intends to stay in his country, would ever run into. As to the money for secret services, and perhaps other sums, which ministers have the disposal of, and where they have great latitudes, I do not question but they have opportunities of embezzling the nations treasure: but to do this without being discovered, it must be done sparingly, and with great discretion: The malicious overlookers that envy them their places, and watch all their motions, are a great awe upon them: the animosities between those antagonists, and the quarrels between parties, are a considerable part of the nation's security.

Hor. But would it not be a greater security to have men of honour, of sense and knowledge, of application and frugality, preferred to public employments?

Cleo. Yes, without doubt.

Hor. What confidence can we have in the justice or integrity of men; that, on the one hand, show themselves on all occasions mercenary and greedy after riches; and on the other, make it evident, by their manner of living, that no wealth or estate could ever suffice to support their expences, or satisfy their desires! besides, would it not be a great encouragement to virtue and merit, if from the posts of honour and profit all were to be debarred and excluded, that either wanted capacity or were enemies to business; all the selfish, ambitious, vain, and voluptuous?

Cleo. Nobody disputes it with you; and if virtue, religion, and future happiness were sought after by the generality of mankind, with the same solicitude, as sensual pleasure, politeness, and worldly glory are, it would certainly be best that none but men of good lives, and known ability, should have any place in the government whatever: but to expect that this ever should happen, or to live in hopes of it in a large, opulent, and flourishing kingdom, is to betray great ignorance in human affairs? and whoever reckons a general temperance, frugality, and disinterestedness among the national blessings, and at the same time solicits Heaven for ease and plenty, and the increase of trade, seems to me, little to understand what he is about. The best of all, then, not being to be had, let us look out for the next best, and we shall

find, that of all poſſible means to ſecure and perpetuate to nations their eſtabliſhment, and whatever they value, there is no better method than with wiſe laws to guard and entrench their conſtitution, and contrive ſuch forms of adminiſtration that the commonweal can receive no great detriment from the want of knowledge or probity of miniſters, if any of them ſhould prove leſs able or honeſt, than they could wiſh them. The public adminiſtration muſt always go forward; it is a ſhip that can never lie at anchor: the moſt knowing, the moſt virtuous, and the leaſt ſelf-intereſted miniſters are the beſt; but, in the mean time there muſt be miniſters. Swearing and drunkenneſs are crying ſins among ſeafaring men, and I ſhould think it a very deſirable bleſſing to the nation, if it was poſſible to reform them: but all this while we muſt have ſailors; and if none were to be admitted on board of any of his majeſty's ſhips, that had ſworn above a thouſand oaths, or had been drunk above ten times in their lives, I am perſuaded that the ſervice would ſuffer very much by the well-meaning regulation.

Hor. Why do not you ſpeak more openly, and ſay that there is no virtue or probity in the world? for all the drift of your diſcourſe is tending to prove that.

Cleo. I have amply declared myſelf upon this ſubject already in a former converſation; and I wonder you will lay again to my charge what I once abſolutely denied: I never thought that there were no virtuous or religious men; what I differ in with the flatterers of our ſpecies, is about the numbers which they contend for; and I am perſuaded that you yourſelf, in reality, do not believe that there are ſo many virtuous men as you imagine you do.

Hor. How come you to know my thoughts better than I do myſelf?

Cleo. You know I have tried you upon this head already, when I ludicrouſly extolled and ſet a fine gloſs on the merit of ſeveral callings and profeſſions in the ſociety, from the loweſt ſtations of life to the higheſt: it then plainly appeared, that, though you have a very high opinion of mankind in general, when we come to particulars, you was as ſevere, and every whit as cenſorious as myſelf. I muſt obſerve one thing to you, which is worth conſideration. Moſt, if not all people, are deſirous of being thought impartial; yet nothing is more difficult than to preſerve our judgment unbiaſſed, when we are influenced either by our love or our

hatred; and how juſt and equitable ſoever people are, we ſee that their friends are ſeldom ſo good, or their enemies ſo bad as they repreſent them, when they are angry with the one, or highly pleaſed with the other. For my part, I do not think that, generally ſpeaking, prime miniſters are much worſe than their adverſaries, who for their own intereſt defame them, and at the ſame time, move Heaven and earth to be in their places. Let us look out for two perſons of eminence in any court of Europe, that are equal in merit and capacity, and as well matched in virtues and vices, but of contrary parties; and whenever we meet with two ſuch, one in favour and the other neglected, we ſhall always find that whoever is uppermoſt, and in great employ, has the applauſe of his party; and if things go tolerably well, his friends will attribute every good ſucceſs to his conduct, and derive all his actions from laudable motives: the oppoſite ſide can diſcover no virtues in him; they will not allow him to act from any principles but his paſſions; and if any thing be done amiſs, are very ſure that it would not have happened if their patron had been in the ſame poſt. This is the way of the world. How immenſely do often people of the ſame kingdom differ in the opinion they have of their chiefs and commanders, even when they are ſucceſsful to admiration! we have been witneſſes ourſelves that one part of the nation has aſcribed the victories of a general entirely to his conſummate knowledge in martial affairs, and ſuperlative capacity in action; and maintained that it was impoſſible for a man to bear all the toils and fatigues he underwent with alacrity, or to court the dangers he voluntarily expoſed himſelf to, if he had not been ſupported, as well as animated, by the true ſpirit of heroiſm, and a moſt generous love for his country: theſe, you know, were the ſentiments of one part of the nation, whilſt the other attributed all his ſucceſſes to the bravery of his troops, and the extraordinary care that was taken at home to ſupply his army; and inſiſted upon it, that from the whole courſe of his life, it was demonſtrable, that he had never been buoyed up or actuated by any other principles than exceſs of ambition, and an unſatiable greedineſs after riches.

Hor. I do not know but I may have ſaid ſo myſelf. But after all, the Duke of Marlborough was a very great man, an extraordinary genius.

Cleo. Indeed was he, and I am glad to hear you own it at laſt.

> Virtutem incolumem odimus,
> Sublatum ex oculis quærimus invidi.

Hor. A propos. I wiſh you would bid them ſtop for two or three minutes: ſome of the horſes perhaps may ſtale the while.

Cleo. No excuſes, pray. You command here. Beſides, we have time enough.——Do you want to go out?

Hor. No; but I want to ſet down ſomething, now I think of it, which I have heard you repeat ſeveral times. I have often had a mind to aſk you for it, and it always went out of my head again. It is the epitaph which your friend made upon the Duke.

Cleo. Of Marlborough? with all my heart. Have you paper?

Hor. I will write it upon the back of this letter; and as it happens, I mended my pencil this morning. How does it begin?

Cleo. Qui belli, aut paucis virtutibus aſtra petebant.

Hor. Well.

Cleo. Finxerunt homines ſæcula priſca Deos.

Hor. I have it. But tell me a whole diſtich at a time; the ſenſe is clearer.

> *Cleo.* Quae martem ſine patre tulit, ſine matre Minervam,
> Illuſtres mendax Græcia jactet avos.

Hor. That is really a happy thought. Courage and conduct: juſt the two qualifications he excelled in. What is the next?

> *Cleo.* Anglia quem genuit jacet hac, Homo, conditus Urna,
> Antiqui, qualem non habuere Deum.

Hor. ——I thank you. They may go on now. I have ſeen ſeveral things ſince firſt I heard this epitaph of you, that are manifeſtly borrowed from it. Was it never publiſhed?

Cleo. I believe not. The firſt time I ſaw it was the day the Duke was buried, and ever ſince it has been handed about in manuſcript; but I never met with it in print yet.

Hor. It is worth all his Fable of the Bees, in my opinion.

Cleo. If you like it so well, I can show you a translation of it, lately done by a gentleman of Oxford, if I have not lost it. It only takes in the first and last distich, which indeed contain the main thought: The second does not carry it on, and is rather a digression.

Hor. But it demonstrates the truth of the first in a very convincing manner; and that Mars had no father, and Minerva no mother, is the most fortunate thing a man could wish for, who wanted to prove that the account we have of them is fabulous.

Cleo. Oh, here it is. I do not know whether you can read it; I copied it in haste.

Hor. Very well.

> The grateful ages past a God declar'd,
> Who wisely council'd, or who bravely war'd:
> Hence Greece her Mars and Pallas deify'd;
> Made him the heroe's, her the patriot's guide.
> Ancients, within this urn a mortal lies
> Shew me his peer among your deities.

It is very good.

Cleo. Very lively; and what is aimed at in the Latin, is rather more clearly expressed in the English.

Hor. You know I am fond of no English verse but Milton's. But do not let this hinder our conversation.

Cleo. I was speaking of the partiality of mankind in general, and putting you in mind how differently men judged of actions, according as they liked or disliked the persons that performed them.

Hor. But before that you was arguing against the necessity, which I think there is, for men of great accomplishments and extraordinary qualifications in the administration of public affairs. Had you any thing to add?

Cleo. No; at least I do not remember that I had.

Hor. I do not believe you have an ill design in advancing these notions; but supposing them to be true, I cannot comprehend that divulging them can have any other effect than the increase of sloth and ignorance; for if men may fill the highest places in the government without learning or capacity, genius or knowledge, there is an end of all the labour of the brain, and the fatigue of hard study.

Cleo. I have made no such general assertion; but that an artful man may make a considerable figure in the highest post of the administration, and other great employments, without

extraordinary talents, is certain: as to conſummate ſtateſmen, I do not believe there ever were three perſons upon earth at the ſame time, that deſerved that name. There is not a quarter of the wiſdom, ſolid knowledge, or intrinſic worth in the world that men talk of and compliment one another with; and of virtue or religion there is not an hundredth part in reality of what there is in appearance.

Hor. I allow that thoſe who ſet out from no better motives, than avarice and ambition, aim at no other ends but wealth and honour; which, if they can but get anywiſe they are ſatisfied; but men who act from principles of virtue and a public ſpirit, take pains with alacrity to attain the accompliſhments that will make them capable of ſerving their country: and if virtue be ſo ſcarce, how come there to be men of ſkill in their profeſſions? for that there are men of learning and men of capacity, is moſt certain.

Cleo. The foundation of all accompliſhments muſt be laid in our youth, before we are able or allowed to chooſe for ourſelves, or to judge, which is the moſt profitable way of employing our time. It is to good diſcipline, and the prudent care of parents and maſters, that men are beholden for the greateſt part of their improvements; and few parents are ſo bad as not to wiſh their offspring might be well accompliſhed: the ſame natural affection that makes men take pains to leave their children rich, renders them ſolicitous about their education. Beſides, it is unfaſhionable, and conſequently a diſgrace to neglect them. The chief deſign of parents in bringing up their children to a calling or profeſſion, is to procure them a livelihood. What promotes and encourages arts and ſciences, is the reward, money and honour; and thouſands of perfections are attained to, that would have had no exiſtence, if men had been leſs proud or leſs covetous. Ambition, avarice, and often neceſſity, are great ſpurs to induſtry and application; and often rouſe men from ſloth and indolence, when they are grown up, whom no perſuaſions or chaſtiſement of fathers or tutors, made any impreſſion upon in their youth, Whilſt profeſſions are lucrative, and have great dignities belonging to them, there will always be men that excel in them. In a large polite nation, therefore, all ſorts of learning will ever abound, whilſt the people flouriſh. Rich parents, and ſuch as can afford it, ſeldom fail bringing up their children to literature: from this inexhauſtible ſpring it is, that we always draw much larger

ſupplies than we ſtand in need of, for all the callings and profeſſions where the knowledge of the learned languages is required. Of thoſe that are brought up to letters, ſome neglect them, and throw by their books as ſoon as they are their own maſters; others grow fonder of ſtudy, as they increaſe in years; but the greateſt part will always retain a value for what has coſt them pains to acquire. Among the wealthy, there will be always lovers of knowledge, as well as idle people: every ſcience will have its admirers, as men differ in their taſtes and pleaſures; and there is no part of learning but ſomebody or other will look into it, and labour at it, from no better principles than ſome men are fox-hunters, and others take delight in angling. Look upon the mighty labours of antiquaries, botaniſts, and the vertuoſos in butterflies, cockleſhells, and other odd productions of nature; and mind the magnificent terms they all make uſe of in their reſpective provinces, and the pompous names they often give to what others, who have no taſte that way, would not think worth any mortal's notice. Curioſity is often as bewitching to the rich, as lucre is to the poor; and what intereſt does in ſome, vanity does in others; and great wonders are often produced from a happy mixture of both. Is it not amazing, that a temperate man ſhould be at the expence of four or five thouſand a-year, or, which is much the ſame thing, be contented to loſe the intereſt of above a hundred thouſand pounds, to have the reputation of being the poſſeſſor and owner of rarities and knicknacks in a very great abundance, at the ſame time that he loves money, and continues ſlaving for it in his old age! It is the hopes either of gain or reputation, of large revenues and great dignities that promote learning; and when we ſay that any calling, art or ſcience, is not encouraged, we mean no more by it, than that the maſters or profeſſors of it are not ſufficiently rewarded for their pains, either with honour or profit. The moſt holy functions are no exception to what I ſay; and few miniſters of the goſpel are ſo diſintereſted as to have a leſs regard to the honours and emoluments that are or ought to be annexed to their employment, than they have to the ſervice and benefit they ſhould be of to others; and among thoſe of them that ſtudy hard and take uncommon pains, it is not eaſily proved that many are excited to their extraordinary labour by a public ſpirit or ſolicitude for the ſpiritual welfare of the laity: on the contrary, it is viſible, in the greateſt part of them, that

they are animated by the love of glory and the hopes of preferment; neither is it common to see the most useful parts of learning neglected for the most trifling, when, from the latter, men have reason to hope that they shall have greater opportunities of showing their parts, than offer themselves from the former. Ostentation and envy have made more authors than virtue and benevolence. Men of known capacity and erudition are often labouring hard to eclipse and ruin one another's glory. What principle must we say two adversaries act from, both men of unquestionable good sense and extensive knowledge, when all the skill and prudence they are masters of are not able to stifle, in their studied performances, and hide from the world, the rancour of their minds, the spleen and animosity they both write with against one another.

Hor. I do not say that such act from principles of virtue.

Cleo. Yet you know an instance of this in two grave divines, men of fame and great merit, of whom each would think himself very much injured, should his virtue be called in question.

Hor. When men have an opportunity, under pretence of zeal for religion, or the public good, to vent their passion, they take great liberties. What was the quarrel?

Cleo. De lana caprina.

Hor. A trifle. I cannot guess yet.

Cleo. About the metre of the comic poets among the ancients.

Hor. I know what you mean now; the manner of scanding and chanting those verses.

Cleo. Can you think of any thing belonging to literature, of less importance, or more useless?

Hor. Not readily.

Cleo. Yet the great contest between them, you see, is which of them understands it best, and has known it the longest. This instance, I think, hints to us how highly improbable it is, though men should act from no better principles than envy, avarice, and ambition, that when learning is once established, any part of it, even the most unprofitable, should ever be neglected in such a large opulent nation as ours is; where there are so many places of honour, and great revenues to be disposed of among scholars.

Hor. But since men are fit to serve in most places with so little capacity, as you insinuate, why should they give them-

ſelves that unneceſſary trouble of ſtudying hard, and acquiring more learning than there is occaſion for?

Cleo. I thought I had anſwered that already; a great many, becauſe they take delight in ſtudy and knowledge.

Hor. But there are men that labour at it with ſo much application, as to impair their healths, and actually to kill themſelves with the fatigue of it.

Cleo. Not ſo many as there are that injure their healths, and actually kill themſelves with hard drinking, which is the moſt unreaſonable pleaſure of the two, and a much greater fatigue. But I do not deny that there are men who take pains to qualify themſelves in order to ſerve their country; what I inſiſt upon is, that the number of thoſe who do the ſame thing to ſerve themſelves with little regard to their country, is infinitely greater. Mr. Hutcheſon, who wrote the Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, ſeems to be very expert at weighing and meaſuring the quantities of affection, benevolence, &c. I wiſh that curious metaphyſician would give himſelf the trouble, at his leiſure, to weigh two things ſeparately: Firſt, the real love men have for their country, abſtracted from ſelfiſhneſs. Secondly, the ambition they have of being thought to act from that love, though they feel none. I wiſh, I ſay, that this ingenious gentleman would once weigh theſe two aſunder; and afterwards, having taken in impartially all he could find of either, in this or any other nation, ſhow us in his demonſtrative way, what proportion the quantities bore to each other.—*Quiſque ſibi commiſſus eſt*, ſays Seneca; and certainly, it is not the care of others, but the care of itſelf, which nature has truſted and charged every individual creature with. When men exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, they generally do it to be the better for it themſelves; to excel, to be talked of, and to be preferred to others, that follow the ſame buſineſs, or court the ſame favours.

Hor. Do you think it more probable, that men of parts and learning ſhould be preferred, than others of leſs capacity?

Cleo. Cæteris paribus, I do,

Hor. Then you muſt allow that there is virtue at leaſt in thoſe who have the diſpoſal of places.

Cleo. I do not ſay there is not; but there is likewiſe glory and real honour accruing to patrons for advancing men of merit; and if a perſon who has a good living in his gift, be-

ſtows it upon a very able man, every body applauds him, and every pariſhioner is counted to be particularly obliged to him. A vain man does not love to have his choice diſapproved of, and exclaimed againſt by all the world, any more than a virtuous man; and the love of applauſe, which is innate to our ſpecies, would alone be ſufficient to make the generality of men, and even the greateſt part of the moſt vicious, always chooſe the moſt worthy, out of any number of candidates; if they knew the truth, and no ſtronger motive ariſing from conſanguinity, friendſhip, intereſt, or ſomething elſe, was to interfere with the principle I named.

Hor. But, methinks, according to your ſyſtem, thoſe ſhould be ſooneſt preferred that can beſt coax and flatter.

Cleo. Among the learned there are perſons of art and addreſs, that can mind their ſtudies without neglecting the the world: theſe are the men that know how to ingratiate themſelves with perſons of quality; employing to the beſt advantage all their parts and induſtry for that purpoſe. Do but look into the lives and the deportment of ſuch eminent men, as we have been ſpeaking of, and you will ſoon diſcover the end and advantages they ſeem to propoſe to themſelves from their hard ſtudy and ſevere lucubrations. When you ſee men in holy orders, without call or neceſſity, hovering about the courts of princes; when you ſee them continually addreſſing and ſcraping acquaintance with the favourites; when you hear them exclaim againſt the luxury of the age, and complain of the neceſſity they are under of complying with it; and at the ſame time you ſee, that they are forward, nay eager and take pains with ſatisfaction, in the way of living, to imitate the *beau monde*, as far as it is in their power: that no ſooner they are in poſſeſſion of one preferment, but they are ready, and actually ſoliciting for another, more gainful and more reputable; and that on all emergencies, wealth, power, honour and ſuperiority are the things they graſp at, and take delight in; when, I ſay, you ſee theſe things, this concurrence of evidences, is it any longer difficult to gueſs at, or rather is there room to doubt of the principles they act from, or the tendency of their labours?

Hor. I have little to ſay to prieſts, and do not look for virtue from that quarter.

Cleo. Yet you will find as much of it among divines, as you will among any other claſs of men; but every where leſs in reality, than there is in appearance, Nobody would

be thought insincere, or to prevaricate; but there are few men, though they are so honest as to own what they would have, that will acquaint us with the true reason why they would have it: therefore the disagreement between the words and actions of men is at no time more conspicuous, than when we would learn from them their sentiments, concerning the real worth of things. Virtue, is without doubt, the most valuable treasure which man can be possessed of; it has every body's good word; but where is the country in which it is heartily embraced, *præmia si tollas?* Money, on the other hand, is deservedly called the root of all evil: there has not been a moralist nor a satirist of note, that has not had a fling at it; yet what pains are taken, and what hazards are run to acquire it, under various pretences of designing to do good with it! As for my part, I verily believe, that as an accessary cause, it has done more mischief in the world than any one thing besides: yet it is impossible to name another, that is so absolutely necessary to the order, economy, and the very existence of the civil society; for as this is entirely built upon the variety of our wants, so the whole superstructure is made up of the reciprocal services which men do to each other. How to get these services performed by others, when we have occasion for them, is the grand and almost constant solicitude in life of every individual person. To expect that others should serve us for nothing, is unreasonable; therefore all commerce that men can have together, must be a continual bartering of one thing for another. The seller who transfers the property of a thing, has his own interest as much at heart as the buyer who purchases that property: and, if you want or like a thing, the owner of it, whatever stock or provision he may have of the same, or how greatly soever you may stand in need of it, will never part with it, but for a consideration which he likes better than he does the thing you want. Which way shall I persuade a mant to serve me, when the service I can repay him in, is such as he does not want or care for? Nobody who is at peace, and has no contention with any of the society, will do any thing for a lawyer; and a physician can purchase nothing of a man, whose whole family is in perfect health. Money obviates and takes away all those difficulties, by being an acceptable reward for all the services men can do to one another.

Hor. But all men valuing themſelves above their worth, every body will over-rate his labour. Would not this follow from your ſyſtem?

Cleo. It certainly would, and does. But what is to be admired is, that the larger the numbers are in a ſociety, the more extenſive they have rendered the variety of their deſires, and the more operoſe the gratification of them is become among them by cuſtom; the leſs miſchievous is the conſequence of that evil, where they have the uſe of money: whereas, without it, the ſmaller the number was of a ſociety, and the more ſtrictly the members of it, in ſupplying their wants, would confine themſelves to thoſe only that were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, the more eaſy it would be for them to agree about the reciprocal ſervices I ſpoke of. But to procure all the comforts of life, and what is called temporal happineſs, in a large polite nation, would be every whit as practicable without ſpeech, as it would be without money, or an equivalent to be uſed inſtead of it. Where this is not wanting, and due care is taken of it by the legiſlature, it will always be the ſtandard, which the worth of every thing will be weighed by. There are great bleſſings that ariſe from neceſſity; and that every body is obliged to eat and drink, is the cement of civil ſociety. Let men ſet what high value they pleaſe upon themſelves, that labour which moſt people are capable of doing, will ever be the cheapeſt. Nothing can be dear of which there is great plenty, how beneficial ſoever it may be to man; and ſcarcity enhances the price of things much oftener than the uſefulneſs of them. Hence it is evident why thoſe arts and ſciences will always be the moſt lucrative, that cannot be attained to, but in great length of time, by tedious ſtudy and cloſe application; or elſe require a particular genius, not often to be met with. It is likewiſe evident, to whoſe lot, in all ſocieties, the hard and dirty labour, which nobody would meddle with, if he could help it, will ever fall: but you have ſeen enough of this in the Fable of the Bees.

Hor. I have ſo, and one remarkable ſaying I have read there on this ſubject, which I ſhall never forget. "The poor," ſays the author, "have nothing to ſtir them up to labour, "but their wants, which it is wiſdom to relieve, but folly to "cure."

Cleo. I believe the maxim to be juſt, and that it is not leſs calculated for the real advantage of the poor, than it appears

to be for the benefit of the rich. For, among the labouring people, those will ever be the least wretched as to themselves, as well as most useful to the public, that being meanly born and bred, submit to the station they are in with cheerfulness; and contented, that their children should succeed them in the same low condition, inure them from their infancy to labour and submission, as well as the cheapest diet and apparel; when, on the contrary, that sort of them will always be the least serviceable to others, and themselves the most unhappy, who, dissatisfied with their labour, are always grumbling and repining at the meanness of their condition; and, under pretence of having a great regard for the welfare of their children, recommend the education of them to the charity of others; and you shall always find, that of this latter class of poor, the greatest part are idle sottish people, that, leading dissolute lives themselves, are neglectful to their families, and only want, as far as it is in their power, to shake off that burden of providing for their brats from their own shoulders.

Hor. I am no advocate for charity schools; yet I think it is barbarous, that the children of the labouring poor, should be for ever pinned down, they, and all their posterity, to that slavish condition; and that those who are meanly born, what parts or genius soever they might be of, should be hindered and debarred from raising themselves higher.

Cleo. So should I think it barbarous, if what you speak of was done any where, or proposed to be done. But there is no degree of men in Christendom that are pinned down, they and their posterity, to slavery for ever. Among the very lowest sort, there are fortunate men in every country; and we daily see persons, that without education, or friends, by their own industry and application, raise themselves from nothing to mediocrity, and sometimes above it, if once they come rightly to love money and take delight in saving it: and this happens more often to people of common and mean capacities, than it does to those of brighter parts. But there is a prodigious difference between debarring the children of the poor from ever rising higher in the world, and refusing to force education upon thousands of them promiscuously, when they should be more usefully employed. As some of the rich must come to be poor, so some of the poor will come to be rich in the common course of things. But that universal benevolence, that should every where industriously lift

up the indigent labourer from his meanneſs, would not be leſs injurious to the whole kingdom than a tyrannical power, that ſhould, without a cauſe, caſt down the wealthy from their eaſe and affluence. Let us ſuppoſe, that the hard and dirty labour throughout the nation requires three millions of hands, and that every branch of it is performed by the children of the poor. Illiterate, and ſuch as had little or no education themſelves; it is evident, that if a tenth part of theſe children, by force and deſign, were to be exempt from the loweſt drudgery, either there muſt be ſo much work left undone, as would demand three hundred thouſand people; or the defect, occaſioned by the numbers taken off, muſt be ſupplied by the children of others, that had been better bred.

Hor. So that what is done at firſt out of charity to ſome, may, at long run, prove to be cruelty to others.

Cleo. And will, depend upon it. In the compound of all nations, the different degrees of men ought to bear a certain proportion to each other, as to numbers, in order to render the whole a well proportioned mixture. And as this due proportion is the reſult and natural conſequence of the difference there is in the qualifications of men, and the viciſſitudes that happen among them, ſo it is never better attained to, or preſerved, than when nobody meddles with it. Hence we may learn, how the ſhort-ſighted wiſdom of perhaps well-meaning people, may rob us of a felicity that would flow ſpontaneouſly from the nature of every large ſociety, if none were to divert or interrupt the ſtream.

Hor. I do not care to enter into theſe abſtruſe matters; what have you further to ſay in praiſe of money?

Cleo. I have no deſign to ſpeak either for or againſt it; but be it good or bad, the power and dominion of it are both of vaſt extent, and the influence of it upon mankind has never been ſtronger or more general in any empire, ſtate, or kingdom, than in the moſt knowing and politeſt ages, when they were in their greateſt grandeur and proſperity; and when arts and ſciences were the moſt flouriſhing in them: Therefore, the invention of money ſeems to me to be a thing more ſkilfully adapted to the whole bent of our nature, than any other or human contrivance. There is no greater remedy againſt ſloth or ſtubborneſs; and with aſtoniſhment I have beheld the readineſs and alacrity with which it often

makes the proudeſt men pay homage to their inferiors: It purchaſes all ſervices, and cancels all debts; nay, it does more, for when a perſon is employed in his occupation, and he who ſets him to work, a good paymaſter, how laborious, how difficult or irkſome ſoever the ſervice be, the obligation is always reckoned to lie upon him who performs it.

Hor. Do not you think, that many eminent men in the learned profeſſions would diſſent from you in this?

Cleo. I know very well, that none ought to do it, if ever they courted buſineſs, or hunted after employment.

Hor. All you have ſaid is true among mercenary people; but upon noble minds that deſpiſe lucre, honour has a far greater efficacy than money.

Cleo. The higheſt titles, and the moſt illuſtrious births, are no ſecurity againſt covetouſneſs; and perſons of the firſt quality, that are actually generous and munificent are often as greedy after gain, when it is worth their while, as the moſt ſordid mechanics are for trifles: The year twenty has taught us, how difficult it is to find out thoſe noble minds that deſpiſe lucre, when there is a proſpect of getting vaſtly. Beſides, nothing is more univerſally charming than money; it ſuits with every ſtation, the high, the low, the wealthy, and the poor: whereas, honour has little influence on the mean, ſlaving people, and rarely affects any of the vulgar; but if it does, money will almoſt every where purchaſe honour; nay, riches of themſelves are an honour to all thoſe who know how to uſe them faſhionably. Honour, on the contrary, wants riches for its ſupport; without them it is a dead weight that oppreſſes its owner; and titles of honour, joined to a neceſſitous condition, are a greater burden together than the ſame degree of poverty is alone: for the higher a man's quality is, the more conſiderable are his wants in life; but the more money he has, the better he is able to ſupply the greateſt extravagancy of them. Lucre is the beſt reſtorative in the world, in a literal ſenſe, and works upon the ſpirits mechanically; for it is not only a ſpur that excites men to labour, and makes them in love with it, but it likewiſe gives relief in wearineſs, and actually ſupports men in all fatigues and difficulties. A labourer of any ſort, who is paid in proportion to his diligence, can do more work than another who is paid by the day or the week, and has ſtanding wages.

Hor. Do not you think, then, that there are men in laborious offices, who, for a fixed salary, discharge their duties with diligence and assiduity?

Cleo. Yes, many; but there is no place or employment in which there are required or expected, that continual attendance and uncommon severity of application, that some men harass and punish themselves with by choice, when every fresh trouble meets with a new recompence; and you never saw men so entirely devote themselves to their calling, and pursue business with that eagerness, dispatch, and perseverance in any office of preferment, in which the yearly income is certain and unalterable, as they often do in those professions, where the reward continually accompanies the labour, and the fee immediately either precedes the service they do to others, as it is with the lawyers, or follows it, as it is with the physicians. I am sure you have hinted at this in our first conversation yourself.

Hor. Here is the castle before us.

Cleo. Which I suppose you are not sorry for.

Hor. Indeed I am, and would have been glad to have heard you speak of kings and other sovereigns with the same candour, as well as freedom, with which you have treated prime ministers, and their envious adversaries. When I see a man entirely impartial, I shall always do him that justice, as to think, that if he is not in the right in what he says, at least he aims at truth. The more I examine your sentiments, by what I see in the world, the more I am obliged to come into them; and all this morning I have said nothing in opposition to you, but to be better informed, and to give you an opportunity to explain yourself more amply. I am your convert, and shall henceforth look upon the Fable of the Bees very differently from what I did; for though, in the Characteristics, the language and the diction are better, the system of man's sociableness is more lovely and more plausible, and things are set off with more art and learning; yet in the other there is certainly more truth, and nature is more faithfully copied in it almost every where.

Cleo. I wish you would read them both once more, and, after that, I believe you will say that you never saw two authors who seem to have wrote with more different views. My friend, the author of the Fable, to engage and keep his readers in good humour, seems to be very merry, and to do something else, whilst he detects the corruption of our na-

ture; and having ſhown man to himſelf in various lights, he points indirectly at the neceſſity, not only of revelation and believing, but likewiſe of the practice of Chriſtianity manifeſtly to be ſeen in mens lives.

Hor. I have not obſerved that: Which way has he done it indirectly?

Cleo. By expoſing, on the one hand, the vanity of the world, and the moſt polite enjoyments of it; and, on the other, the inſufficiency of human reaſon and heathen virtue to procure real felicity: for I cannot ſee what other meaning a man could have by doing this in a Chriſtian country, and among people that all pretend to ſeek after happineſs.

Hor. And what ſay you of Lord Shaftſbury?

Cleo. Firſt, I agree with you that he was a man of erudition, and a very polite writer; he has diſplayed a copious imagination, and a fine turn of thinking, in courtly language and nervous expreſſions: But, as on the one hand, it muſt be confeſſed, that his ſentiments on liberty and humanity are noble and ſublime, and that there is nothing trite or vulgar in the Characteriſtics; ſo, on the other, it cannot be denied, that the ideas he had formed of the goodneſs and excellency of our nature, were as romantic and chimerical as they are beautiful and amiable; that he laboured hard to unite two contraries that can never be reconciled together, innocence of manners, and worldly greatneſs; that to compaſs this end, he favoured deiſm, and, under pretence of laſhing prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition, attacked the Bible itſelf; and, laſtly, that by ridiculing many paſſages of Holy Writ, he ſeems to have endeavoured to ſap the foundation of all revealed religion, with deſign of eſtabliſhing Heathen virtue on the ruins of Chriſtianity.

FINIS.

INDEX.

ABELARD, page 334.

Abſurd, nothing is thought ſo that we have been uſed to, 367.

Abſurdities in ſacred matters not incompatible with politeneſs and worldly wiſdom, 413, 414, 415, 422.

Acclamations made at church, 369.

Accompliſhments. The foundation of them is laid in our youth, 508.

Acknowledgment due to anceſtors, 202.

Active, ſtirring man. The difference between ſuch a one, and an eaſy indolent man in the ſame circumſtances, 338 to 346.

Adam. All men are his deſcendants, 402. Was not predeſtinated to fall, 429. A miraculous production, 485.

Adminiſtration, the civil, how it ought to be contrived, 495. What men it requires, ibid. Moſt branches of it ſeem to be more difficult than they are, 496. Is wiſely divided into ſeveral branches, ibid. Is a ſhip that never lies at anchor, 504.

Affections of the mind mechanically influence the body, 376.

Affectionate ſcheme, 441. Would have been inconſiſtent with the preſent plan, 442. When it might take place, 447.

Age, the golden, fabulous, 483. Inconſiſtent with human nature, 452.

Air and *Space*, no objects of ſight, 207.

Alexander the Great. The recompence he had in view, 20. Proved from his own mouth, ibid. Another demonſtration of his frailty, 212.

Alexander Severus, his abſurd worſhip, 414.

America, what the conqueſt of it has coſt, 115.

Americans. The diſadvantage they laboured under, 492. May be very ancient, ibid.

Ananas, the, or pine-apple, excels all other fruit, 400. To whom we owe the cultivation of it in England, 401.

Anaxagoras, the only man in antiquity that really deſpiſed riches and honour, 341.

Anger defined, 119. Conquered by fear, ibid. and 122. The operation of ſtrong liquors imitates that of anger, 126. Anger deſcribed, 386. The origin of it in nature, ibid. What creatures have moſt anger, ibid. The natural way of venting anger is by fighting, 474.

Animal Economy. Man contributes nothing to it, 477.

Animals, all, of the ſame ſpecies intelligible to one another, 466.

Antagoniſts, the, of prime miniſters, 500, 501. Are ſeldom better than the miniſters themſelves, 504.

Apology, an, for ſeveral paſſages in the book, 137, 138. An apology for recommending ignorance, 182.

Applauſe, always grateful, 369. The charms of it, 271.

Arts and *Sciences*. What encourages them, 509. Which will always be the moſt lucrative, 514.

Atheiſm has hid its martyrs, 128.

Atheiſm and *Superſtition* of the ſame origin, 487. What people are moſt in danger of atheiſm, ibid. Atheiſm may be abhorred by men of little religion, 266.

Atheiſts may be men of good morals, 488.

Avarice, 52. The reaſon why it is generally hated, ibid. Why the ſociety ſtands in need of it, 53. Is equally neceſſary with prodigality, ibid. What ought to be deemed as ſuch, 266.

Author of the Fable of the Bees, the, deſires not to conceal any thing that has been ſaid againſt him, 261. The reaſon of his ſilence, ibid. How far only he defends his book, 262. Has called it an inconſiderable trifle, and a rhapſody, ibid. Was unjuſtly cenſured for confeſſing his vanity, 263. How far he is anſwerable for what Horatio ſays, 275. His fears of what will happen, ibid. The report of his having burnt his book, 276. The preparatory contrivance this report was built upon, ibid. and 277.

Authors compared to architects, 480. Ought to be upon the ſame footing with their critics, 261. When moſt fooliſhly employed, 262.

Beards, the various modes concerning them, 208.

Bears brought forth chiefly in cold countries, 430.

Bear-Gardens not inferior to operas, as to the real virtue of the companies that frequent either, 301.

Beau Monde cenſured 333. What has always employed the wittes of them, 365. Are every where the judges and refiners of language, 471, 472. A character of a conſiderable part of the *beau monde* throughout Chriſtendom, 266. The indulgence of the *beau monde* cenſured, ibid. Their eaſy compliance with ceremonies in divine worſhip, 267. Exceptions from the generality of them, ib.
Becs, in, ſociety is natural, in man artificial, 393, 394.
Beggars, their policy, 158, 159. What ſort of people complain of them moſt, ibid.
Behaviour of modeſt women, 31. Of a bride and bridegroom, 33. Of undiſciplined ſoldiers, 123. Of a fine gentleman at his own table, 307. Abroad, ibid. To his tenants, 308. To his ſervants, 309. To tradeſmen, 310. Of an indolent man of no fortune, 338. Of an active man in the ſame circumſtances, 539. Of men meanly born, 479. Of ſavages, 354, 355. Of the ill-bred vulgar, 466. Of different parties, 504, 505.
Belief, when we deſerve it, 90,
Believing. The neceſſity of it, 488.
Benefits that accrue from the worſt of people, 42 to 48.
Bleſſing, a, there is nothing created that is always ſo, 356. The children of the poor one of the greateſt bleſſings, 446.
Bleſſings, prejudicial, 136.
Bodies, our, viſibly contrived not to laſt, 435.
Brain, the, compared to a ſpring watch, 377. The economy of it unknown, 378. Conjectures on the uſe of it, 380. Of infants compared to a ſlate and a ſampler, 381. The labour of the brain, 383. The brain more accurate in women than it is in men, ibid.
Brandy Shops, the qualifications required to keep them, 45.
Breeding, good, a definition of it, 36. A diſcourſe on it, ibid. to 38.
Brewing and *baking* luxurious inventions, 98.
Britain, Great, wants ignorance, 189, 203.
Brutes, have privileges and inſtincts which men have not, 467.
Buſtle, the, to be made in the world to procure a ſcarlet or crimſon cloth, 228.

Cardinals, the moſt valuable accompliſhments among, 296, 297.
Care, what ought to employ our firſt, 351.
Carthaginians. Their abominable worſhip, 414.
Caſtrati. See *Eunuchs*.
Caſtration, the effects of it upon the voice, 333.
Cat-calls, 371.
Cato, his character, 213. His ſelf-denial, 264.
Centaurs, ſphinxes, and dragons. Their origin, 426.
Chance. What it is, 448, 449.
Chancellor, the Lord, of Great Britain. What he ſhould be, 495. His poſt requires greater qualifications than any other, 498.
Charity. A definition of it, 155. Is often counterfeited by our paſſions, 156, 158, 160. The compliments paid to all the appearances of charity, ibid. Abuſes of charity, 161, 162, 164. Often counterfeited, 345. The world hates thoſe who detect the counterfeits, ibid. An inſtance of an unjuſt pretence to charity, ibid.
Charity children have no opportunity to learn good manners, 166. Why they are pleaſing to the eye, 175.
Charity ſchools are admired to diſtraction, 165. What is ſaid in behalf of them, ibid. Not capable to prevent theſts and robberies, ibid. The cauſe of our fondneſs for thoſe ſchools, 171. A deſcription of the firſt riſe and ſubſequent ſteps that are made to erect a charity ſchool, ibid. to 175. The joy they give, 175. They are an inexhauſtible fund for tittle-tattle, ib. and 176. The charms of them to the multitude, 176. The different views partymen have in wiſhing well to them, 194, 195. More labour and eloquence are laid out upon them than on any other duty, ib. The comfort the wicked find in liking them, 177. The true motives of the buſtle made about them, ibid. Arguments againſt charity ſchools, ſhowing them to be deſtructive to the public, 178 to 203. A perpetual nurſery for them, 188.
Chaſtity, the worlds opinion about it, 267.
Children. What makes them mannerly, 166. What all delight in, 174. Labour the proper province of the children of the poor, 187. What they are indebted for to parents, 420. Whether people marry with deſign of having them, 422. The children of ſavages when ſociable, 404.
Children of the poor, one of the greateſt bleſſings, 446. What their lot always will be, 315, 316.
Chriſtianity, the eſſentials of, never to be talked of among the *beau monde*, 267.
Church, going to it of the utmoſt neceſſity to the poor, 193.
Cicero, his character, 384. He imitated Plato, 264.
Cid. The ſix famous lines of it cenſured. 476.
Cities, great flouriſhing, the work of Providence, 493. What is requiſite to govern them, ibid, and 494.
Claim, the unjuſt, men lay to every thing that is laudable, 410, 411.
Claſſes. The two claſſes men are divided into, 14.
Cleomenes begs of Horatio to accept of the Fable of the Bees, and read it, 299. is denied, ibid. Thinking Horatio diſpleaſed, breaks off the diſcourſe, 301, 302. But

Horatio owning himself in the wrong, is perſuaded to go on, 312. Shows himſelf not uncharitable or cenſorious, 314. Gives reaſons why well accompliſhed perſons may be ignorant of the principles they act from, 315. Explodes dueling; demonſtrates the laws of honour to be claſhing with the laws of God, from 318 to 333. Shows the falſe pretences that are made to virtue, from 337, to 349. His maxim of inquiring into the rule of arts and inventions, 352. Gives his conjectures concerning the origin of politeneſs, from 353 to 364. Shows the inconſiſtency of the affectionate ſcheme with the world as it is, from 442 to 448. Proves his aſſertions concerning the nature of man, from the tendency of all laws, eſpecially the ten commandments, from 453 to 466. Gives his opinion concerning the different deſigns Lord Shaftſbury and his friend have wrote with, 519. His character, 270, &c. His cenſuring of his own actions, 272. His averſion to contempt, 273.

Clergy, pride concealed them, 72. Their value for the comforts of life, 88. A deceitful plea of theirs, 89. What brings them into contempt, ibid. The ſame illuſtrated by example, 90. The clergy, when poor, expoſe themſelves by matrimony, 91.

Clergyman, the ſocial, 292. Why many clergymen are angry with the Fable of the Bees, 333.

Clothes, the uſe of them, 68.

Combalus, 334.

Comforts of life, various as the conditions of men vary, 57.

Commandments, the ten, are a ſtrong proof of the principle of ſelfiſhneſs and inſtinct of ſovereignty in human nature, 456. All of them have their political uſes, 464. What is implied in the ninth commandment, 457. What may be inferred from the ſixth, ibid. The two firſt point at our natural blindneſs and ignorace of the true Deity, 459. The purport of the third diſcuſſed, 460. The fifth explained, 462, 463. The uſefulneſs of the fourth in worldly affairs, 464.

Company, good, 214. The love of it not the cauſe of man's ſociableneſs, 213. Solitude to be preferred to ſome company, 216. Love of company no virtue, ibid. The reaſon why man loves it, 391.

Compaſſion. A ſtory of a child to raiſe compaſſion, 156. See *Pity*.

Compliments, which are Gothic, 368. Not begun among equals, ibid. Loſe their dignity, 369.

Conclaves a character of, 369.

Concluſion of the Remarks, 150 to 154.

Confidence repoſed in prime miniſters, 502, 503.

Confucius, 489.

Conjectures on the origin of politeneſs, 409, 414. On the firſt motives that could make ſavages aſſociates, 425, 426. This conjecture not claſhing with any of the Divine attributes, 435, 448.

Conſciouſneſs, what it conſiſts in, 385.

Conſtitution of the body. What it conſiſts in, 126.

Conſtitution, the, 497. Wiſdom of that of Great Britain, ibid. and 498. Is chiefly to be taken care of in all countries, 504.

Conſtructions, the kind, of the *beau monde*, 268, 269. Are hurtful to the practice of Chriſtianity, 270.

Content, the bane of induſtry, 8, 9, 10, 144. A definition of content, 146. Is a precarious virtue, ibid. An inſtance of it, 148. content more oppoſite to induſtry than lazineſs, ibid.

Contracts never laſting among ſavages, 452.

Converſation between a mercer and a lady his cuſtomer, 223 to 226.

Corneille cited, 476. Defended, 477.

Covetouſneſs. What people are not taxed with it by the *beau monde*, 269.

Counſellor, the ſocial, 292.

Courage, natural, 321. Proceeds from anger, 121. Spurious and artificial courage, 122, Natural courage, good for nothing in war, 123. Stratagems to create courage, 124, 125, 129. May be procured by diſcipline, 490. How pride is miſtaken for courage, 124. A definition of artificial courage, 125. Why it does not appear in dangers where honour is not concerned, 329.

Courtiers, their buſineſs, 500.

Courts of Princes. What procures men admittance there, 480.

Creatures, how ſome to be talked of that never had any exiſtence, 426.

Creatures, living, compared to the engine that raiſes water by fire, 380. The production of their numbers in every ſpecies proportioned to the conſumption of them, 439. This is very conſpicuous in whales, ibid.

Cruelty, not greater in a wolf that eats a man, than it is in a man who eats a chicken, 435.

Cuſtom, the force of it, 99.

Cuſtomers, the different ways of drawing them, 225.

Danger, the, from wild beaſts, the firſt inducements to make ſavages aſſociate, 425, 426. The effects of it upon man's fear, ibid. 427. Objections to this conjecture, 425, 429, 430, 434, 436, 447, 448. This danger is what our ſpecies will never be entirely exempt from upon earth, 450.

Death, not always the thing we fear moſt, 124. Intereſt of money after death, 163. It is death and not the manner of dying, to which our averſion is univerſal, 433, 437.

Debate, a, about pride, and what ſort of people are moſt affected with it. 305, 306. About money to ſervants, 309, 310. About the principles a fine gentleman may act from, 312, 313. About which it is that inclines men moſt to be religious, fear, or gratitude, from 410 to 416. About the firſt ſtep to ſociety, 425, 426

Decencies and conveniencies have a large ſignification, 148.

Deiſm, modern, what has increaſed it in this kingdom, 488. No greater tie than atheiſm, ibid.

Deity, notions worthy of the, 393, 408. 418, 441, 444. 448, the ſame, unworthy, 417, 418, 443, 444.

Deſcartes, his opinion refuted, 105.

Deſcription, a, of the pleaſures of the voluptuous, 399, 400. Of the killing of a bullock, 105.

Dialogues, the reputation that has been gained by writing them, 265. Why they are in diſrepute, ibid.

Dice, ſpoken to illuſtrate what chance is, 449.

Diſcourſe, a, on the ſocial virtues according to Lord Shaftſbury, from 288 to 302. On duelling, natural and artificial courage, from 318 to 333. On the different effects the ſame paſſions have on men of different tempers, from 338 to 341. On pride, and the various effects and ſymptoms of it, from 347 to 352. On the origin of politeneſs, 352, to 364. On compliments, tokens of reſpect, laughing, &c. from 366 to 377. On the faculty of thinking, from 377, to 386. On the ſociableneſs of man, from 386 to 403. On the firſt motive that could make ſavages aſſociate, from 425 to 451. On the ſecond ſtep to ſociety, and the neceſſity of written laws, from 451 to 465. On language, from 466 to 488. On diverſe ſubjects relating to our nature and the origin of things, from 477 to 491. On goverment, capacities, and the motives of ſtudy, on miniſters, partiality, and the power of money, to the end.

Diſtiller, a, what is required to make an eminent one, 40.

Divines, what it is we are obliged to for the great numbers of them, 184.

Docility depends upon the pliableneſs of the parts, 390. Loſt if neglected in youth, 396. The ſuperior docility in man, in a great meaſure owing to his remaining young longer than other creatures, 397.

Dominion, the deſire of, all men are born with it, 406. Seen in the claim of parents to their children, ibid.

Dreſs, the only thing by which men are judged of at courts, 480.

Drunkenneſs, how it is judged of, 268.

Dryades and *Hama-Dryades*, 410.

Duelling, proceeds not from falſe notions of honour, 130. The benefit of it to ſociety, 131. The cuſtom of it not to be aboliſhed, ibid. How to prevent it, ibid. Men of honour would be laughed at if they ſcrupled it, becauſe it is a ſin, 319. What conſiderations are ſlighted for it, 332.

Duelliſts, their concern chiefly owing to their ſtruggles between the fear of ſhame and the fear of death, 326. Seem to act by enchantment, 327.

Dutch, the, not frugal from principle, 108. Their calamities under Philip II. of Spain, ibid. Their other diſadvantages, 109. How they differ from us, ibid. Their profuſeneſs, 111. Their policy in encouraging the extravagancies of ſailors, ibid.

Dying, the means of, are all equally the contrivance of nature, 436. It is as much requiſite to die as to be born, ibid. Several ways of dying are neceſſary, 443.

Earth, the, our ſpecies would have overſtocked it, if there never had been war, 443.

Education, obſervations concerning it, 19, 23, (a refined) teaches no humility, 305. The moſt effectual means to ſucceed in the education of children, 315. Teaches to conceal, and not to conquer the paſſions, 305, 337. The beſt proof for the neceſſity of a good education, 476. People may be miſerable only for want of education. 482. The neceſſity of a Chriſtian education, 488, 489. A gentleman's education deſtructive to Chriſtian humility, 272.

Effendi, Mahomet, died for atheiſm, 128.

Eggs in fiſh not impregnated by the male as in other oviparous animals, 438. The uſe of this, ibid.

Elements, the, are all our enemies, 219.

Emulation, mankind divided into two claſſes for emulations ſake. 14. The emulation of ſchool-boys not derived from virtue, 75.

Engliſhmen do not covet Spartan greatneſs, 190.

Enthuſiaſm, the force of it, 149.

Envy, 73. A definition of it, ibid. The various ſymptoms of it, 74, 75. Envy conſpicuous in wild beaſts, 75. An argument to ſhow that envy is rivetted in our nature, ibid. The uſe of envy in painters, 76. Envy has reformed more bad huſbands than preaching, ibid. An inſtance of envy, 77. Nobody is without, ibid. Cato's envy to Cæſar, 213. Envy accounted for, 386

Epicurus The pleas and apologies of Epicures, 140, 141. The doctrine of Epicurus exploded, 485, 486.

Eſſay, an, on charity and charity ſchools, 155.

Evil, both moral and natural the ſolid baſis of ſociety, 237. The cauſe of it more inquired into than that of good, 441.

Eunuchs overvalued, 33, 34. No part of the creation, ibid.
Examination of ones self 302, 316, 330, 272.
Exchequer, the wife regulations of it, 496. In all the buſineſs belonging to it, the conſtitution does nine parts in ten, ibid.
Exclaim, why all nations cry Oh! when they exclaim, 374.
Experience of greater uſe in procuring good laws than genius, 491.

Fable, the, or what is ſuppoſed to have occaſioned the firſt dialogue, 273, 274.
Fable of the Bees, the firſt part of the, quoted, 326, 332, 436, ſpoke againſt, 280, 321, 332, 336, defended, 293, 332.— What view the book ought to be ſeen in, 333. The treatment it has had illuſtrated by a ſimile, 333. Vice is no more encouraged in it than robbing is in the Beggar's Opera, 263.
Fall, the, of man not predeſtinated, 429.
Fame, what the thirſt after fame conſiſts in, 20.
Fathers of the church delighted in acclamations whilſt they are preaching, 269.
Fear, not to be conquered by reaſon, 118. A definition of fear, ibid. The neceſſity of fear in the ſociety, 122. Fear of death, when the ſtrongeſt, 211. Fear the only thing man brings into the world with him towards religion, 408. The Epicurean axiom that fear made the gods exploded, ibid. and 409.
Fees, the power of them upon lawyers and phyſicians, 293.
Fiſh, a viſible proviſion made by nature for their extraordinary numbers, 437. The vaſt conſumption of them, 438, 439.
Flatterers of our ſpecies. Why they confound what is acquired with what is natural, 478.
Flattery. no man proof againſt it, 18, 316. The various arts of it, 20, 21. The beginning of it in ſociety, 363. Becomes leſs barefaced as politeneſs increaſes, 369.
Fleſh of animals, to eat it is a cruel piece of luxury 99, 100.
Flies, 440.
Folly of infants, 424.
Fools, learned, where to be met with, 383.
Footmen, the faults they are generally guilty of in England, 189, 192, 191. What it is that ſpoils them, 191. A ſociety of them, 192.
Frailties palmed upon the world for virtues, 338.
Friendſhip, never laſting without diſcontent on both ſides, 337.
Fright, a, pride of no uſe in it, 126. The effects it had upon us, ibid.
Frowning deſcribed, 373.
Frugality, a definition of it, 105. What frugality will always depend upon, 106. What has made the Dutch frugal, 110. A diſcourſe on frugality, ibid. to 113.— The impoſſibility of forcing people to be frugal without neceſſity, 113. The frugality of the Spartans, 133. The influence of it on trade, ibid. When it is no virtue, 338, 339.
Fulvia, the reaſon why no character is given of her, 273.

Gameſters, the reaſon why they conceal their gettings before the loſers. 39 to 41.
Gaſſendus is the example the author has followed in his dialogues, 274.
Genius, many things are aſcribed to genius and penetration that are owing to time and experience, 361. Has the leaſt ſhare in making laws, 493.
Gentleman, a fine, drawn, and the picture approved of by Horatio, from 306 to 311. Why there are not many ſuch, from 306 to 315.
Geſtures made from the ſame motive in infants and orators, 469. The abuſe of them, 470. To make uſe of them more natural than to ſpeak without, ibid.
Gift, a great, of a late phyſician examined into, 105 to 164.
Glory, the love of, in men of reſolution and perſeverance, may, without other help, produce all the accompliſhments men can be poſſeſſed of, 312, 313, 314. A trial to know whether a fine gentleman acts from principles of virtue and religion, or from vain glory, 317, 318. When only the love of glory can be commendable, 324. The eager purſuit of worldly glory inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity, 269.
Golden age not fit for ſociety, 11, 220.
Governing. Nothing requires greater knowledge than the art of it, 491, 492. Is built on the knowledge of human nature, 493.
Government, the riſe of it, 222. What is the beſt form of it, is yet undecided, 394. Is in bees the work of nature, 393, 394. None can ſubſiſt without laws, 377, What the beſt forms of it are ſubject to, 497.
Government, the, of a large city. What ſort of wiſdom it requires, 493. Compared to the knitting frames, 494. To a muſical clock, ibid. Once put into good order it may go right, though there ſhould not be a wiſe man in it, 494.
Governor, the charms of the word to mean people, 173. Governors of charity ſchools, ibid. The praiſes given them, 175.
Grammar ſchools, how to be managed, 211.
Gratitude, man's, examined into, as the cauſe of Divine worſhip, 411, 413, 414.
Grumbling. See Hive.

Happineſs on earth like the philoſopher's ſtone, 388.
Hardſhips are not ſuch when men are uſed to them. 199.

Hats, the various modes of them, 208.
Heroes, their great views, 20. What they differ in from coward is corporeal, 126. Of antiquity, chiefly famed for ſubduing wild beaſts, 426.
Hive, Grumbling Hive, 1. Their glorious condition, ibid. 2. Their knavery, 2. to 4. Their murmurings, 6. Jupiter makes them honeſt, ibid. Their converſion and the effects of it upon trade, 7. to 11. The moral, 11.
Honeſty, the effects of it on trade, 9, 132, 133, 134, 139. Where the moſt of it is to be found, 165, 166.
Honour, the genuine ſignification of it, 27. The figurative ſenſe of it, 116. Rubs of honour, ibid. 117. Principles of honour, how raiſed, 123. The ſtandard of honour, 130. A new ſtandard of it, ibid. The latter much eaſier than the firſt, ibid. Honour oppoſite to religion, 132. The great allowances of honour, ibid. Why there are ſo many men of real honour, ibid. The principles of it extolled, 299, 300, 318. The ſame condemned, ibid. Is a chimerical tyrant, 322. Is the reſult of pride, but the ſame cauſe produces not always the ſame effect, 325. Is acquired, and therefore no paſſion belonging to any one's nature, 326. Is not compatible with the Chriſtian religion, 329. In women more difficult to be preſerved than in men, 349. Is not founded upon any principle of virtue or religion, ibid. The ſignification of the word whimſical, ibid.
Hope, a definition of it, 78. The abſurdity of the words certain hope, 79.
Horatio refuſes to accept of the Fable of the Bees, 299. Is taxed with maintaining the theory of what he cannot prove to be practicable, ibid. Owns that the diſcourſe of Cleomenes had made an impreſſion on him, 302, Miſtakes Cleomenes and grows angry, 303, 304. Interupts him, 305. Finds fault again with Cleomenes wrongfully, and ſeems diſpleaſed, 310. Sees his error, begs pardon, and deſires Cleomenes to go on, 311 Takes upon him to be the fine gentleman's advocate, 317. Labours hard to juſtify the neceſſity of duelling, 318, 319, 322.— Shows the intolerable conſequencences of affronts not reſented, 322, 323. Accepts of the Fable of the Bees, 331. Why he diſlikes it, 336. Having conſidered on the origin of politeneſs, pays a viſit to Cleomenes, 367. Invites him to dinner, 399. Cannot reconcile the account of ſavages with the Bible, 401. Propoſes mutual affection as a means to make men aſſociate, 441. Allows of the conjecture about the firſt ſtep towards ſociety, 449. Comes into the ſentiments of Cleomenes, 518. His character, 270, 271.
Horſes, not tamed by nature, 454. What is called vicious in them, 455.
Hoſpitals, the neceſſity of them, 164. A caution againſt the increaſe of them, ibid. 165.
Humility, Chriſtian, no virtue more ſcarce, 272.
Hunger and luſt the great motives that ſtir up courage in brutes, 118, 119. The influence theſe appetites have upon ourſelves, 120, 121.
Hutcheſon, Mr. a favour aſked him, 511.
Hypocriſy, to deceive by counterfeiting, 297. Of ſome divines, 333. Four are never guilty of it, 338. Detected in the pretences to content in poverty, 339, 340. When owned, 345.

Idiots, not affected with pride, 376. Made by loſs of memory, 385.
Idolatry, all the extravagancies of it pointed out in the ſecond commandment, 459. Of the Mexicans, 460.
Ignorance, a neceſſary ingredient in the mixture of ſociety, 55, 179. Reaſons for it, ibid. Puniſhments the author has to fear for recommending ignorance, 181, 182. Great Britain wants it to be happy, 203. Of the true Deity is the cauſe of ſuperſtition, 408.
Imaginary, rewards for ſelf-denial, 14.
Immortality, the, of the ſoul, a doctrine older than Chriſtianity, 138. Why ſo generally received, ibid.
Indolence not to be confounded with lazineſs, 343.
Indolent eaſy man, an, the difference between him and an active ſtirring man in the ſame circumſtances, 338 to 345.
Induſtry, differs from diligence, 148.
Infants, the management of them, 380. Why they ought to be talked to, 381, 390. Imagine every thing to think and feel, 409. This folly humoured in them, 410. Their crying given them to move pity, 467. Vent their anger by inſtinct, 473.
Innes, the Rev. Dr. quoted, 276. His ſentiments on charity, 277.
Innocence, ſtate of, deſcribed, 220. Prejudicial to ſociety, 221.
Inſects, would overrun the earth in two years time if none were deſtroyed, 439.
Intereſt teaches men the uſe of their limbs, 360. Savages to love and infants to ſuck, neither of them thinking on the deſign of nature, 422. All men are born with an inſtinct of ſovereignty, 456, 457.
Invention, of ſhips, 361, 362. What ſort of people are beſt at invention, 363. No ſtability in the works of human invention, 394.
Inviſible Cauſe, an, how ſavages come to fear it, 408. The perplexity it gives to

men ignorant of the true Deity, 411, 412. The wildeſt parents would communicate the fear of it to their children, 412. The conſequence of different opinions about it, 413, 414.
Jealouſy, a compound, 78. No jealouſy without love. 82.
Jews, knew truths which the politeſt nations were ignorant of, 1500 years after, 421.
Judges, who are fit to be, 495.
Judgment, found what it conſiſts in, 383. Women are as capable of acquiring it as men, ibid. 384.
Juſtice, and *Injuſtice*. What notions a ſavage of the firſt claſs would have of it, 403.
Juſtice, the adminiſtration of it impracticable without written laws, 377.
Juvenal, quoted on ſuperſtition. 460.

Knowlegde, does not make men religious, 165 166, 170, 193. Knowledge beyond their labour is prejudicial to the poor, 179 180. Neither knowledge nor politeneſs belong to a man's nature, 480.
Knowing, apriori. belongs to God only, 393.
King, a, his happineſs compared to that of a peaſant, 198, 199.

Labour, the uſefulneſs of dividing and ſubdividing it, 465.
Lampredius, quoted, 414.
Languages, that of the eyes is underſtood by the whole ſpecies, 497. Is too ſignificant, 468. How language might come into the world from two ſavages, ibid. Signs and geſtures would not ceaſe after the invention of ſpeech, 469. A conjecture on the ſtrength and beauty of the Engliſh language, 471. The reaſon of it, ibid. 472. Whether French or Engliſh be more fit to perſuade in, 475. The ſame things are not beautiful in both languages, ibid. The intention of opprobrious language, 477. Is an equivalent for fighting, 474.
Latin, not neceſſary to write and ſpell Engliſh, 185. To whom it is prejudicial, 186.
Laughter, conjectures on the *rationale* of that action, 371, 372.
Laws, ſumptuary, uſeleſs to opulent kingdoms, 153. All laws point at ſome defect or frailty belonging to human nature, 455, 456. The neceſſity of written laws, 455. The Iſraelites had laws before they knew Moſes, 456. What the wiſeſt of human laws owing to, 491. Laws in all countries reſtrains the uſurpation of parents, 406. Laws of honour are pretended to be ſuperior to all other, 318. Are claſhing with the laws of God, 319. Whether there are falſe laws of honour, 326.
Lawgivers, what they have chiefly to conſider, 454.
Lawyers, when fit to be judges, 495.
Lazineſs, a definition of it, 144. People often call others lazy, becauſe they are ſo themſelves, ibid. A ſtory of a porter wrongfully ſuſpected of lazineſs, 145, 146.
Leaping, cunning diſplayed in it, 360.
Learned fools, where to be met with, 383.
Learning, methods to promote and increaſe it, 182 to 187. How all ſorts of it are kept up, and looked into in flouriſhing nations, 508, 509. How the moſt uſeful parts of it may be neglected for the moſt trifling, 510. An inſtance of it, ibid.
Letters, the invention of them, the third ſtep to ſociety, 455.
Lies concerning the Inviſible Cauſe, 41.
Life in creatures. The analogy between it and what is performed by engines that raiſe water by the help of fire, 380.
Lion, the, deſcribed, 427. What deſigned for by nature in Paradiſe, 428. Not made to be always in Paradiſe, ibid. The product of hot countries, 430.
Linen, the invention of it, the reſult of deep thought, 97.
Literature, moſt parents that are able, bring up their ſons to it, 509.
Lives, we are to judge of men from their lives, and not from their ſentiments, 86.
Love to their ſpecies, is not more in men than in other creatures, 391.
Love has two ſignifications, 79. The difference between love and luſt, 80. No jealouſy without love, 82. Whether the end of it is the preſervation of the ſpecies, 423. Is little to be depended upon among the ill-bred vulgar, 481.
Lovers, Platonic may find out the origin of that paſſion, 81.
Loudneſs, a help to language, 470, 471.
Lucian, 265.
Lucre, a cordial in a literal ſenſe, 417.
Lucretia, 124. The motive ſhe acted from, ibid. 125. Valued her glory above her virtue, ibid.
Luſt, concealed from ourſelves by education, 151.
Luxury, the definition of it, 56. The uſefulneſs of it diſcuſſed, 57. Luxury promoted by the legiſlature, 59. Maxims to prevent the miſchiefs to be feared from luxury, 60, 61. Arguments for luxury, 63, 64, 134. Every thing is luxury in one ſenſe, 97, 98. Inſtances of luxury in the poor, 98, 99.

Magiſtrates, not the leſs obeyed for deſpiſing pomp and luxury, 149.
Males, more, than females born of our ſpecies, 445.
Man naturally loves praiſe and hates contempt, 14. The manner in which ſavage man was broke, 16. A dialogue between a man and a lion, 102. Man has no real value for his ſpecies, 192. Man a

fearful animal, 121. Is ever forced to pleaſe himſelf, 222. Always the ſame in his nature, 137, 138. Man in the ſtate of nature, 353, 354. Every man likes himſelf better than he can like any other 359. No man can wiſh to be entirely another, ibid. Always ſeeks after happineſs, 388. Always endeavours to meliorate his condition, 390. Has no fondneſs for his ſpecies beyond other animals, 392. Has a prerogative above moſt animals in point of time, ibid. Remains young longer than any other creature, 397. May loſe his ſociableneſs, ibid. There can be no civilized man before there is civil ſociety, ibid. Man is born with a deſire after government, and no capacity for it, 407. Claims every thing he is concerned in, 411, 421. Is more inquiſitive into the cauſe of evil than he is into that of good, 411. Is born with a deſire of ſuperiority, 420. Has been more miſchievous to his ſpecies than wild beaſts have, 436. What gives us an inſight into the nature of man, 453. Is not naturally inclined to do as he would be done by, 455. Whether he is born with an inclination to forſwear himſelf, 457. Thinks nothing ſo much his own as what he has from nature, 478. The higher his quality is, the more neceſſitous he is, 389. Why he can give more ample demonſtrations of his love than other creatures, 481. Could not have exiſted without a miracle, 485.

Mankind divided into two claſſes, 14. Cannot endure truths that are mortifying, 138.

Manners, the comedy of manners, 37. The doctrine of good manners has many leſſons againſt the outward appearance of pride, but none againſt the paſſion itſelf, 306. What good manners conſiſt in, 336. Their beginning in ſociety, 363, 364. Have nothing to do with virtue or religion, ibid. See *Breeding*.

Marlborough, the Duke of, oppoſite opinions concerning him, 505, 306. Was an extraordinary genius, ibid. A Latin epitaph upon him, 506. The ſame in Engliſh, 507.

Maſters of charity ſchools, 166. The number of thoſe that wiſh to be maſters and miſtreſſes of them, 181.

Mathematics, of no uſe in the curative part of phyſic, 375.

Maxims to render people good and virtuous, 106, 107, 108, 139. Others to aggrandize a nation, 107. To make the poor ſerviceable, 113, 114, 165 to 203. To outſell our neighbour, 191. The maxims advanced not injurious to the poor, 198, 199.

Memory, the total loſs of it makes an idiot, 385.

Men, of very good ſenſe may be ignorant of their own frailties, 314. All men are partial judges of themſelves, 338. All bad that are not taught to be good, 454.

Merchants, a ſtory of two that both took advantage of their intelligence, 25.

Mexicans, their idolatry, 460.

Milton, quoted, 228.

Miniſter, the prime, no ſuch officer belonging to our conſtitution, 497. Has opportunities of knowing more than any other man, 498. The ſtratagems played againſt him, 499. Needs not to be a conſummate ſtateſman, 500. What capacities he ought to be of, ibid. 502. Prime miniſters not often worſe than their antagoniſts, 505

Miracles, what they are, 487. Our origin inexplicable without them, 484, 485, 489, 490.

Miſtreſs, a, the difficulty of parting with her while we love, 82.

Mobs, not more wicked than the *beau monde*, 301, 302. In them pride is often the cauſe of cruelty, 351.

Modeſty, whence derived, 27. Has three different acceptations, 30. The difference between men and women as to modeſty, 31, 32. The cauſe of it, 33. The great uſe of it to the civil ſociety, 80.

Money, the chief uſe of it, 113, 114. Too much of it may undo a nation, ibid. Is of no intrinſic worth, 189. The money in different ways given to the poor, ill ſpent, 200, 201. Money is the root of all evil, 512. The neceſſity of it, in a large nation, ibid. 514.

Money, will always be the ſtandard of worth upon earth, ibid. The invention of it adapted to human nature beyond all others, 516. Nothing is ſo univerſally charming as it, ibid. Works mechanically on the ſpirits, 517.

Money to Servants. A ſhort debate about it, 308, 309.

Montaign, a ſaying of his, 354.

Moral, the, of the Grumbling Hive, 11.

Morals not always the ſame, 209.

Moraliſts, their artifices to civilize mankind, 13, 14.

Morality broached for the eaſe of government, 14.

Moreri cenſured, 414.

Moſes vindicated, 402, 417, 428, 483, 489, 490.

Mothers have but little love for their children when they are born, 35. Mothers and ſiſters in the eaſt married their ſons and brothers, 209.

Motives. The ſame may produce different effects, 338. To ſtudy and acquire learning, 508, 509, 510. They are what actions ought to be judged by only, 272.

Muſic houſes at Amſterdam deſcribed, 29, 30.

Nations may be ruined by too much mo-

ney, 114. The great art to make nations happy, 115. What the wealth of nations conſiſts in, 116, 189. Why all nations cry Oh! when they exclaim, 374. In large flouriſhing nations, no ſorts of learning will be neglected, 511, 512.

Natural. Many things are called ſo, that are the product of art, 367. How we may imitate the countenance of a natural fool, 376. Why it is diſpleaſing to have what is natural diſtinguiſhed from what is acquired, 478, 479.

Nature not to be followed by great maſters in painting, 282. Great difference between the works of art, and thoſe of nature, 393, 394. Nature makes no trials or eſſays, 394. What ſhe has contributed to all the works of art, 395. She forces ſeveral things upon us mechanically, 373. Her great wiſdom in giving pride to man, 386. All creatures are under her perpetual tutelage, 421. And have their appetites of her as well as their food, ibid. 422. Nature ſeems to have been more ſolicitous for the deſtruction, than ſhe has been for the preſervation of individuals, 440. Has made an extraordinary proviſion in fiſh to preſerve their ſpecies, 439. Her impartiality, 440. The uſefulneſs of expoſing the deformity of untaught nature, 474. She has charged every individual with the care of itſelf, 511.

Nature, human, is always the ſame, 369. The complaints that are made againſt it are likewiſe the ſame every where, 455. The uſefulneſs of it is viſible in the dialogue, 456, 449.

Navigation. The bleſſings and calamities of the ſociety on account of it, 231.

Neceſſaries of life. The multiplicity of them, 57, 58, 178.

Noah, 401. An objection ſtated concerning his deſcendants, ibid. 402.

Noiſe made to a man's honour is never ſhocking to him, 370. Of ſervants, why diſpleaſing, 371.

Nola, Jordanus Bruno of, died for atheiſm, 128.

Oaths. What is requiſite to make them uſeful in ſociety, 452, 453.

Obedience, human, owing to parents, 463.

Objections againſt the neceſſity of pride anſwered, 66, 67. An objection to the manner of managing the dialogues, 274.

Obſtacles to happineſs we meet with, 219.

Operas extravagantly commended, 284, 285, &c. Compared to bear gardens, 301.

Opera, Beggars, injuriouſly cenſured, 263.

Opinions. The abſurdity of them in ſacred matters, 338. How people of the ſame kingdom differ in opinion about their chiefs, 505.

Origin of moral virtue, 13. Of courage and honour, 117. Of politeneſs, 353 to 364. Of ſociety, 404, 405, 425. Of all things, 485, 486. The moſt probable account of our origin, 488.

Ornaments beſpeak the value we have for the thing adorned, 479. What makes men unwilling to have them ſeen ſeparately, ibid.

Oſtraciſm, 78. A definition of it, ibid.

Pain limited in this life, 437.

Painters blamed for being too natural, 283.

Painting. A diſcourſe concerning it, and the judges of it, 206 to 208. How the people of the grand gout judge of it, 281.

Parable, a, 141 to 143.

Paradiſe. The ſtate of it miraculous, 428, 484, 485.

Parents. The unreaſonableneſs of them, 406, 421. Compared to inanimate utenſils, 423, 424. Why to be honoured, 462. The benefit we receive from them, ibid.

Partiality is a general frailty, 506.

Paſſion. What it is to play that of pride againſt itſelf, 315, 350. How to account for the paſſions, 386.

Perſonages introduced in dialogues. The danger there is in imitating the ancients in the choice of them, 264. Caution of the moderns concerning them, ibid. When they are diſpleaſing, ibid. It is beſt to know ſomething of them before hand, 266.

Philalethes, an invincible champion. 265.

Phyſician, a late, his character, 162. The motives of his laſt will, 163. The ſocial, 292. Phyſicians are ignorant of the conſtituent parts of things, 375.

Phyſic, mathematics of no uſe in it, 375.

Pity. A diſcourſe concerning it. 157. No virtue, and why, 21. Nobody without, 157. A definition of it, 156. The force of pity, ibid. Pity more conſpicuous than any pretended virtue, 157.

Places of honour and truſt. What perſons they ought to be filled with, 495.

Plagues. The fatality of them, 434.

Plato. His great capacity in writing dialogues, 265.

Pleas, deceitful, of great men, 92, 93, 94. And excuſes of worldly men, 270, 271.

Pleaſures, real, 83. Pleaſures of the voluptuous, ibid. 84. Of the Stoicks, 85. The more men differ in condition, the leſs they can judge of each other's pleaſures, 198.

Politeneſs demands hypocriſy, 32, 223. Expoſed, 332, 333, and 270. The uſe of it, 351, 352. The ſeeds of it lodged in ſelf-love and ſelf-liking, 355. How it is produced from pride, 359. A philoſophical reaſon for it, ibid.

Polite, a, preacher. What he is to avoid, 266, 267.

Politics. The foundation of them, 16. What is owing to bad politics, is charged to luxury, 60.
Politicians play our paſſions againſt one another 81, 123. The chief buſineſs of a politician, 493.
Polygamy, not unnatural, 209.
Poor, the, would never work if they did not want, 113. The plenty of proviſions depends on the cheapneſs of their labour, 114, 178. Qualifications required in the labouring poor, ibid. 179. What they ought not to grumble at, 186. Great numbers of poor are wanting, 201. The miſchiefs ariſing from their not being well managed, 188. Not to be ſuffered to ſtay from church on Sundays, 193. The petty reverence that is paid to the poor, injurious, 195. Which ſort of them are moſt uſeful to others, and happy in themſelves, and which are the reverſe, 515. The conſequences of forcing education upon their children, ibid. 516.
Popes. What is chiefly minded in the choice of them, 297.
Poverty, voluntary, brings nobody into contempt, 89. An inſtance of that truth, 90. Very ſcarce, 341. The only man in antiquity that can be ſaid to have embraced it, ibid. The greateſt hardſhip in poverty, 343.
Praiſe, is the reward all heroes have in view, 20.
Predeſtination, an unexplicable myſtery, 429, 441.
Preferment. What men are moſt like to get it, 511.
Pretences, falſe, of great men concerning pleaſure, 95.
Pride, 5. What animals ſhow the moſt of it, 15. The pride of men of ſenſe, 38. A definition of pride, 66. The apologies of proud men, and the falſities of them detected, ibid. 67. Various ſymptoms of pride, 30, 71. How it is encouraged in military men, 129. The benefit we receive from the pride of great men, 130. The power of pride, 304, 305. No precepts againſt it in a refined education, 306. Increaſes in proportion with the ſenſe of ſhame, 315. What is meant by playing the paſſion of pride againſt itſelf, ibid. Is able to blind the underſtanding in men of ſenſe, ibid. 316. In the cauſe of honour, 324. Pride is moſt enjoyed when it is well led, 331. Why more predominant in ſome than in others, 347. Whether women have a greater ſhare of it than men, 348. Why more encouraged in women, ibid. The natural and artificial ſymptoms of it, 350, 351. Why the artificials are more excuſable, 351. In whom the paſſion is moſt troubleſome, ibid. To whom it is moſt eaſy to ſtifle it, ibid. In what creatures it is moſt conſpicuous, 353. The diſguiſes of it, 357. Who will learn to conceal it ſooneſt, 361. Is our moſt dangerous enemy, 474.
Principle. A man of honour, and one that has none, may act from the ſame principle, 324. Reaſons why the *principle* of ſelf-eſteem is to be reckoned among the paſſions, ibid. 325. Honour not built upon any principle either of religion or virtue, 349. Principles moſt men act from, 511, 512.
Prodigality, 54. The uſe of it to the ſociety, ibid. 152.
Propoſal, a, of a reverend divine for an human ſacrifice to complete the ſolemnity of a birth day, 277.
Providence ſaved our ſpecies from being deſtroyed by wild beaſts, 431, 433. A definition of it, 431, The raiſing of cities and nations the work of Providence, 492.
Proviſions, how to procure plenty of them, 114, 115, 178.
Prudence, 458.
Public ſpirit has left the nation, 201. The ſymptoms of the want of it, ibid. 202, An exhortation to retrieve it, 203.
Pulchrum, the, *Honeſtum* of the ancients, a chimera, 210.
Punch, the ſociety compared to a bowl of punch, 55.
Purpoſes. Fire and water are made for many that are very different from one another, 435.

Qualifications. The moſt valuable in the beginning of ſociety would be ſtrength, agility, and courage, 452.
Qualities, the hateful, of women more beneficial to trade than their virtues, 137. The good qualities of man do not make him ſociable, 218. Which are the beſt for the ſociety, 227.
Quarrels, how to prevent them, 318. The cauſe of them on account of religion, 413. Occaſioned by the word predeſtination, 429. A quarrel between two learned divines, 510.
Queſtion, which has done the moſt miſchief, 209.
Quixot, Don, the laſt man of ancient honour upon record, 117.

Reading and writing, why hurtful to the poor, 180. Never to be taught for nothing, 186. Not neceſſary to make good Chriſtians, 193.
Reality of pleaſures diſcuſſed, 85, 86.
Reaſon, a, why few people underſtand themſelves, 12. Why our neighbours outdo us at foreign markets, 196, 197.
Reaſon is acquired, 396. The art of reaſoning not brought to perfection in many

ages, 417. The ſtreſs men lay upon their reaſon is hurtful to faith, 487, 269.
Reformation, the, of leſs moment to trade than hooped petticoats, 228.
Religion not the cauſe of virtue, 17. Of the heathens abſurd, 40. Where there is the leaſt of it, 165, 193. Things paſs for religion that are foreign to it, 175 The Chriſtian, the only ſolid principle, 332, 488. Came into the world by miracle, 407. What was not revealed is not worthy to be called religion, 408.— The firſt propenſity towards religion, not from gratitude in ſavages, 411.
Religious houſes examined, 87, 88.
Reneau, Monſieur, accounts mechanically for the ſailing and working of ſhips, 362.
Reſpect, whether better ſhown by ſilence or by making a noiſe, 371.
Revenge, what it ſhows in our nature, 458.
Reverence, the ingredients of it, 405. Illuſtrated from the decalogue, 461. The weight of it to procure obedience, 462.
Riches, the contempt of them very ſcarce, 341. Laviſhneſs no ſign of it, ibid.
Ridicule, the Lord Shaftſbury's opinion concerning it, 296.
Right, the, which parents claim to their children is unreaſonable, 406, 413, 414.
Right and wrong, the notions of it are acquired, 418, 419, 420.
Rogues, not made for want of reading and writing, 169. Are oftener very cunning than ignorant, 170.
Roman Catholics are not ſubjects to be relied upon, but in the dominions of his holineſs, 329.
Rome, new, is obliged to old Rome, 203. Rome, the court of the greateſt academy of refined politics, 197. Has little regard for religion or piety, ibid.
Rule, a, to know what is natural from what is acquired, 478.
Ruſſia wants knowledge, 203.

Sabbath, the, the uſefulneſs of it in worldly affairs, 464.
Savages of the firſt claſs are not to be made ſociable when grown up, 355. It would require many years to make a polite nation from ſavages, ibid. The deſcendants of civilized men may degenerate into ſavages, 401, 450. There are ſavages in many parts of the world, 403. Savages do all the ſame things, 465 — Thoſe of the firſt claſs could have no language, 466. nor imagine they wanted it, ibid. Are incapable of learning any when full grown, ibid.
Savage, a, of the firſt claſs of wildneſs would take every thing to be is own, 403. Be incapable of governing his offſpring, 405. Would create reverence in his child, 404. Would want conduct, 406. Could only worſhip an inviſible cauſe out of fear, 408. Could have no notions of right or wrong, 418. Propagates his ſpecies by inſtinct, 422. Contributes nothing to the exiſtence of his children as a voluntary agent, 423. The children of his bringing up would be all fit for ſociety, 426.
Scarlet or crimſon cloth, the buſtle to be made in the world to procure it, 228, 229
Scheme, the, of deformity, the ſyſtem of the Fable of the Bees, ſo called by Horatio, 279, 281.
Scheme, the, or plan of the globe, requires the deſtruction as well as generation of animals, 436. Mutual affection to our ſpecies would have been deſtructive to it, 443.
Scolding, and calling names, beſpeaks ſome degree of politeneſs, 473. The practice of it could not have been introduced without ſelf-denial at firſt, 274.
Sea, the, bleſſings and calamities we receive from it, 230 to 235.
earch, a, into the nature of ſociety, 205, to 238.
Security of the nation. What a great part of it conſiſts in, 503.
Self-liking different from ſelf-love, 353. Given by nature for ſelf-preſervation, ib. The effect it has upon creatures, ibid. and 356. Is the cauſe of pride, 354. What creatures do not ſhow it, ibid. What benefit creatures receive from ſelf-liking, 355. Is the cauſe of many evils, ibid. Encomiums upon it, 357. Suicide impracticable while ſelf-liking laſts, ibid.
Selfiſhneſs, the, of human nature, viſible in the ten commandments, 455, 456.
Self-love, the cauſe of ſuicide, 257. Hates to ſee what is acquired ſeparated from what is natural, 478. 479.
Self-denial, a glorious inſtance of it, 90.
Seneca, his *ſummum bonum*, 86.
Servants, the ſcarcity of them occaſioned by charity ſchools, and the miſchief it produces, 189, 190, 191. Their encroachments on maſters, 192, 196.
ervices, reciprocal, are what ſociety conſiſts in, 513. Are impracticable without money, 514.
Shaftſbury, Lord, his ſyſtem contrary to the author's, 205. Refuted by his own character, 210. Remarks upon him for jeſting with revealed religion, 292, 519. For holding joke and banter to be the beſt and ſureſt touchſtone to try the worth of things by, 296. For pretending to try the ſcriptures by that teſt, ibid. Was the firſt who held that virtue required no ſelf-denial, 337. Encomiums on him, 296, 519.
Shame, a definition of it, 27. What makes us aſhamed of the faults of others, 28. The ſymptoms of it, 29. The uſefulneſs of it to make us ſociable, 30 to 33. Its

real paſſion in our nature, 328. The ſtruggle between the fear of it and that of death, is the cauſe of the great concern of men of honour, in the affair of duelling, 325, 328. The ſame fear of ſhame that may produce the moſt worthy actions, may be the cauſe of the moſt heinous crimes, 349.

Shame, the ſenſe of, the uſe that is made of it in the education of children, 315. Is not to be augmented without increaſing pride, ibid.

Ships are the contrivance of many ages, 361. Who has given the *rationale* of working and ſteering them, 362, 363.

Simile, a, to illuſtrate the treatment that has been given to the Fable of the Bees, 333, 335.

Sighing deſcribed, 373.

Signs and geſtures, the ſignificancy of them, 466, 467. Confirm words, 469. Would not be left off after the invention of ſpeech, ibid. Added to words are more perſuading than ſpeech alone, ibid.

Sociable. man not ſo from his good qualities, 213, to 219. What it is that makes us ſociable, ibid.

Sociableneſs, the love of our ſpecies not the cauſe of it, 387, 391. Erroneous opinions about it, 388, 389. Reaſons commonly given for man's ſociableneſs, ibid. Great part of man's ſociableneſs is loſt if neglected in his youth 390. What it conſiſts in, 392, 393, 394. The principle of it is the work of Providence, 393. Mutual commerce is to man's ſociableneſs what fermentation is to the vinoſity of wine, 395. Sociableneſs in a great meaſure owing to parents, 463.

Social Syſtem, the manner of it in judging of ſtate-miniſters and politicians, 187. Of the piety of princes, 288. Of foreign wars, ibid. 289. Of luxury, ibid.

Social virtue, according to the ſyſtem of Lord Shaftſbury, diſcovered in a poor woman, who binds her ſon apprentice to a chimney-ſweeper, 289. On lawyers and phyſicians, 292. On clergymen, ibid. Is of little uſe unleſs the poor and meaner ſort of people can be poſſeſſed of it, ibid. 293.

Social toyman, the, deſcribed, 295.

Society, no creatures without government leſs fit for it than man 13, 221. The ſociety compared to a bowl of punch, 55. The defects of it ſhould be mended by the legiſlature, 202. The nature of ſociety, 187, 205. Man's love for ſociety, examined into, 213, to 227. Cautions to be uſed in judging of man's fitneſs for ſociety 387 to 391. Is of human invention, 393. Man is made for it as grapes are for wine, ibid. What man's fitneſs in it conſiſts in, 395. Might ariſe from private families of ſavages, 398, 403. Difficulties that would hinder ſavages from it, 404, 405. The firſt ſtep towards it would be their common danger from wild beaſts, ibid. The ſecond ſtep they would be in, would be the danger from one another, 451. The third and laſt would be the invention of letters, 453. Civil ſociety is built upon the vanity of our wants, 513. Temporal happineſs is in all large ſocieties, as well to be obtained without ſpeech, as without money, 514.

Soldiers, their paultry finery, 129. The uſage they receive, ibid. 130. The alteration it makes on them when they turn ſoldiers, 174.

Sommona-Codom, 489.

Soul, the, compared to an architect, 377. We know little of it that is not revealed to us, 380.

Spartans, their frugality, 149.

Species, the ſtrength of our ſpecies unknown, 127. The love to our ſpecies an idle pretence, 213, 227. The high opinion we have of it hurtful, 269.

Speech, though a characteriſtic of our ſpecies muſt be taught, 397. Is not to be learned by people come to maturity, if till then they never had heard any, ibid, 466. Want of it eaſily ſupplied by ſigns among two ſavages of the firſt claſs, 467. Whether invented to make our thoughts known to one another, 392. The firſt deſign of it was to purſuade, ibid. Lowneſs of ſpeech a piece of good manners, 471. The effect it has, 472.

Spinoſiſm, 486.

Statesman, a conſummate, what he ought to be, 500. The ſcarcity of thoſe who deſerve the name, ibid.

Steele, Sir Richard, his elegant flatteries of his ſpecies, 19.

Stoics, their pleaſures, 85. Their arrogance and hypocriſy, ibid.

Study, hard, whether men ſubmit to it to ſerve their country or themſelves, 511, 513.

Suicide, never committed but to avoid ſomething worſe than death, 124.

Sun, the, not made for this globe only, 433.

Sunday, the moſt uſeful day in ſeven, 193. What it is ſet apart for, ibid.

Superiority of underſtanding in man, when moſt viſibly uſeful, 477. When diſadvantageous, 478.

Superſtition, the objects of it, 459, 460. What ſort of people are moſt in danger of falling into it, 487.

Superſtitious men may blaſpheme, 487.

Symptoms of pride, natural and artificial, 350.

Syſtem, the, that virtue requires no ſelf-denial is dangerous, 337. The reaſon, ibid.

Tears, drawn from us from different cauſes, 374.

Temperance, perſonal, makes no rulers ſlighted that have real power, 93, 94.
Temple, Sir William, animadverted upon, 398. A long quotation from him, ibid. 399.
Tennis play, ſpoke of to illuſtrate what chance is, 448, 449.
Thefts and robberies, the cauſes of them in great cities, 167, 168, 169.
Theology, the moſt neceſſary faculty, 184.
Thinking, where performed, 377. What it conſiſts in, 378, 380. Immence difference of the faculty of it, 382. Acquired by time and practice, 396.
Thought operates upon the body, 377.
Time, great difficulty in the diviſion of it, 464. The Sabbath a conſiderable half in it, ibid.
Traders, none ſtrictly honeſt, 25. Why all take ſuch pains to hide the prime coſt of their goods, 39.
Trades, a diſcourſe on the various trades required, and the numbers in each, 188, 189.
Traffic. What it is that promotes it, 230.
Treaſurer, the Lord, whom he obeys at peril, 497.
Treaſury, what the management of it requires, 496, 497.
Trooper, why worſe than a foot ſoldier, 129.
Truth, impertint in the ſublime, 281. Not to be minded in painting, 283.

Vanini, a martyr for atheiſm, 128.
Vanity may be owned by moſt men, 263, 264.
Vice, a definition of it, 17. Has the ſame origin in man as it has in horſes, 455. Why the vices of particular men may be ſaid to belong to the whole ſpecies, 458. Vice is expoſed in the Fable of the Bees, 262. What it conſiſts in, 364. Why bare-faced vice is odious, 268.
Views, the different, things may be ſet in, 228, 238.
Univerſities, their policy, 163. Ours are defective as to law and phyſic, 182, 183. What univerſities ſhould be, ibid. 184.
Virgins, rules how to behave themſelves, 31.
Virtue, the origin of moral virtue, 13. A definition of virtue, 17. Not derived from religion, ibid. What excited the ancients to heroic virtue, 18. How virtue is made friends with vice, 41. No virtue without ſelf-denial, 88, 205. Where to look for the virtues of great men, 96. The reaſon why there are ſo few men of real virtue, 132. Conſiſts in action, 211. In the ſenſe of the *beau monde* imbibed at operas, 287. What moſt of the *beau monde* mean by it, 267. Real virtue not more to be found at operas than at bear gardens, 301. A trial whether a fine gentleman acts from principles of virtue and religion, or from vain glory, 317, 318. It requires ſelf-denial, 337. Falſe pretences to virtue, 338, 339, 344. No virtue more often counterfeited than charity, 345, 346. Virtue is not the principle from which men attain to great accompliſhments, 508, 511, 512. Is the moſt valuable treaſure, 513. Yet ſeldom heartily embraced without reward, ibid. No virtue more ſcarce than Chriſtian humility, 271.
Virtuous, when the epithets is improper, 337. Actions are called virtuous, that are manifeſtly the reſult of frailties, 339. There are virtuous men; but not ſo many as is imagined, 504.
Vitzliputzli. Idol of the Mexicans, 460.
Unity, the, of a God, a myſtery taught by Moſes, 416.
Underſtanding, man's ſuperior, has defeated the rage of wild beaſts, 429. When found moſt uſeful, 476. Diſadvantages in ſavages, 477.

Wars. The cauſe of them, 442. What would have been the conſequence, if there never had been any, ibid, 445, 446.
Watermen. Their manner of plying, 226.
Waters, ſtrong. Their bad effect on the poor, 44.
Watches and *clocks*. The cauſe of the plenty, as well as exactneſs of them, 465.
Weeping, a ſign of joy as well as ſorrow. 374. A conjecture on the cauſe of it, ib.
Whales. Their food, 436. Why the economy in them is different from other fiſh, ib.
Whores. The neceſſity there is for them, 50, 51, 52.
Wild beaſts. The danger from them the firſt ſtep towards ſociety, 425. Always to be apprehended whilſt ſocieties are not well ſettled, ib. 426, 431, 432, 450. Why our ſpecies was never totally extirpated by them, 430, 433. The many miſchiefs our ſpecies has ſuſtained from them, 426, 429, 433, 434. Have never been ſo fatal to any ſociety of them as often plagues have, ib. Have not been ſo calamitous to our ſpecies as man himſelf, 437. Are part of the puniſhment after the fall, 450. Range now in many places where once they were rooted out, ib. Our ſpecies will never be wholly free from the danger of them, ib.
Wild boars. Few large foreſts without, in temperate climates, 432. Great renown has been obtained in killing them, ib.
Will, the, is ſwayed by our paſſions, 426.
Wiſdom, the Divine, very remarkable in the contrivance of our machines, 375, 407. In the different inſtincts of creatures, 430, 462. 463. In the ſecond commandment, 459. Acts with original certainty, 391 Becomes ſtill more conſpicuous as our knowledge increaſes, 428.

Wisdom must be antecedent to the things contrived by it, 486.
Wives, more often put men on dangerous projects than mistresses, 134.
Wolves, only dreadful in hard winters, 434.
Woman, a savage, of the first class would not be able to guess at the cause of her pregnancy, 422,
Women may be made wicked by modesty, 35. Modest women promote the interest of prostitutes, 49. The ill qualities of them beneficial to trade, 134 to 136. The artifices of married women, 135, 136. Women are equal to men in the faculty of thinking, 383. Excel them in the structure of the brain, 384.
Work, the, yet to be done among us, 200.
Works of art lame and imperfect, 394.
Worship, Divine, has oftener been performed out of fear, than out of gratitude, 410, 415, 416.
Wrongheads, who think vice encouraged, when they see it exposed, 263.

Youth, a great part of man's sociableness owing to the long continuances of it, 397.

Zeuxis, 284.